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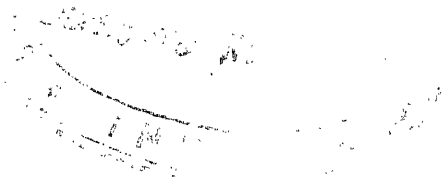
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MYSTIC TREATISES BY

ISAAC OF NINEVEH

MYSTIC TREATISES BY

ISAAC OF NINEVEH

TRANSLATED FROM BEDJAN'S SYRIAC TEXT WITH AN INTRODUCTION AND REGISTERS

BY

A. J. WENSINCK

VERHANDELINGEN DER KONINKLIJKE AKADEMIE
VAN WETENSCHAPPEN TE AMSTERDAM
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KONINKLIJKE AKADEMIE VAN WETENSCHAPPEN
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PREFACE

It is with a feeling of hesitation that I publish this work. I must confess that the author's intention has not always become clear to me. I hope that some of the readers may be in better condition. The reason why I have yet decided to trust this book to the press, is that Isaac may be called one of the most genuine and profound representatives of Oriental mysticism.

There is another ground that induced me to undertake the present translation. Isaac stands chronologically and materially on the threshold of Muslim mysticism. He has developed some essential features which have become prominent among the Muslims. I only mention his view on the ‚means' — the أسباب — and on the value of seaking disdain, ملامة. So I hope that this publication will prove to be of some use for the history and understanding of one of the most important departments of Islam.

It would have been impossible for me to prepare an English translation of Isaac's work without the assistance of an English scholar trained in Oriental mysticism. Professor D. B. Macdonald of Hartford was so kind as to draw my attention to one of his former pupils, the Reverend WILLIAM THOMSON, B. D., who undertook to correct the English style with painstaking care. Moreover he collated some of the Mss. in the British Museum and provided me with valuable suggestions. I am anxious to express to him publicly my sincere thanks.

The present translation is as literal as seemed compatible with an English style. It may be considered as a *compromis* between my point of view and Mr. Thomson's.

If there have remained expressions which are rather Syriac than English, they are due to my stubbornness. The rendering of some of the technical expressions gave a good deal of trouble. ܣܟܥܬܐ e. g. is usually translated by ‚deliberations' or ‚thoughts'. Mr. Thomson often suggested ‚intuitions' which in some cases would perhaps suit the context, but in other

instances expresses more than the word contains. I hope that the reader gradually will grasp the meaning of this and similar terms.

I gratefully acknowledge the liberality of our Royal Academy in giving the present work a place in the series of its publications. The ‚Leidsch Universiteitsfonds' kindly complied with my request to grant the sum necessary for the final preparing of the manuscript. I beg the syndics to agree my warmest thanks.

Leiden, 1922.

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INTRODUCTION

THE TEXT AND THE GREEK TRANSLATION [1])

The present English text has been translated from the edition of the original Syriac by P. Bedjan[2]), p. 1—581. The rest of Bedjan's publication contains some extracts from other works of Isaac, which Bedjan did not edit, because he did not possess manuscripts which seemed to him sufficient for this purpose. The works from which these extracts were taken, are considered as genuine by Bedjan. I have not been able to consult them, as they are preserved in several places in Western Asia. I do not consider the fact, that these writings are still unknown to us, as an important lacuna in our knowledge concerning the ideas of Isaac. For the present text contains — sometimes repeated — expositions of his thoughts on themes which in their totality give a survey of the whole system.

That these treatises are genuine is the opinion of Chabot and Bedjan; I think that we have no ground to doubt it. The style, the vocabulary and the ideas are uniform throughout the whole work. And the few indications as to the personality of the author concord with particulars which are known to us from other sources[3]).

Bedjan's text has been determined from several manuscripts, which he enumerates in his avant-propos, and may be called a good one, especially as the style and the subjects treated cannot have been easily intelligible to ordinary scribes. For some passages, indeed, the help of an accurate translation

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1) All further references are to the pages of Bedjan's edition.

2) *Mar Isaacus Ninivita de perfectione religiosa* (Paris 1909 (p. 582—639).

3) Cf. beneath, p. XVII sq.

would have been of value to me. But, as far as I see, none of the accessible ones deserves this description. I need not enumerate them here, I may refer the reader to Chabot's dissertation on Isaac [1]). To the Mss. containing an Arabic translation of the genuine and spurious works of Isaac, must now be added a codex which F. Krenkow presented to the John Rylands Library at Manchester. On his request Dr. A. Mingana was so kind as to copy for me some passages, which show a close affinity with the extracts from the Mss. at Rome, given by Assemani. According to Chabot this translation was made from the Greek. At any rate it seems not to afford valuable help for a literal understanding of the Syriac text; consequently I have not deemed it worth while to burden the present publication with new costs, which a photographic reproduction of these Arabic Mss. for my use would have imposed. One Arabic translation I could use at liberty, viz. that contained in Cod. 5 belonging to the Royal Academy at Amsterdam, to which my attention was drawn by Dr. van Arendonk. The Ms. contains nearly one half of Bedjan's text; long passages fo the translated treatises have been left out; sometimes a few sentences are added. On the whole, the translation is not bad, but not literal enough to afford a valuable basis for corrections of the Syriac text.

The Greek translation, concerning which Chabot has given the necessary communications, was at my disposition in the Leiden library through the kindness of the direction of the University Library at Leipzig, a liberality which is highly to be prized, as copies of the book are very rare, as has been pointed out by Chabot, whose severe judgment concerning the way in which the translation was made, must be acknowledged to be just.

I willingly acknowledge that in some cases the Greek text has been of value to me. Yet I have not deemed it necessary to collate it throughout with the Syriac original; this was a labour which it did not deserve.

In one respect the Greek translation — or at any rate the printed text — differs totally from its original, viz. in the sequence of the chapters. In order to facilitate its collation with Bedjan's text I give a table of the corresponding chapters

1) *De Isaaci Ninivitae vita, scriptis et doctrina* (Louvain, 1892).

in a footnote, as far as I could identify them [1]). Thus of the 82 treatises of the Syriac text 14 are missing in the Greek translation, or more than one sixth. Among these chapters there are some of the most difficult; so that it is not unjust to suppose that the translators gave them up for this reason. This hypothesis is confirmed by the fact that also large parts of the translated chapters are left out, and usually those which contain difficult passages.

On the other hand the translators have added four treatises which are not in the Syriac text, and which appear to belong to the writings of the so-called John Saba, viz. n^{0}. 2, 7, 43 and 80 which are respectively found in the Syriac Mss. Add. 14. 758 (British Museum), fol. 249^{a} [2]), and in the Ms. described by Assemani, *Bibliothcca Orientalis*, I, p. 440, sermo 20; in

1)

Syr.		Gr.
1		1
2		30
3	p. 20—22	82
	p. 22—30	83
	p. 30—37	44
	p. 37—end.	45
4		23
5		5
6		56
7		22
8		21
9		41
10		70
11		10
12		11
13		14
14		15
15		9
16		13
17		29
18	p. 139—142	75
	p. 142—144	76
	p. 144—146	77
	p. 146—144	78
	p. 148—end	79
19		—
20		—
21		—
22	p. 163—165	31
	p. 165—end	32
23		—
24		—
25		67
26		—
27		84
28		74
29		—
30	p. 208—211	42
	p. 211—end	55
31		—
32		68
33	p. 218—219	—
	p. 219—end	24
34		16
35	p. 224—267	85
	p. 267—269	47
36	p. 269—271	51
	p. 271—275	52
	p. 275—276	53
	p. 276—end	54
37		26
38	p. 291—292	—
	p. 292—end	27
39		46
40		17
41		Epist. 1
42		Epist. 2
43		72
44		18
45		73
46		—
47	p. 335—337	39
	p. 337—338	40
48		57
49		—
50	p. 343—353	58
	p. 353—359	60
51		62
52		66
53	p. 379—385	33
	p. 385—end	3
54		—
55		61
56		—
57		25
58		37
59		4
60		36
61		48
62		38
63		35
64		59
65	p. 443—446	—
	p. 446—end	34
66		Epist. 3
67		69
68	partly and in a free manner incorporated in Gr.	69
69		12
70		8
71		—
72		49
73		50
74		81
75		—
76		—
77		19
78		6
79		71
80	p. 546—549	28
	p. 549 sqq.	—
81		—
82		20

2) Wright, *Catalogue of the Syriac Mss.*, III, p. 583.

Assemani, I, p. 437, sermo 8; in Assemani, I, p. 436, sermo 1; Add. 14.728 fol. 250b[1]) and Assemani, I, p. 440, sermo 22.

Further the table shows that the Greek translators have dealt freely with the division of the Syriac text in chapters. On a much smaller scale the Syriac Mss. have also used some liberty in this respect.

The Greeks had the more reason to act thus, because they adopted a system of sequence totally different from the Syriac one. Whoever compares the sequence of the chapters in the Greek text, will observe that here the arrangement has been made according to the subjects treated in the different chapters; here is united what is alike in nature: the chapters on love are put together, equally those on temptations, and so on.

This arrangement, at first sight, would seem entitled to a claim of originality, especially when it is contrasted with the Syriac text, which does not betray a systematic arrangement.

Still, the Syriac Mss. extant show the same order with slight variations. This points to a fixed tradition in this respect.

A close examination of the Syriac text provides us with material which is sufficient to settle this question.

The first six treatises (which are scattered over the Greek translation) have this subscription in the Syriac text: Finished are the six treatises on the behaviour of excellence. In accordance herewith is the fact that none of these chapters has a title of its own as the other ones have, but that they are simply indicated by: Treatise the first, and so on. The title of the seventh chapter, which apparently — as well as all the other titles — was given by Isaac himself, runs thus: Further, on other subjects, chapter (ܡܐܡܪܐ)[2]) by chapter, etc. . . . . .

Here is a proof of the authenticity of the arrangement of the Syriac text.

There are further indications which point in the same direction. On p. 94 the author speaks of the later chapters in which he promises to deal with the significance of tears. This is in accordance with the facts, as a consultation of the register s. v. Tears can teach. — At the beginning of chapter 33 the author refers to chapter 32; the Greek translation has torn these chapters asunder. Likewise the beginning of chapter 36

1) Wright, *o. l.*, III, p. 583.

2) The Arabs apparently have taken one the metaphorical senses of باب from the Syrians.

points back to the end of chapter 35; here the connection is equally disregarded by the Greek translators. — In the beginning of the chapter on inspiration (n°. 54) the author reminds the reader of his treating this subject previously; this has taken place on pages 107 and 160. — Chapter 73 entitles itself as a succinct rendering of n°. 72; here the right sequence is preserved even in the Greek translation. — On p. 573 the author, explaining his definite ideas on solitude and intercourse, warns the reader not to argue against him on account of quotations from foregoing pages, taken at random from the context. As a matter of fast Isaac has dealt with this subject largely in his book, as again may be seen from the Register. — This evidence is conclusive in my opinion. Still, the fact remains, that the Syriac text, taken as a whole, has nothing to do with a real composition.

In this respect it is in sharp contrast with other mystical works written by congenial spirits. Bar Hebraeus shows a great predilection for systematic order, a tendency which he already found in his example al-Ghazālī. The Book of Hierotheos is also systematically arranged. Isaac's example, however, is imitated by John Saba, whose works, according to the descriptions of the Mss., also seem to consist of single treatises which are not linked together by any progessive idea.

The present text, therefore, is only to be taken as a long — a very long — exposition of the many sides and theories and experiences of mystical life. Of course this lack of compositional lines has given rise to many repetitions, which are sometimes fatiguing, but often welcome to us as containing explanations. Perhaps Isaac's way of proceeding should be ascribed to some extent to the fact that at a certain age — and he wrote the present book when very old — his eyesight was lost, so that he could no longer read but was obliged to have recourse to scribes. Perhaps this fact accounts also for his style, which is full of too lengthy periods and anacolouthons.

It is in accordance with the defective composition of the book, that it has no distinct title. Bedjan has called it De perfectione religiosa, which seems to be a free rendering of the subscription of the first six treatises ‚on the behaviour of excellence'. Some, but not all Mss.[1]), give the title ‚On the way

1) Bedjan's text, p. 1, note 1.

of monasticism'. Both are equally in harmony with the contents of the book, but many similar ones would have been also possible. The author seems not to have been minded to look for such a one as at once prints itself into the memory, as e. g. Bar Hebraeus and Ghazālī did.

One peculiar feature of the Greek translation has still to be discussed, viz. the way in which it deals with Isaac's authorities. The names of the Fathers of Scete appear without exception; likewise, the great theologians of the fourth century are left in their place, as e. g. Athanasius, Basil, Ephraim; and in the only passage where Dionysios (the Areopagite) occurs, his name is not suppressed. Euagrius on the other hand, who is very often cited in the original, never occurs in the Greek text. He is either left out, or replaced by such names as Nilos, the blessed Marcus, the divine and great Gregory. Likewise the Commentator, Theodore of Mopsuestia, who is also often cited in the original text, is either left out by the Greeks, or replaced by Gregory, John Chrysostom, Martinianus. In stead of Diodorus Rhetor or Diodorus of Tarsos [1]) Dionysius the Areopagite or ‚one of the great sages' appear. And in another passage ‚the blessed Cyril' is introduced by the translators on their own authority. This means that they thought it better to suppress those names which were not accepted by the Monophysite church; the mention of Cyril is in accordance with this. In this connection I may refer to Bedjan's preface, p. VIII, who has shown that some passages on the nature of Christ have been altered by non-Nestorian scribes and translators.

II

ISAAC'S AGE AND PERSON

It is only of late that Isaac's age has been fixed with approximate certainty. In Syriac Mss. he is sometimes confounded with Isaac of Antioch, and when it became clear that our author belonged to a different period, it was not at first easy to give precise dates. Two Syriac texts which were edited by Chabot and Rahmani each contain a short bio-

1) Cf. on him the article in Herzog's *Protest. Real-Encyclopädie.*

graphy of Isaac. It may be worth while to give a translation of both of them.

On the holy Mar Isaac, bishop of Ninive, who resigned his episcopal office and wrote books on the behaviour of solitaries.

He was ordained a bishop of Ninive by Mar George the Katholikos, in the monastery of Bet ʿĀbē [1]). After he had held the pastoral staff at Ninive for five months, as the successor of bishop Moses, he resigned his episcopal office, for a reason which God knows, and went away to live in the mountains. And after the chair had been vacant for this time, the blessed Sabr Ishōʿ was ordained as his successor, who also left his episcopal office and became an anchorite in the days of Ḥanān Ishōʿ the Katholikos, and departed this world in the monastery of Mar Shehīn in Kurdistan.

When Isaac left the chair of Ninive, he ascended the mountain of Matūt which surrounds Bēt Huzājē and lived in solitude among the anchorites who were there.

Afterwards he went to the monastery of Rabban Shabūr and became exceedingly well acquainted with the divine writings; at last he lost his eyesight through his reading and asceticism. He penetrated deeply into the divine mysteries and wrote books on the divine behaviour of solitaries. He said three things which were not accepted by the community. Daniel, the bishop of Bet Garmaia, was scandalized at him on account of these things which he said. In high age he departed this temporary life; his corpse was interred in the monastery of Shabūr. He was born in Bet Ḳaṭrāyē; I think that envy was aroused against him by people of the country even as it was against Joseph Ḥazzāyā and John of Apamea and John de Dāliyāteh. —

This biography is taken from the *Ketābā de Nakfūtā* [2]).

The following biography occurs in Rahmani's *Studia Syriaca* [3]).

This Mar Isaac of Ninive was born in Bet Ḳaṭrāyē beneath India. When he had become excercised in the writings of the Church and their commentaries he became a monk and a teacher in his country. And when Mar George the Katholikos went to his own country, he took Isaac with him to Bet Aramāyē, because he was a relative of Mar Gabriel Ḳaṭrāyā, the

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1) Cf. Hoffmann, *Auszüge*, p. 226

2) ed. Chabot in *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire*, XVIe année 1896 *(Ecole française de Rome)*, p. 63. 2) I, p. ٧.

commentator of the church. Mar Isaac was ordained a bishop of Ninive in the monastery of Bet ʿĀbē. But because of his keen mind and his zeal, he could endure the pastoral function for five months only. Then he returned to his solitude, after he had asked the permission of Papa, who dismissed him and ordered him to go and live in solitude in the Mountain of Bet Huzāyē with the monks who dwelt there. At last he became blind, so that the brethren wrote down his doctrine. They gave him the surname of the second Didymus, because he was placid and kind and humble, and his speech was meek. He ate only three loafs of bread a week, with small vegetables; he never tasted what was cooked. He wrote five volumes which are extant till now [full of] sweet doctrine. This is attested by Mar Jozadaḳ in the letter which he wrote to his pupil Būshīr, to the monastery of Mar Shabūr, saying: I thank the Lord because of your diligence which has sent me the doctrine of Mar Isaac of Ninive. I know that you have acquired in your life the keys of the kingdom, because you have filled our monastery with doctrine full of life. For we confess that we are pupils of Mar Isaac the bishop of Ninive. — So he writes in his letter. And in the end he says, even as John the Bishop: the writings of Mar Isaac have been of great support and strengthening power to me. — When he had grown old and had reached a high age, he departed unto our Lord. And he was buried in the monastery of Mar Shabūr. —

On account of these notices, we may state that Isaac became bishop in the second half of the seventh century.

Isaac's work on mystical life shows us a man who must have felt himself unhappy on the episcopal chair, we are only amazed at the fact that he let himself be ordained and kept his office for five months. Assemani has printed from the Arabic translation of Isaac's works [1]) a story pretending to give the clue to Isaac's abdication. It has, however, the value of an anecdote only.

Isaac's episcopate and his abdication are confirmed by a passage in the present text (Bedjan, p. 248 sq.). It occurs in the long treatise n°. 35 which has the form of a dialogue between a master and his pupil who asks questions. Isaac very seldom speaks plainly about himself; he usually imitates

1) *Bibliotheca Orientalis*, I, 444

the way in which St. Paul once speaks about his own experiences: I know a man who etc.

On p. 248 he: tells something about one of the saints. Then he continues: [Another witness to this is] he who etc. Then he tells how this latter felt divine care as long as he was in the desert, but lost it when he was in the inhabited world. Then he asked God, saying: Perhaps, my Lord, Grace has been withdrawn from me on account of my episcopal rank? It was said to him: No.

A similar allusion seems to occur on p p. 553: Some of them [viz. the solitaries] were sustained by a bird. Behold, these last sixty years I have received the half of my bread from a such a bird. Others are sustained by some tree or a palm in a supernatural way, as one of them has said, viz. the bishop who repented in the desert. I am now in this desert nine and forty years. God has granted me life through this palm. —

Further we learn from the present text, that he had a brother, who had likewise devoted himself to solitary life, for he calls him his natural and spiritual brother in the letter which occurs in the present text as n°. 42 of the treatises. The contents of this letter show us Isaac in full. His brother was ill, apparently very ill, and had asked him to come and visit him. But Isaac had his stern ideas on the point of intercourse, which are found throughout his work. So he refused to go. Now it seems that he also makes an allusion to this refusal in a later passage, an allusion which is clad in the same dress as those we have cited above. On p. 312 he says: We know another of the saints whose natural brother was ill. He lived as a recluse in a different cell. During the whole period of his brother's sickness he restrained his mercy, so that he did not go out the visit him. When the sick man was on the point of departing from this world, he sent his brother a message to this effect: Come, that I may see thee before I depart the world, even if it be in the night. Then I will take leave from thee and go to rest. The blessed one, however, was not to be persuaded even at this time, when natural mercy usually is stirred, to transgress the voluntary barriers, saying: If I go out, my heart will not be pure before God; for I despise visiting spiritual brethren; should I then honour nature above Christ? — So his brother died, without his having seen him.

Similarly, on p. 178, he says: I know a brother who put

the key in the door of his cell in order to shut it, for he was going out in order to idle things as Scripture says. And there Grace visited him, so that he returned immediately.

This sounds also as a personal experience. Very clearly the personal character peeps through the impersonal form in a passage, occurring on p. 492: Now I know one who even during his sleep was overwhelmed by ecstasy in God through the contemplation of something which he had read in the evening. And while his soul was amazed at this contemplative meditation, he perceived as it were that he had meditated for long in the motion of sleep, and examined the ecstatic vision. It was in the depth of the night, and suddenly he awoke from his sleep while his tears dropped as water and fell upon his breast [1]); and his mouth was full of glorification etc.

This passage brings us to Isaac as a mystic. Several times he speaks of his experiences. Page 430: My beloved ones, because I was foolish, I could not bear to guard the secret in silence, but am become mad for the sake of my brethren's profit. For true love is not able to cling to the cause of love, apart from friends. Often when I was writing these things, my fingers paused on the paper. They could not bear the delight that had fallen into the heart and which made the senses silent.

In the wonderful chapter on the varying states of light and darkness (n°. 48) he speaks about the despair which sometimes overwhelms the solitary. If he did not say that he is speaking on account of experience yet every reader would feel it from his very words. But he speaks plainly: If thou possessest no power to dominate thy soul and to fall upon thy face in prayer, envelop thy head in thy mantle and lie down till the hour of darkness has passed away from thee. Leave not, however, thy cell. By this temptation are tried especially those who are willing to walk in mental discipline and who in their course are running toward the consolation which comes from faith. ..... All these things we have experienced many times and recorded to the consolation of many.

In the beginning of chapter 24 he does not expressly say that he speaks from his own experience, but the passage is personal enough in its tenour: It occurs many times in a day, that a brother, even if thou shouldst give him the kingdom

1) It is to be remembered that Isaak used to sleep sitting.

of the world, would not consent at that hour to leave his cell or to [allow] any one to visit him. For the time of commerce has presented itself, of a sudden. Such things happen on days such as are considered as days of relaxation. Often on such days and even on those wherein he has intercourse with others, grace of a sudden will visit him, in tears without measure, or a vivid affection moving the heart, or a certain gladness without cause, or the delight of kneelings.

There are many passages in the book, which breathe an equally personal spirit. The reader will find them himself. Here attention is to be drawn to a different kind of utterances, which disclose their personal character. At the end of the chapter on tears (n° 14) he says: This I have written to the profit of myself and of everyone who comes across this book, being that which I have attained by contemplation of the scriptures and from the mouth of veracious men (and to a small part by experience).

Still more strongly he utters himself in another passage (p. 164): In His bounty He has opened our blind heart to understand, by the contemplation of the scriptures and the instruction of the great Fathers, even although I have not been deemed worthy of experiencing for personal zeal one thousandth of what I have written with my hands, especially in this tract which we have ventured to write for the illumination and exhortation of our soul and of those who come across it. — Such utterances do not stand by themselves in mystical literature. On the one hand it is well known that the mystics in general are dependant on congenial spirits, in their writings as well as in their experiences. On the other hand nearly all of them confess, that their own time is void of the highest mystic experience and that they themselves are longing to reach what their predecessors seem to have reached. Bar Hebraeus, after having written three books on mysticism, confesses that his sun is still in the sign of Capricorn and that he prays for more light [1]).

This feature Isaac has in common with most of the mystics, as also his aversion to dogmatic disputes. Page 48 he warns against reading books which accentuate the differences between the confessions, with the aim of causing schisms, which provides the spirit of slander with a mighty weapon against the soul.

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1) *Book of the Dove*, Sentence 79

This is, generally speaking, the attitude of the mystics in Western Asia. It is as if they felt that they belonged to one common type; moreover, dogmatics, which are the great causes of dessension, do not interest them; they think of how they may ascend unto the One and All; what are dogmatic subtleties to this flight of the mind? Bar Hebraeus has very plainly spoken his ideas on this point and Abd al-Ḳādir al-Djīlānī even estimated the differences between Islām, Christianity and Judaism as being of no real importance [1]).

Isaac combines his aversion to confessional differences with a beautiful love of mankind. ‚Deem all men worthy of bounty on thy part. Especially because thou incitest them unto truth thereby. The soul can easily be drawn by corporeal things to the thought of the fear of God. Also our Lord shared his table with publicans and harlots, without making any distinction between those who were worthy and those who were not..... Therefore, deem all people worthy of bounty and honour, be they Jews or miscreants or murderers' [2]).

With such utterances may be compared the beautiful passages concerning the mystic love of mankind and the whole creation (p. 507, 508, 510, 570).

This much may be sufficient concerning Isaac's person and character; the real man is in his book.

III

A SKETCH OF ISAAC'S MYSTICAL IDEAS

It will always be difficult to describe mystical ideas in a systematic form; a mystical system can hardly be spoken of in Isaac's case; and we have already said, that his book is as unsystematic as any book can be. Still, the chief ideas of its author are expounded in it some repeatedly and sometimes very explicitly. This enables us to give a short characteristic of its contents.

There is a special reason why such a characteristic can be short. In the Introduction to the translation of Bar Hebraeus's Book of the Dove the attempt has been made to give a survey

1) On this tolerance of Muslim mystics see Sir T. W. Arnold's instructive article ‚*Toleration*' in Hasting's *Dictionary of Religion and Ethics.* 2) p. 55

of the mystical type to which Bar Hebraeus belongs; from that it would appear that he is of a type with Isaac. So I may refer the reader in the first place to the Introduction mentioned. But there remain ideas enough which are Isaac's peculiar property and which have to be discussed here for Isaac's readers in particular. His relation to his predecessors and to Muslim mysticism will be treated in the following section.

Isaac devides the mystic way into three sections: repentance, purity or purification, and perfection [1]). This sequence is of a logical nature in the first place; it will appear that it cannot be taken as a temporal distinction in the strict sense; he that has reached the state of perfection will often want purification again, and even repentance. In this respect he is less systematic than Bar Hebraeus, who makes these states to coincide with the abode in the monastery, with that in the cell, and with the state of spiritual consolation.

We may keep Isaac's division in describing his ideas. But beforehand it is necessary to say a few words concerning the general position of his mysticism.

Just as other mystics [2]) he shrinks from divulging his most intimate experiences. ‚As to the question of the cause of that other prayer [3]) and its duration without compulsion, it seems to me that it is not becoming for us to treat such things in detail, or to describe their nature in speech or writing, lest the reader, being unable to understand anything of it, should judge it to be something insipid; or, if he should be acquainted with these things, should despise him who is not able to cross the border of certain things' [4]). — Isaac's textbook, the use of which is prescribed to all those who walk the ‚way', is the Bible. But he interprets it as well as the chief dogma's of Christianity in an allegorical way. Speaking of the thorns and thistles which the earth brings forth since Adam's fall, he says: ‚In reality the thorns are affections which grow in us from bodily seed' [5]).

Mysticism, though dualistic in its deep conscience of good and evil, body and soul, matter and spirit — is monistic in its highest view of God and the world. As a matter of fact the only real Being is God. So Isaac does not acknowledge

1) p. 507 2) *The Book of the Dove*, p. XXVII sqq.
3) viz. pure or even spiritual prayer
4) p. 129 5) p. 204

Satan at His side as a kind of second God. ‚Satan is the name of the deviation of the will from the truth, but it is not the designation of a natural being' [1]).

Equally the eschatological and cosmological scheme of Oriental positive religion is dissolved by allegorical interpretation. ‚Fear is the paternal rod which guides us up to the spiritual Eden, when we are arrived there, it leaves us and returns. Eden is the divine love wherein is the paradise of all good, where the blessed Paul was sustained by supernatural food' [2]). ‚The many mansions in the house of the Father denote the spiritual degrees of the inhabitants of that place. This means: the different gifts and the spiritual ranks in which they rejoice spiritually, and the variety of the classes of gifts' [3]). And ‚the kingdom of heaven is spiritual contemplation' [4]).

Hell is equally of an intelligible nature [5]). Speaking of those who do not enter the kingdom but go into the darkness, Isaac says with a variation on the well known word from the Gospel: ‚There will be psychic weeping and grinding of teeth, which is a grief more hard than the fire. Now thou understandest, that to remain far from that elevation, means torturing hell' [6]). To the same purport are the words [7]): ‚If the apple of thy soul's eye has not been purified, do not venture to look at the sun, lest thou be bereft of the usual visual power and thou be thrown into one of those intelligible places which are Tartarus and a type of hell, namely darkness without God, whither those who with the impulses of their mind leave nature, wander by the cognitive nature which they possess. Therefore he that ventured to go to the banquet in sordid garments, was ordered to be thrown out into that outer darkness. By the banquet is designated the sight of spiritual knowledge. The institutions in it are the manifold divine mysteries, full of joy and exultation and delight of the soul. The garment of the banquet he calls the mantle of purity; the sordid garments the emotions of the affections which are defiled in the soul; the outer darkness, the state without any delight of true knowledge and communion with God'.

It is clear that Isaac simply uses the Bible and Christian dogmas as a means to support his own ideas by an outward

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1) p. 189 2) p. 315 sq. 3) p. 86
4) p. 528 5) p. 456 6) p. 88
7) p. 521 sq., cf. p. 16 sq., 50

authority. But it is again to be borne in mind that it was not only Isaac among the mystics, nor only the mystics among the intepreters of the Bible in early Christian times who followed such a method. Muslim mystics have submitted the Ḳor'ān to a similar treatment[1]). We may even ask: Was there any interpreter or school of interpreters of the Bible which did not in the first place seek after their own ideas in the holy writ?

These facts correspond with the mystics' aversion to dogmatical schisms; they were not interested in them, because there was no place for dogmatics in their system. And it may be said that mysticism is an exponent of the unity of Hellenistic monotheism. This is the catchword which covers all these mystics of Western Asia, the early Christian — John Climacus, Basil, Gregory Nazianzen, Euagrius —, the later Christian ones — Stephen bar Ṣudailē, Dionysius the Areopagite, Isaac, Bar Hebraeus —, and the Muslims: Abū Ṭālib al-Makkī, al-Ḳushairī, al-Ghazālī. And in this unity the Eastern Church in its chief representatives is remarkably different from the great Western Fathers.

One general point may still be mentioned in connection with the foregoing remarks. Mysticism is said to be essentially pantheistic everywhere. Of Eastern mysticism this is certainly true. Its highest aim, — the unification of God and the mystic — is pantheistic; and, as a matter of fact, they go far in asserting that, in the deepest sense, God is the only Being.

Still, the place of this thought and its prominence, is very different in the different authors. In Dionysius' and Stephen bar Ṣudailē's works the transition of man into God, is described at length and with delight. Bar Hebraeus quotes such passages, but scarcely. In Isaac's works they occur very seldom. In this connection may be cited what Isaac says on p. 170: As the saints, in the world to come, do not pray, when the mind has been engulfed by the [divine] Spirit, but dwell in ecstasy in that delightful glory, so the mind, when it has been made worthy of perceiving the future blessedness, will forget itself and all that is here etc. In a similar way he speaks on p. 194: Now when the intellect withdraws itself from this and is exalted unto the unique Essence, by the contemplation of

1) Cf. the highly instructive chapter on mystical interpretation of the Ḳor'ān in Goldziher's *Die Richtungen der islamischen Koranauslegung.*

the properties of that good Nature. When the intellect descends again from that place and returns again to the worlds and their distinctions etc. Generally speaking, Isaac is much more concerned with the state of purification and illumination than with that of perfection and unification. In this respect he belongs rather to the early than to the later type of Oriental mystics.

These general remarks may be sufficient as an introduction to a description of Isaac's way in its three stages.

Of repentance Isaac gives the usual definition . : . . at [1]) every moment of the four and twenty hours of the day, we are in want of repentance. The explanation of the denotation of repentance, in its real practical sense, is continual mournful supplication in contrite prayer, offered to God for the forgiveness of preceding sins; and petition to be guarded against future ones. A similar definition occurs in many later mystical works [2]). Of course this does not imply that Isaac is their direct or indirect source; perhaps Isaac himself is citing a well known predecessor. But the passage contains a proof of what has been said above: the three mystical stages cannot be clearly separated in the mystic; repentance is the foundation of the whole; but as little as the foundation of a building looses its practical value when the whole has been finished, so little does repentance become useless when the second and third stages have been reached. Now repentance does not especially belong to mysticism; it stands at the beginning of the way of every Christian. But Isaac does not separate it from his special thoughts and method. ‚Repentance is the constant sorrow of the heart at the meditation of that inexplicable statute: how shall I reach that unspeakable entrance? If thou lovest repentance, then love also solitude. For without this, repentance cannot be completed. If there is any one who disputes this, do not dispute with him, for he does not know what he says. If he did know what repentance is, he also would know its place, and that it is not to be disturbed by trouble. If thou lovest solitude, the father of repentance, then love also to accept' etc. [3]). And to the same purport is what he says in another chapter [4]): Repentance is the mother of life. It opens its gate to us, when we

1) p. 502 2) Cf. *Book of the Dove*, p. 6, note 3
3) p. 462 4) p. 443

flee from all things'. — This means that true repentance is only to be practised by the methods which are at the base of mysticism: renunciation, asceticism and solitude.

The connection between repentance and spiritual gifts is expounded in the following passage [1]): When thou enquirest well, thou wilt find that the service of the fear of God is repentance. And spiritual knowledge is, as we have said, that of which we have received the pledge in baptism and which we receive really by repentance. The gift of which we have said, that we receive it by repentance, is spiritual knowledge, which is given gratuitously for the service of the fear of God.

The transition from the stage of repentance to that of purity takes place by purification. ‚If the small pupil of thy soul has not been purified, do not venture to look at the globe of the sun, lest thou be bereft even of the usual sight' [2]) etc. What is that from which man has to be purified? The question cannot be answered by one term, but needs a longer exposition. Mysticism is spiritualisun, it endeavours to make the spirit free. In the most general sense from its contrary: matter. The origin of the conception may be illustrated by the fact that the Syriac term for it is Greek (ὕλη). ‚So long as the soul has not become drunk by the faith in God, in that it has received an impression of its powers, the weakness of the senses cannot be healed and it is not able to tread down with force visible matter, which is the screen before what is within and unperceived [by the senses]' [3]). It is necessary to free one's self from matter, for freedom from matter precedes the bonds in God [4]).

It goes without saying that such sentences on the nature of matter are to be applied in the first place to the body. Matter is called a screen, the flesh a curtain [5]). ‚One of the saints says: The body becomes a comrade of sin; for it is afraid of troubles, thinking it may receive an injury and have to give up its life. For the spirit of God oppresses the body so that it dies; it is well known that it cannot vanquish sin unless it die. Who desires that our Lord should dwell in him, will oppress his body and minister unto his Lord those spiritual fruits which the Apostle describes; and he will guard his

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1) p. 320 2) p. 17 3) p. 2
4) p. 7; the sentence returns on p. 40 5) p. 558

soul against the works of the flesh which Paul describes. For the body that is mingled with sin, takes pleasure in the works of the flesh. And the spirit of God takes pleasure in its own fruits. When the body is weak by fasting and mortification, the soul is spiritually strong through prayer. When the body is vehemently oppressed by solitude and penury and its life is near its term, it will beseech thee: Leave me a while to behave with moderation' [1]).

In other words: the spiritual part of man has to live at the expenses of the body systematically.

As matter is represented by the body, so the latter by the senses. ‚Without quiescence of the senses, peace of mind cannot be perceived' [2]). It is worth while to observe, that Isaac does not always use the term (ܚܫܝܫܐ) in its relation to the body. He speaks also of the senses of the soul; and he calls the heart the central organ of the inward senses [3]). He even uses the expressions ‚the spiritual senses of the mind' [4]) and ‚the spiritual senses of the soul' [5]).

Man's purification, however, is more often expressed by Isaac as a purification from the affections (ܬܥܝܬܐ). As a matter of fact, it is these which are considered as the more fearful and subtle enemy of the spiritualizing process of mysticism.

Isaac quotes Euagrius: ‚A purifying drug is the hot contrition of the soul, the which is given by the Lord through the angels to those who repent, that through diligence purification from the affections may be granted' [6]). And parallel to this is what he says himself [7]): ‚As dissolving drugs purify the body from bad humours, so does the force of troubles purify the heart from affections'.

What are the affections? ‚Parts [8]) of the usual current of the world. Where they have ceased, there the world's current has ceased. They are: love of riches; gathering of possessions; fatness of the body, giving rise to the tendency towards casual desire; love of honour which is the source of envy; exercising government; the pride and haughtiness of magistrates; folly; glory among men, which is the cause of cholar; bodily fear. When their current has been dammed, there the world, after their example, has to some extent ceased to be maintained

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1) p. 267 sq. 2) p. 67 3) p. 29 4) p. 475
5) p. 514 6) p. 443 sq. 7) p. 540 8) p. 18 sq.

and to exist'. A very vigorous description of the affections he gives in the following passage [1]): Now, if the bosom of the earth, when the sunrays have ceased, preserves their heat for a long time, and if an aromatic smell and the odour of perfumes which spread through the air, remain a long time before they are dissipated and become effaced — how much more certain it is, that the affections, like dogs accustomed to lap up blood at the butcher's, will stand at the door barking when the usual food is withheld from them, till their old force has abated.

Isaac repeatedly speaks of the affections of the body and the soul [2]). He expressly utters his opinion concerning their nature. ‚The affections of the body, are they naturally inherent in it, or of a secondary nature? And those which affect the soul, by the intermedation of the body, are they secondary or natural? To call those of the body not natural, is impossible. As to the soul — because it is known and universally confessed that purity belongs to its nature — no one will venture in view of this fact to maintain, that it is primarily affectable; for it is generally conceded that ailment is secundary to health and it is not possible that one and the same thing should be of a good and an evil nature [3]).

This theory is closely connected with Isaac's — and the general mystical — theory about the soul, which is originally pure, but defiled by matter, the body, the senses [4]). It is necessary to recur here to this view, because it explains Isaac's bifold view of the soul and the psychic domain: it is above the body, but connected with it and holding a middle position between body and spirit. This appears especially in Isaac's division of knowledge into three kinds. ‚While his [viz. man's] knowledge and his behaviour are of a bodily nature, he is frightened by death. But when his knowledge is of a psychic nature and his behaviour is steadfast, his mind is moved by the thought of Judgment every moment. In the first state he is moved and guided by his knowledge and by his discipline. And he is happy in the neighbourhood of God. But when he reaches true knowledge by the emotion of the apperception of God's mysteries and becomes confirmed in future hope, he

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1) p. 481 2) p. 397, 474, 521 3) p. 25
4) *Book of the Dove*, Introduction, p. LXIV

is consumed by love [1]). When he however speaks from his spiritual height, his contempt for the psychic state, is manifest at once. ‚He that has been deemed worthy of the taste of faith and then turns towards psychic knowledge, is the equal of him that has found a pearl of great price and changed it for a copper coin; for he has left authoritative freedom and turned towards the means of poverty which are full of the fear of bondship' [2]).

This estimation is to be compared to Paul's discrimination between psychic and pneumatic man [3]).

As a matter of fact, the Old Testament, in its tripartite division of man, holds nearly the same view. The spirit has been given by God and breathed into Adam's nostrils; it returns unto God when man dies. But his soul returns to the nether world whence it apparently comes; consequently it is ungodly, demoniacal.

It is however, not very likely, that Isaac's psychology is inspired by the Old Testament or even by Paul. His ideas concord with those of Hellenism, as it will be shown beneath.

But we have to return to the affections. Isaac is aware of the fact that they cannot wholly be purified away [4]); still the state of being freed from them, apathy, the boon of martyrs and apostles, is one of the highest aims of the mystics. But here again it is to be kept in mind, that the three states in their pure form do not occupy three separate periods in the life of the mystic.

It may be added here that the terms impulses, emotions (ܪܓܫܐ), though often used in a sense similar to that of affections, cover a much wider field and have not always an evil meaning; they denote the whole activity of the invisible part of man, and even a single time even the ‚emotions of the body' occur. A glance at the catchword ‚impulses' in the Register will give a survey of the various connections in which it is used.

It is not necessary to give a sketch of Isaac's views on anthropology and psychology; it would scarcely contain anything which is not to be found in the mystic sphere to which he belongs. It has been tried to characterize these views in the Introduction to the Book of the Dove, to which I may

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1) p. 429 sq. 2) p. 366
3) 1 Cor. 2, 14 4) p. 28

refer the reader [1]). Here there must be added that Isaac is an adherent of the theory of free will. ‚Reason is the cause of freedom; and the fruit of both is liability to err. Without the first, the second would not be. And where the second is lacking, there the third is bound as it were with halters' [2]). If there were no freedom, their would be no retribution: ‚Good and evil are the offspring of freedom. Where the latter is lacking, practising the former is superfluous in view of remuneration. For nature knows no remuneration. Reward is destined for strife. Victory cannot be spoken of where there is no struggle. When opposition is taken away, freedom vanishes at the same time. Then nature remains without struggle. A time is preserved for the annihilation of freedom; then a limited rationality comes into existence, among men as well as among the angels' [3]). The last thought is explained by another passage: Man, therefore may freely go so far as to say: all excellence whatever, in body or in spirit, is in the realm of free will, as well as the mind that dominates the senses. But when the influence of the spirit reigns over the mind that regulates the senses and the deliberations, freedom is taken away from nature, which no longer governs, but is governed [4]).

This freedom is co-existent with ‚the liability to err' (حيز الخطاء). ‚Nor has He [God] made thee incapable of error, lest thou shouldst be like the beings which are bound, and thou shouldst receive thy good and thy evil without profit or remuneration, as the other corporeal beings on earth. How many blows and humiliations together with thanksgivings are born from the capacity for affections and fear and also of error, is manifest to every one; so that it should be known that our zeal for righteousness and our turning aside from evil are of our own will, and that the honour and disdain, caused thereby, should be put to our credit' [5]).

This liability of deviation incites us unto prayer: ‚And as our Lord knows that He does not take away liability of deviation before the cup of death [is drunk], and this being so, that man is near to a change from excellence to deterioration, and nature susceptible of accidents — therefore He urges us to continual beseechings' [6]).

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1) p. LIX 2) p. 3 3) p. 209
4) p. 170 5) p. 71 6) p. 503

Even the perfect remain liable to deviation. This view is maintained against the Meṣalleyānē in another place: ‚Varying states happen to every man like [changes of] the air. Understand it: to every man; for nature is one. Do not think that he [1]) is speaking to insignificant men only and that the perfect are exempt from varying states and that they stand in one class, without liability of deviation and without the impulse of the affections, as the Meṣallayānē say' [2]).

Still, man as the possessor of freedom could be a sovereign, if it were not that he has not only connection with his own inner world, but also with the impressions coming from without, with accidents and circumstances (ܡܨܝܬܐ). ‚Every apperceptible thing, be it action or word, is the revelation of what is hidden within, if its cause be not entirely accidental, but return constantly. The latter element only is considered in connection with reward; the former is taken into consideration to a small extent only. For the strength or the weakness of will is evidenced in the doing of evil or of good things, not by anything that happens accidentally; but the proof of its freedom is the constant repetition. To fate is given power; sometimes even so as to dominate freedom of will' [3]) etc. And: ... ‚that after these chaste and peaceful deliberations, accidents will befall the mind, that we should not be sorry or despair or, at the time of rest caused by grace, be puffed up, but that, at the time of joy, we should look at trouble. He [4]) says, that we should not be sorry when accidents happen; not that we should not resist them, nor that the mind should accept them joyfully as something natural belonging to us, but that thou shouldst not despair even as the man who expected what is exalted above strife, and perfect rest' [5]) etc.

Consequently man, who is clad with the body and endowed with a soul and a spirit, has to oppress his material part, to forget his relations with the world, to strip off his old customs, and to polish the mirror of his spirit so that it becomes a pure reflection of the Divine; for more than a reflector it is not.

How can this take place? In general by asceticism. Possessions, refinement in dress, copious food, frequent rest, a comfortable dwelling-place are the outward things the mystic has

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1) Euagrius 2) p. 495 3) p. 175
4) Macarius 5) p. 496

to renunciate. But there is more. The life of discipline or behaviour (ܢܡܘܣܐ or ܢܝܡܘܣ) has to be arranged on a basis, in which recitation of the Scriptures, the service of prayer, fasting, and vigils have a dominant place.

This service, however, is not an opus operatum; it has to take place under peculiar circumstances and according to a strict method which has to be expounded according to Isaac's chief points of view.

The first condition for reaching spiritual life is solitude, for it purifies the soul from the affections. ‚Labours cause apathy and mortify our limbs on the earth and give rest on the part of the deliberations, only if they are combined with solitude ..... For solitude — the blessed Basil, the shining torch of the whole world, says — is the beginning of the purification of the soul' [1]). And: ‚When a man has found solitude, the soul is able to expel the affections and to test its own wisdom. Then the inward man will be stirred unto spiritual service and day by day he will perceive the hidden wisdom moving in his soul' [2]).

Solitude not only purifies the soul, but it is the entrance to the higher world. ‚Let us look at ourselves at the time of service and prayer. If we possess contemplation regarding the words of the Psalms and of prayer, this has its origin in veracious solitude' [3]). And: ‚Constant solitude, with recitation and moderate food, easily arouse in the spirit a state of ecstasy, if perpetual solitude be not broken for any cause. Insight brought about by works performed in solitude, will of itself automatically, and suddenly, impart to these two eyes a kind of baptism, by tears which burst forth and moisten the cheeks by their profuseness' [4]).

It is well known that regarding solitude the opinions of the Christian ascetics were divided. From of old there were *θεωρητικοί* and *πραγματικοί*, the former adherents of a purely contemplative life, the latter of monkish life combined with works [5]). Isaac is a partisan of the former method which he advocates in his book. ‚Compare all powers and signs that are worked in the whole world with a man's consciously sitting in solitude. Love the ease of solitude rather than the satisfying of the hunger

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1) p. 243 2) p. 244 3) p. 339
4) p. 139 5) *The Book of the Dove*, Introduction, p. XXIII sqq.

of the world and the converting of the multitude of heathen peoples from error unto adoring God. Let it be more excellent in thy eyes to detach thyself from the bonds of sin than to detach the subject unto liberty from those who hold their bodies' [1]).

It appears — as can be understood — that not all brethren could bear solitude without work. To those it is allowed to perform some light work: ‚If anyone is not able to bear solitude without service, he must necessarily have recourse to it. But he shall take it as a helpful means only, without eagerness and as a secondary thing, not as a principal commandment. This applies to the weak. Manual work is called by Euagrius an impediment to the recollection of God' [2]).

We have seen that Isaac so decidedly clung to solitude that he even was not willing to go to visit his dying brother. Still, in a rather long exposition in the end of his book, he declares that there are cases in which the feeling of mercy can abrogate the commandment of solitude; this holds good especially for those who have not yet climbed the highest summits of the mystic life [3]).

Solitude is especially considered as a means to forget the world, to extinguish the recollections of it in the heart, to banish distraction, and to reach concentration. ‚For when thou risest for prayer and service instead of meditating worldly things, scriptural thoughts will be pictured in the mind. And thereby the recollection of that which it saw and heard before, will be forgotten and effaced in it. So thy mind will reach purity' [4]).

Still, recollections cannot wholly be effaced; they only loose their sharp character. ‚Works performed carefully by the pure, do not remove the impression of the recollection of previous reprehensible things; but they abolish in the mind the painful nature of recollection, so that what has passed through the mind often enough, now becomes something excellent' [5]). Further the mind has to give up distraction aad occupations. ‚That a man, who is beset with care, should be quiet and in a state of peace, is impossible. For the necessary things which cohere with those things, upon he which expends his labour, cannot but have the effect that he be shaken; and they will bereave him of his rest and quiet. For the only opportunity

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1) p. 45 2) p. 57 3) p. 565 sqq.
4) p. 53 5) p. 8

for Satan to enter the soul is distraction' [1]). For distraction is obnoxious to chastity: ‚If thou lovest chastity, do not love distraction. Things which happen to thee through distraction do not allow thee to cling to chastity with watchfulness. No one who loves distraction, is chaste..... That a man who is given to distraction, should guard truth in his soul without a stain, is impossible' [2]). Moreover it gives birth to dejectedness, one of the most fearful enemies of the mystic: ‚Dejection is caused by distraction of mind; distraction by neglect of labours and recitation and by intercourse left to chance' [3]).

So the mind has to be concentrated. Strikingly, in a way which shows his personal experience, Isaac has described the first tentative passes of the mind towards concentration and spiritual behaviour. ‚A young bird without wings is the mind that has lately left the bonds of the affections, by means of the works of repentance. At the time of prayer it strives to exalt itself above earthly things, but it cannot. For it creeps still on the surface of the earth, where also the serpent crawls. But it concentrates its deliberations by recitation and works and fear and care for excellent qualities. For beyond these it does not yet know anything. And these keep the mind pure for a short time. But then recollections will return, troubling and defiling the heart. For he does not yet perceive the air of peace and liberty, which concentrates the heart for a long time, [keeping it] quiet without the recollection of [worldly] things' [4]). It is especially prayer which is a cause of concentration. ‚If anyone asks: How is it that only at this time [viz. the time of prayer] these great and unspeakable gifts are granted? We answer: Because at this time, more than in any other hour, man is concentrated and prepared to look unto God and to desire and to expect compassion from Him' [5]).

How necessary a condition for mystical life perpetual concentration is, appears from the following passage. ‚Above all he [viz. the mystic] chooses concentration and reclusion with himself alone, to be quiet and shut off and lonely and left to himself in a solitary place, void of all beings and separated from the whole creation' [6]).

Mortification, solitude, service and concentration produce in

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1) p. 130 2) p. 445 3) p. 383
4) p. 92 5) p. 171 6) p. 515

the mystic the state favourable for mystic progress. This state can be characterized in several ways. But it is usually considered from the point of view that the soul (heart, spirit mind) has recovered the purity and clearness which is its peculiar property. ‚Perpetual tears during prayer are a sign of divine mercy of which the soul is worthy because of its repentance which has been accepted; and with tears it begins to enter the plain of serenity' [1]).

In a characteristic way this state is described in the following passage: ‚One of the saints who was then an old ascetic, had become so pure and simple and had reached such a perfection and serenity, that he was nearly as a babe, having forgotten all worldly things. And perhaps many will not believe what we say (for it is a real wonder) that even at the time of the oblation of the Eucharist he could not observe [the fast] so as to receive the Eucharist; he did not even know whether he had observed [the fast] or not, till his disciples kept watch on him in his cell and brought him to the sanctuary as a little boy. So very serene and pure was this blessed man. And being thus in worldly things, in his soul he was perfect with God' [2]).

In the following passage the serene soul is compared with a mirror, one of the metaphorical designations beloved with the Eastern mystics: ‚Also this I advise thee, o my brother, that in all thy dicipline the scale of mercy be preponderant; through this thou wilt perceive God's mercy for the world. Our own state becomes to us a mirror in which we behold the true Prototype in those things which naturally belong to that Essence. By these things and the like we become illuminated so as to be in motion unto God, with a serene mind. A heart wicked from of old, cannot become serene' [3]).

More frequent than serenity is the term purity, which is also used in connection with the mirror. Isaac tells how Pachomius had asked from God the gift, that he could do without sleep. ‚Then this gift was granted him, as he had asked, for a long time. And because his heart was pure — the sight of his soul having been purified through vigils and solitude and prayer — he saw God, who is invisible, as in a mirror' [4]). Purity is the necessary condition and at the same time the

1) p. 384 2) p. 251 3) p. 455 4) p. 564

soil for spiritual gifts. ‚When a man has reached purity from the affections, what no eye has seen and no ear has heard what has not entered into the heart of man to ask in prayer, is revealed to him by purity, which ceases not any moment from mysteries and spiritual visions. And what the force of spring is wont to work unto the nature of the earth, this grace works unto the soul by purity' [1]). And ‚it has been said that the things of God come of their own, if there is a pure and undefiled place. That they come of their own, means that it naturally belongs to purity that heavenly light shines in it, without investigation and labour on our part. For in the pure heart, the new heaven is stanped; of which the sight is light and the room is spiritual. As also in another place it is said: As the magnet-stonen has the natural faculty to attract atoms of iron, so has spiritual knowledge [the faculty to attract] the pure heart' [2]).

It need hardly be said that the term ‚the pure in heart' [3]) (Matthew 5, 8) acquires an especially mystical exegesis. When the soul has been purified, its original nature becomes visible; and as this nature is divine, it appears in the divine aspect of serenity; so it enters the state of illumination. This term is frequently found in mystical works, and the mystics themselves are often called the illuminate. ‚As the face of the earth is gladdened by the rays of the sun when the dense atmosphere is torn asunder, so the words of prayer are able to tear away and to remove from the soul the dark cloud of the affections and to gladden and to illuminate the spirit by the rays of joy and consolation, which is born in our deliberations' [4]).

Gradually, by constant purification, concentration, solitude and service, the mystic has reached the third state, that of perfection; the bodily and psychic stages have passed away, and the spirit has become free and monarchic. The spiritual is the element of the mystic; in this sphere divine gifts are granted to him. This however does not induce him to give up his feeling of humility. Humility stands at the beginning of his course; it remains his constant attitude till the end. How highly Isaac estimates humility, may be seen in his beautiful last chapter, which is wholly devoted to it. The spiritual state can also be styled as that of sight; for Isaac, like

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1) p. 519 sq. 2) p. 522 sq. 3) p. 50, 564 4) p. 124 sq.

other mystics [1]), considers true mystic life as one of sight as opposed to hearing, which belongs to a lower state. So it is not amazing that frequent use is made of the term contemplation, which in general means the spiritual attitude of the mind regarding things which its meets, but also denotes the outlook on mystical scalities. ‚Because such men have reached the summit of purity and because at all times their inner emotions are stirring in prayer, — as I have said before — the Spirit, whenever it looks at them, will find them in prayer; and from there it will conduct them by contemplation, which is interpreted spiritual sight' [2]). So high is the value of spiritual contemplation that it is identified with the kingdom of heaven [3]).

That, however, contemplation even extends to cosmic sight, appears from Isaac's sentence: ‚For the Father quickens the soul that has died the death of Christ, in contemplation of all the worlds' [4]). This is not amazing in view of the fact, that the elevation of the mind is often described as a voyage through the Universe [5]).

That contemplation and sight partake of the character of revelation, is taught by the following passage: ‚There is a difference between vision and revelation. The name of revelation covers the two, because it denotes the revealing of a thing that hitherto was hidden and now becomes manifest in any way. But not all that is revelation, is at the same time vision. But what is vision, is also called revelation, because it is a hidden thing which is revealed. But not all that comes to be revealed and known, is vision' [6]).

States of spiritual intensity usually rise during prayer. Prayer has a mighty purifying power, it drives away the cloud of the affections [7]). ‚Therefore, my brother of this thou mayest be sure: that the power of the mind to use the emotions with discernment, has its limit in purity during prayer. When the mind has reached this point, it will either turn backwards, or it will desist from prayer; so prayer is, as it were, a mediator between the psychic and the spiritual state' [8]).

Prayer becomes an occasion for receiving spiritual gifts. ‚What time is so holy and fit for sanctification and the receiving of gifts as the time of prayer, in which man speaks with God?

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1) *Book of the Dove*, Introduction, p. 53 2) p. 260 3) p. 528
4) p. 544 5) See Philo I, 16; *Book of the Dove*, p. 53
6) p. 249 7) p. 124 8) p. 169

At this time man utters his desires unto God, beseeching Him and speaking with Him and his whole emotion and thought are concentrated from all sides upon Him with compulsion; of God alone he thinks and Him alone he supplicates; his whole thought is absorbed in discourse with Him and his heart is full of Him. It is in this state, therefore, that the Holy Ghost joins to the things which man prays some unattainable insights, which it stirs in him in accordance with his aptitude of being moved' [1]).

So prayer may pass into sight. ‚Sometimes from prayer a certain contemplation is born which also makes prayer vanish from the lips. And he to whom this contemplation happens, becomes as a corpse without a soul, by ecstasy. This we call sight during prayer and not an image or form forged by phantasy, as fools say. Also in this contemplation during prayer there are degrees and differences in gifts. But till here there is still prayer. For deliberation has not yet passed into the state where there is no prayer, but rather a state superior to it. For the motions of the tongue and the heart during prayer, are keys. What comes after them, is entering into the treasury. Here then all mouths and tongues are silent, and the heart, the treasurer of the deliberations, the governer of the senses, the daring spirit, that swift bird, and all the subsidiaries and the use which is in them, and the persuasions, have to stand still there: for the master of the house has come'.

‚For as the whole force of the laws and the commandments which God has laid down for mankind, have their term in the purity of the heart, according to the word of the Fathers, so all kinds and habits of prayer with which mankind prays unto God, have their term in pure prayer. Lamentations and selfhumiliations and beseechings and inner supplications and sweet tears and all other habits which prayer possesses — as I have said: their boundary and the domain within which they are set into motion, is pure prayer. As soon as the spirit has crossed the boundary of pure prayer and proceeded onwards, there is neither prayer, nor emotions, nor tears, nor authority, nor freedom, nor beseechings, nor desire, nor longing after any of those things, which are hoped for in this world or in the world to be. Therefore there is no prayer beyond

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1) p. 173 sq.

pure prayer, and all its emotions and habits conduct the spirit thus far by their authority with freedom [1]).

It seems that Isaac uses the term spiritual prayer in nearly the same sense as the term pure prayer. He argues with some fervour, that spiritual prayer cannot be prayed at all, nay that it is blasphemy to say so [2]). Significant for the distinction between prayer and spiritual prayer is Isaac's exposition on p. 519. ‚If a man asks in prayer for deliverance from temptations, rest from struggles, victory over the affections, consolation and so on, and if he asks these things with the right intention and a mournful heart, God will condescend to grant him his wish. ‚As to the mysteries which belong to the spirit, namely the emotions during spiritual prayer, and the entering of the mind behind the curtain of the holy of holies, and the apperception of the indestructible inheritance — if a man does not pay their dues, God is not willing to grant them, even if the whole creation should beseech in behalf of him. Their dues are purity of soul' [3]).

Prayer is one of the favourite subjects of Isaac. It seems (even) that he uses the term, constant prayer' as a designation of the spiritual state. ‚What is the acme of all the labours of asceticism, which a man, when he has reached it, recognises as the summit of his course? When he is deemed worthy of constant prayer. When he has reached this, he has touched the end of all virtues and forthwith he has a spiritual dwelling-place. If a man has not received in truth the gift of the Comforter, it is not possible for him to accomplish constant prayer in quiet. When the spirit takes its dwelling-place in a man, he does not cease to pray, because the spirit will constantly pray in him. Then, neither when he sleeps, nor when he is awake, will prayer be cut off from his soul; but when he eats, and when he drinks, when he lies down, or when he does any work, even when he is immersed in sleep, the perfumes of prayer will breathe in his soul spontaneously. And henceforth he will not possess prayer at limited times, but always; and when he has outward rest, even then prayer is ministered unto him secretly. For the silence of the serene is prayer, says a man clad with Christ' [4]).

Isaac considers the mystic way as one of knowledge, and

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1) p. 165 sq. 2) p. 168 3) p. 519 4) p. 259

his whole system is one of knowledge. But — as is the case with the other mystics of his type — the term knowledge is a kind of disguise. As the whole way is divided in three parts, so knowledge is of three kinds [1]) and reaches its summit in spiritual knowledge. ‚How knowledge is subtilized and acquires spirituality so that it resembles the discipline of those invisible forces, the service of which is not performed by the apperceptible practice of works but by the thoughts of intellect — hear this now. When knowledge elevates itself above earthly things and the thought of service and begins to try its impulses in things hidden from eyesight, and when it partly despises the recollection of [worldly] things from which proceeds the perversion of the affections, and when it stretches itself upwards and clings to faith by the thought of the world to be, and the love of the promises and investigation concerning the hidden things — thên faith swallows knowledge, gives anew birth to it, being wholly spiritual. Then it is able to direct its flight towards non-bodily places and to scrutinize the depths of the unscrutable ocean of wonderful and divine government which directs intelligible and apperceptible beings, and to examine spiritual mysteries which are attained by the simple and subtle intellect. Then the inner senses awake to spiritual service, as the order of things which will be in the state of immortality and incorruptibility. For from here onwards they have received intelligible resurrection, symbolically, as a true sign of that universal renewal.

These are the three degrees of knowledge, in which the whole course of man is contained, that of body, soul and spirit. From the time that a man begins to distinguish between good and evil, till he leaves the world, in these three degrees is contained the knowledge of himself and the accomplishment of all iniquity and wickedness and the summit of all righteousness; and the scrutiny of the depths of all spiritual mysteries is worked by one knowledge in these three degrees' [2]).

Knowledge gives birth to love. ‚The flower of spiritual knowledge is divine love, which has its origin in radiant insights which are found by the spirit during prayer. Love is the fruit of prayer, which, through contemplation arising in it, draws the mind towards a predilection which never becomes satisfied' [3]).

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1) p. 369 sqq. 2) „p. 373 sq. 3) p. 475

‚When he [viz. man] reaches true knowledge by the motion of the apperception of God's mysteries and becomes confirmed in future hope, he is consumed by love. .... Love is the dissolver of temporary life. He that has reached the love of God, does not desire to stay here any more' [1]).

‚What is the perfection of all spiritual fruits? This is when man is deemed worthy of the complete love of God. And how can he that has reached this point, acquire certainty? Every time when the thought of God is stirred in his spirit, the heart will become hot with love at once, the eyes will shed multitudinous tears; for love is accustomed to shed tears at the recollection of the beloved. He that is in this state, will never be found destitute of tears, because he is never without abundant recollection of God, so that even during sleep he speaks with Him. Love is accustomed to practise these things and this is the accomplishment of man in this life' [2]).

This high spiritual state is often described through the image of drunkenness. ‚Then there arises in him that sweetness of God and the flame of His love which burns in the heart and kindles all the affections of body and soul. And this power he will perceive in all the species of the creation and all things which he meets. From time to time he will become drunk by it as by wine; his limbs will relax, his mind will stand still and his heart will follow God as a captive. And so he will be, as I have said, like a man drunk by wine. And according as his inner senses are strengthened, so this sight will be strengthened. And according as he is careful about discipline and watchfulness and applies himself to recitation, so the power of sight will be firm based and bound in him. In truth, my brethren, he that reaches this from time to time, will not remember that he is clad with a body, nor will he know that he is in this world' [3]). And: ‚How is it that the service of hope is so delightful, and its labours so few and its work so easy to the soul? This is because it excites the natural longing in the soul and gives them this cup to drink and makes them drunk. And from this moment they nevermore perceive fatigue but become apathetic against troubles. And during the whole of their course it is to them as if they were moving in the air without bodily motion, without seeing anything of the diffi-

1) p. 430 2) p. 261 sq. 3) p. 337 sq.

culty of the road or the streams and hills that are before them; but rough places become to them smooth and difficult places level, because they always see the bosom of their Father' [1]).

Such states come near to ecstasy which is often described by Isaac. ‚Sometimes from prayer a certain contemplation is born, which also makes prayer vanish from the lips. And he to whom this contemplation happens, becomes as a corpse without soul, by ecstasy. This we call sight during prayer' [2]). Also in other passages there appears to be a close connection between prayer and ecstasy [3]). One of the saints is reported by Isaac to have told him: ‚When I desire to stand performing service, I am allowed to accomplish one marmita (one fifteenth part of the Psalter). Further, even if I remain standing during three days, I am in ecstasy with God; without perceiving fatigue' [4]). And another Father tells this: ‚On one day, such as this in which I was wont to take food (and since four days I had not eaten), when I rose in order to perform evening service and to eat afterwards, I stood in the room of my cell in full sunlight. I perceived only that I began with the marmita which is the beginning of service; but till the next day when the sun rose before me, and the clothes on my body became warm, I did not perceive where I was. As the sun troubled me by burning my face, my mind came back to me and behold, I saw that it was a new day' [5]). And concerning another of the saints it is said that he remained in ecstasy during four days [6]). And it is probably Isaac himself who experienced ecstasy during sleep, caused by his recitation the foreigoing night [7]).

As I have said, the state of unification is very seldom mentioned by Isaac. The passage cited above on p. XXVI refers to the unification in the world to be. ‚The incomprehensible unification' mentioned on p. 169 occurs in a passage borrowed from Dionysius the Areopagite; and ‚union with God', p. 462, is a quotation from Euagrius. It is to be remembered, however, that Isaac very often speaks of the state of transition and forgetting of the world, a state which, if not identical, still bears a strong likeness with that of union.

The mystic, when he has reached the height of spiritual life,

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1) p. 511 sq. 2) p. 164 3) p. 166, 174, 261 4) p. 388
5) p. 389 6) p. 261 7) p. 492. Cf. above p. XXI

has not reached the mystic ideal of spiritual rest. For he remains exposed to changes. They are considered by the mystics in two ways. In themselves they are of an inferior nature [1]).

Isaac has a chapter [2]) with the title: ‚On the many varying states which cling to the mind and are purified by prayer'. And chapter 48 bears the inscription: ‚On the varying states of light and darkness to which the soul is subject at all times, and on the training it acquires in things of the right and of the left hand'. God sends them for the sake of education, and by the mystic they can be used as a criterium of his degree in behaviour [3]).

It is the mystic's fate that, as long as he is in this world, varying states will accompany him. ‚That the whole rational nature is liable to deviation without discrimination, and that varying states pass through every man at all times, the discriminate is able to understand from many [symptoms]; moreover the experiences of every day are wholly sufficient to make him prudent, if he is cautious and keeps to what is his domain. [They also show him] how many varying states of rest and unrest work upon the mind every day, so that it suddenly passes from peace to perturbation without any reason at all and comes into unspeakable danger'..... And, citing Euagrius: ‚There are states of cold, and soon there-after of heat; and perhaps of hail, and soon there-after of serenity. It is thus for our instruction. Strife, then the help of grace. And sometimes the soul runs into storm, and heavy billows assail it; then there comes a different state and it is visited by grace; then joy fills the heart and peace from God and chaste, peaceful deliberations' [4]).

IV

ISAAC'S PLACE IN ORIENTAL THOUGHT

It is not amazing, but only natural, that Isaac will prove to belong to Hellenism in its general sense. After what has been said on the relation between Semitic mysticism and Hellenism in the introduction to the translation of the Book of the Dove, it will only be necessary to define Isaac's place more accu-

1) *Book of the Dove*, Introduction, p. XCV 2) n°. 64
3) Title of chapter 70 4) p. 495 sq.

rately. If it is allowed to anticipate the result of the following enquiry, I may state here already, that two systems of Hellenistic thought have especially influenced Isaac's spiritual attitude: the religious and philosophic school of Alexandria, and the Stoics. Even the form of Isaac's thoughts and, consequently of the present book, bears this Hellenistic stamp. A large part of Isaac's book consists of sentences; again and again he returns to this way of communicating his thoughts, a way already known to the old Greek philosophers but especially trodden by their Hellenistic posterity. One of the chief representatives of the Stoa, Epictetus, has remained popular till to day on account of the sententious character of his *Encheiridion*, a characteristic which seems to suit the Stoic doctrine excellently. As to the Neoplatonists, Porphyry has written a kind of introduction to the doctrine in the form of sentences. In the same way the Neopythagoraeans had their collections of sentences, ascribed to Pythagoras [1]). And Johannes Stobaeus has, as it were, reduced Greek literature to a vast collection of sentences. That Christianity followed these examples appears e.g. from the collection made by the monks Antonius and Maximus in the domain of Christian literature in Greek. Finally the Muslims imitated this method of collecting wisdom in a concise form.

But we have to show the close relationship between Isaac and the two forms of Hellenism mentioned above, for the whole series of ideas which make up Isaac's view of life. The closest relationship will appear to exist between Isaac and Philo. In the second range stand Plotinus and the Stoa.

Apart from any definite ideas, Philo has already an important thing in common with Isaac, viz. his mystic attitude. He is dealing with facts and thought which it is forbidden to communicate to vulgar eyes and ears: *ταῦτα, ὦ μύσται, κεκαθαρμένοι τὰ ὦτα, ὡς ἱερὰ ὄντως μυστήρια ψυχαῖς ταῖς ἑαυτῶν παραδέχεσθε καὶ μηδενὶ τῶν ἀμυήτων ἐκλαλήσατε* [2]). And: *ὅτι κεκρύφθαι δεῖ τὸν ἱερὸν περὶ τοῦ ἀγεννήτου καὶ τῶν δυνάμεων αὐτοῦ μύστην λόγον* [3]). And again he speaks of the *ἀπόρρητα φιλοσοφίας ἀληθοῦς* [4]). And very often he addresses his readers with: *ὦ μύσται* and speaks in terms borrowed from the language of the mysteries [5]). Further

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1) The last edition of the Syriac recension by G. Levi Della Vida (*Rivista Degli Studi Orientali*, III).

2) I 147 [33] 3) I 174 [1] 4) I 655 [1]

5) I 131 [4], 147 [33], 558 [32], 173 [32], 101 [13], 107 [30], 146 [44], 259 [27], 270 [17]; II 19 [14].

Philo, in interpreting the Holy Scriptures, makes conscious use of the allegorical method; the literal sense is to him the form which conceals the mystical sense. This method, as we have seen above, was also applied by Isaac and the Christian mystics in general. How far Philo's influence goes in this domain, appears from a striking example. Speaking of Isaac's allegorical method, we have cited above[1]) his interpretation of the thorns and thistles which the earth produces since man's fall as the affections[2]). This interpretation occurs already in Philo's *Legum Allegoriae*. Commenting on the thorns and thistles he says: *ἀλλὰ τί φύεται καὶ βλαστάνει ἐν ἄφρονος ψυχῇ πλὴν τὰ κεντοῦντα καὶ τιτρώσκοντα αὐτὴν πάθη ἃ διὰ συμβόλων ἀκάνθας κέκληκεν.* It is not necessary that Isaac should have read Philo's works; but, in view of their popularity among the early Christians, it is very probable that portions of them did reach the Syrian's.

There is another general view of the world which Isaac has in common with Philo, but which is not Philo's property in particular, viz. Platonic dualism. ‚Every apperceptible thing' says Isaac[3]), ‚fact or word, is the appearance of that which is hidden within'. And the terms apperceptible (ܡܬܚܙܐ ܕܒܪܝܬܐ) and intelligible (ܡܬܡܠܠ ܕܒܪܝܬܐ) are among the commonest in Isaac's treatises; they occur as frequently in Philo's works, where also the *κόσμος νοητός* and the *κόσμος αἰσθητός* are mentioned[4]). It is worth while to observe here that it is already Philo who maintains that apperceptible things have no reality: . . *τὰ αἰσθητὰ πάντα ὡς [μὴ] τὰ πρὸς ἀλήθειαν ὄντα*[5]), a doctrine which is also held by our Christian and Muslim mystics who compare this world with a mirror which reflects the only reality, God ‚the Being, the Essence (ܡܪܝܐ, ܡܪܝܐܝܬܐ, *ὁ ὄντως ὤν*[6]), *ὁ πρὸς ἀλήθειαν ὤν*[7]). In reality the system is monistic. Philo, as regards dualism, proves a true Platonist. ‚When the mind elevates itself and becomes initiated in the Lord's mysteries, it thinks the body something evil and hostile'[8]). And he even with Plato calls the body a dungeon[9]).

We have seen, that according to Isaac and his fellow-mystics the soul is of a divine nature. This doctrine was familiar to the Platonic school, as well as to the Stoa. It is shared by

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1) p. XXV 2) Syriac text p. 204 3) p. 175
4) I 419, 424, 619, 648; II 490 5) I 482[49] 6) II 19[26]
7) II 22[3] 8) I 101[13] 9) I 485[2]

Philo (θεία ψυχή [1]). In his commentary on the story of the creation, he comes across the statement that man was created as God's image. It can hardly be doubted that the old narrator referred this to man's bodily stature. Philo, on the other hand, argues that this is impossible, for God is incorporeal; the real image of God is the human soul: ἡ δ' εἰκὼν λέλεκται κατὰ τὸν τῆς ψυχῆς ἡγεμόνα νοῦν [2]).

Exactly the same argument is in Isaac's book. ‚We believe this, that God has not made His image of affectable nature. His image I do not call the body, but the soul, which is invisible. In every image the likeness of the archetype is expressed' [3]). The last sentence is almost literally in Philo: τῆς ἀνθρώπου ψυχῆς κατὰ τὸν ἀρχέτυπον τοῦ αἰτίου λόγου ἀπεικονισθείσης [4]).

But this divine soul dwells in the body and is connected with it. It has to be purified. Isaac's whole scheme of the way of the mystic, which was expounded above, is already in Philo and the Neoplatonists. Purification consists chiefly in purifying away the affections. God's spirit does not dwell with man in his vulgar state, the affections have to be banished first: φαίνεται δ' οὐ πανταχοῦ ὁ λόγος οὗτος ἀλλ' ἐπ' ἐρήμου παθῶν καὶ κακιῶν [5]). They have to be purged away: ἀνακαθάραι τὸ πάθος [6]). Isaac compares the affections with dogs lapping up blood at the butcher's [7]), Philo with beasts and birds: θηρίοις δὲ καὶ πτηνοῖς ἀπεικάζει τὰ πάθη [8]). Apathy is the ideal of Philo as well as of Isaac: ἐὰν γὰρ ἀπάθεια κατάσχῃ τὴν ψυχὴν τελέως εὐδαιμονήσει [9]).

It is well known that Stoic philosophy condemns the affections in an equally emphatic way.

Still Isaac avows that the affections are destined to be auxiliaries. ‚All existing affections are given to be a help to each of the natures to which they naturally belong and for the growth of which they were given by God. The bodily affections are placed by God in the body for the sake of the profit and the growth of the body; and the psychic affections, i.e. the psychic powers for the sake of the growth and the profit of the soul' [10]). Exactly the same theory is expounded by Philo. He argues that the senses are auxiliaries (βοηθός, ܡܣܝܥܢܐ); and that even the four real affections: voluptuousness, desire, sorrow

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1) I 156 [6]
2) I 16 [1]
3) p. 21[apu] Cf. 126, 169.
4) I 332 [37]
5) I 120 [37]
6) I 72 [15]
7) p. 481
8) I 68 [42]
9) I 85
10) p. 25

and fear, have their utility by which they ‚help' the soul [1]).

Isaac has elaborately treated the question concerning the nature of the affections [2]). The result is that they naturally belong to the body; but that there is such a close union between body and soul that the latter, though not naturally a a receptacle of affections, participates in them, so that both ‚affections of the body' and ‚affections of the soul' are frequent expressions in Isaac's work.

The question is an old one, as Isaac says himself (p. 21). It has been treated at length by Plotinus in the opening chapters of the Enneades. He has answered it in the same sense as Isaac. He argues that the soul is a being of its own and, for this reason, not subject to the affections of the body. Still, the soul being the body's vivifying partner, there is an influence of the latter on the former; not a direct one, however, but through a kind of medium of a composite nature.

It has been said above [3]) that Isaac assigns to the soul a middle position between the body and the spirit, and consequently, considers it as being of an ambiguous nature. It is again Philo who has expressed the same view: *δυοῖν δ' ὄντων ἐξ ὧν ἡ ἡμετέρα ψυχὴ συνέστη, λογικοῦ τε καὶ ἀλόγου* [4]). And Plotinus thinks it the soul's duty to strip off the bonds which tie it to matter, and to elevate itself unto the spiritual state: *ἡ μὲν οὖν τελεία καὶ πρὸς νοῦν νεύουσα ψυχὴ ἀεὶ καθαρὰ καὶ ὕλην ἀπέστραπται* [5]).

It has been pointed out above [6]) that Isaac is an adherent of the theory of free will and of its consequence, that is man's capability of abberration. If in this point he is in accord with the main current of early Christianity, it is not to be forgotten that the church itself stands on the basis of Hellenism. Philo speaks of *ἐλευθερία παντελὴς ψυχῆς* [7]) and calls those who love God the highest kings [8]). And some of the Stoics [9]) as well as Plotinus [10]) and his school [11]) defend the same view.

Isaac's term ܫܘܬܦܝܐ betrays its technical character. As a matter of fact the corresponding idea was known to Philo already: *ἔστι μὲν οὖν Λὼτ ἑρμηνευθεῖς ἀπόκλισις. Κλίνεται δὲ ὁ νοῦς,*

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1) I, 67 sq. 2) p. 21 sqq. 3) p. XXX sq.
4) II, 241[27] 5) *Enneades*, I, 8 § 4
6) p. XXXII sqq. 7) I, 534[43]
8) II, 452[4] 9) Epictetus *Sententiae* IX; *Diatribae* I, 1
10) *Enneades* VI, 8 § 1 sqq.; III, 1 § 9 sq.; III, 3 § 3 sqq.
11) Zeller, *Die Philosophie der Griechen*[4], III, 2, p. 769

τότε μὲν τἀγαθὸν τότε δ'αὐ τὸ κακὸν ἀποστρεφόμενος [1]). Epictetus [2]) uses the term τὴν δύναμιν ἐκκλιτικήν; Proclus was well acqainted with the idea: Animâ igitur habente in substantiâ eam quae ad ambo inclinationem, τὸ bene dico et τὸ male [3]).

How strongly Isaac is dependent upon his Hellenistic teachers, appears also from his doctrine of freedom in connection with the world's course. As it was pointed out above, he distinguishes between those things which lie within our grasp, which belong to the mind's customary domain, and those which come from without and are fortuitous. This is the theory of the Stoics; Epictetus' Manual begins with the theory of τὰ ἐφ' ἡμῖν καὶ τὰ οὐκ ἐφ' ἡμῖν.

Isaac and his teachers, though leaving some room to accidental things, still acknowledge Providence as the power which dominates this world. ‚There are no accidents happening by chance; by chance there happens nothing to man, neither good, nor evil; there is a Governor who governs the things of this world' [4]) etc. The idea of Providence is Hellenistic indeed [5]) and the Syrians even have borrowed the Greek term (ܩܘܡܝܢܐ).

Mysticism in Western Asia is the offspring of asceticism, which is often considered as being essentially Christian. Our growing knowledge of Hellenism has shown, however, that this view is not true, but that in large circles of the Hellenistic world, asceticism was the preferred attitude of life. In this respect Stoicism, Pythagorism, and Neoplatonism went hand in hand. In connection with the close parallelism between Isaac's view of life and that of Philo, it is worth while to draw attention to the latter's asceticism. Those who follow Abraham's migration τάς τε γὰρ ὄψεις καταμύουσι, καὶ τὰ ὦτα ἐπιφράττουσι, καὶ τᾶς τῶν ἄλλων ἐπέχουσιν ὁρμὰς καὶ ἐν ἐρημίᾳ καὶ σκότῳ διατρίβειν ἀξιοῦσιν, ὡς μὴ πρός τινος αἰσθητοῦ τὸ ψυχῆς ὄμμα ᾧ νοητὰ βλέπειν ἔδωκεν ὁ θεός, ἐπισκιασθῇ [6]).

We have seen above [7]) that according to Isaac man's spiritual part has to live at the expense of his body. This is Philo's theory too: ζῶμεν τὸν ἐκείνων θάνατον, τεθνήκαμεν δὲ τὸν ἐκείνων βίον is one of Herakleitos' sentences, which Philo interprets in this

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1) I, 459[5] 2) *Diatribae* I, 1
3) ed. Cousin I, p. 68 4) p. 176
5) Epictetus, *Diatribae* I, cap. 6, 14, 16; III, cap. 17: *Enneads* III, 2 § 3; III, 3 § 2; Proclus, ed. Creuzer § CXX. Philo, ed. Aucher, *De Providentia.*
6) I, 466[20] sqq. 7) p. 32 sq.

sense that he soul's life is the body's death [1]). And is it not Philo who has erected a monument to asceticism in his *De vita contemplativa?*

This expression ‚death of the soul' which so often occurs in Isaac's treatises will remind Christian readers of the metaphorical use of the term death so familiar to them from the New Testament. It is again to be accentuated that the idea is not especially Christian, but Hellenistic. Philo repeatedly speaks of the death of the soul [2]). And Plotinus was well acquainted with the idea: *καὶ ὁ θάνατος αὐτῇ, καὶ ἔτι ἐν τῷ σώματι βεβαπτισμένῃ, ἐν ὕλῃ ἐστὶ καταδῦναι καὶ πλησθῆναι αὐτῆς καὶ ἐξελθουσῃ ἐκεῖ κεῖσθαι ἕως ἀναθράμῃ καὶ ἀφέλῃ πως τὴν ὄψιν ἐκ τοῦ βορβόρου καὶ τοῦτο ἐστὶ τὸ ἐν ᾅδου ἐλθόντα ἐπικαταδαρθεῖν* [3]).

Consequently just as in Isaac, the soul has to vanquish the affections and its own inferior part; it has to overcome matter; it has to be purified [4]) [in order to elevate itself unto God, who is light, and to participate of this light: *ὅτι ἡ ἀσκητικὴ διάνοια .... ταῖς ἀρχετύποις καὶ ἀσωμάτοις ἀκτῖσι τῆς λογικῆς πηγῆς τοῦ τελεσφόρου θεοῦ περιλάμπεται* [5]).

Here mystical knowledge is compared to sight: *ὁ στέφανός ἐστιν ὅρασις θεοῦ* [6]).

And both Philo and Isaac choose the term sight in order to express [a spiritual reality of deeper in tensity than that which the term audition conveys. Higher faith, says Isaac [7]), ‚is called faith of sight. Sight is more true than audition'. Philo connects this transition from audition to sight with the change of Jacob's name into that of Israel. For, according to him, Israel means sight of God. So this name denotes Jacob's new visual state as being elevated above his auditive state which is symbolized by his old name Jacob for *πιστοτέρα γὰρ ὄψις ὤτων* [8]).

In many passages of his works Philo describes this highest spiritual state in the form of ecstasy: *ἐνθουσιώσης γὰρ καὶ οὐκ ἔτι οὔσης ἐν ἑαυτῇ διανοίας, ἀλλ' ἔρωτι οὐρανίῳ σεσοβημένης καὶ ἐκμεμηνένας καὶ ἄνω πρὸς αὐτὸν εἱλκυσμένης ....* [9]).

And it is remarkable that the other symbolical denomination of this highest state, the image of drunkenness which is so

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1) I, 65[21] 2) I, 205[13], 239[12], 315[36], 410[15] 3) *Enneades* I, 8 § 13
4) I, 339[20], 647[33], 402[5], 145[1], 158[27] 5) I, 638[11] 6) II, 412[38]
7) p. 320 8) I, 369[13] 9) I, 482[40]. Cf. I, 510[16], 511[17], 554[21]

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often used by Isaac [1]), is also one of the most beloved expressions in Philo: θεία μέθη [2]), νήφουσα μέθη [3]), μέθη νηφάλιος [4]).

I think these examples are of a nature to show that the frame of Isaac's thoughts is that of Alexandrian philosophy as it is already embodied in Philo. For further details I may refer the reader to the notes to the translation.

Now that we have tried to define Isaac's relation to Hellenism in its strict sense, we have to say a few words concerning his relation to Syriac mystics. Very little however can be said here, for the simple reason that very little concerning Syriac mysticism is known to us. Of Eastern Syriac mysticism Isaac himself is the chief representative. Of Western Syriac mysticism the great source, the Book of Hierotheos, is still unedited. It would be surprising, if Isaac had not known this work. The few specimens of it which Frothingham published, evoke the surmise of acquaintance on Isaac's part. Certainty is hardly to be reached here.

Isaac has a remarkable passage describing how the initiated mind acts as new creator. [First he will free this whole world] from its state, so that it is reduced to nothing, analogous to the first state of the body. Then he will elevate himself intellectually beyond the beginnings of the creation of the world, when there was no creation nor anything, no heaven, no earth, no angels, nor any of the created things. Then of a sudden he will bring all things into existence [5]) etc.

Compare with this Frothingham's translation on p. 109 of his book: It [6]) will then begin, by a new and holy brooding, to create a new world, and will create a new man in its image imageless, and according to its likeness likenessless. It will mete out heaven with its span and will measure the dust of the earth with its measure: it will number the drops of the sea and weigh the mountains in a scale" etc.

The parallelism is striking enough.

Isaac, in several passages, speaks of an esoteric crucifixion. ‚And as one who is destined to suffer crucifixion, he accepts the thought of death, and goes forth, as one who does not think that he has any further share in this life' [7]).

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1) Cf. Register s. v. Drunkenness
2) I 103 32
3) I 60 31
4) I 16 22
5) p. 256
6) the mind
7) p. 232; cf. also p. 223

In his chapter on the ascent of the mind, Hierotheos speaks on the cross in this way[1]): Then proceeding on its way, it reaches the holy place of the Cross: here it understands that it is to endure its passion and suffer crucifixion, in the same manner that Christ suffered; for unless the mind undergoes all that Christ suffered it cannot be perfected.

Perhaps there is also dependency or Isaac's part in the following passage: ‚Everything that is above another one is concealed from what is beneath it'[2]), as compared with Hierotheos[3]): ‚Every intelligent nature is determined, known and comprehended by the essense which is above it, and determines, knows and comprehends the essence which is below it'.

I seems hardly allowed to increase the number of juxtapositions, because of our fragmentary knowledge of the Book of Hierotheos.

That Isaac was acquainted with the works of Dionysius the Areopagite, appears from his citation (p. 169). It appears also from the passage on p. 187, where the name of Dionysius, however, is not mentioned. I give the translated texts in juxtaposition.

Dionysius (De Coel. Hier. VI, VII).	Isaac
All heavenly beings are named by theology with nine distinct designations. These our divine initiator divides into three tripartite subdivisions.	All heavenly beings are named by the divine instruction with nine designations. It divides these three classes each into three subdivisions.
. . . . .	
. . . . .	
He says that, according to the divine scriptures, the most holy thrones, and the Cherubim with many eyes and the Seraphim with many wings (as they are called in Hebrew) occupy the place nearest to God.	The first comprises thrones, exalted, high and holy; and Cherubs with many eyes; and Seraphs with many wings.
. . . . .	
. . . . .	

1) p. 99 2) p. 182 3) Frothinghamp, p. 92

The second division, he says, comprises powers and lords and magistrates. The third, which comprises the lowest hierarchic class of heavenly beings, consists of angels, archangels and princes.	The [second] tripartite class [comprises] lords and powers and magistrates.
. . . . .	The third: princes and archangels and angels.
. . . . .	
According to those who know Hebrew the name of Seraphim means those who cause fire or heat; Cherubim, those who possess fulness of knowledge, or effusion of wisdom.	According to the meaning of the Hebrew, these terms are to be interpreted thus: Seraphs means those who cause heat and fire. Cherubs means magnitude of knowledge and effusion of wisdom.

It is clear that here Isaac's acquaintance with the works of Dionysius has taken the form of a free citation. And the further explanation of the designations of heavenly beings which Isaac gives, also shows his dependency upon the rest of Dionysius' seventh chapter.

Finally we have to consider Isaac in his relation to Muslim mystics. The general concordance between Isaac and mystics of the type of Ghazālī may appear from the present translation. Here some special points only have to be discussed, which in Muslim mysticism are considered as foreign elements, though their origin is not known. The oldest Muslim mysticism is acquainted with the ahl al-malāma, people who reckon disdain as honour and who consequently do not shun the blame of definite faults or crimes being laid to their charge. It appears that Syriac mystics were already acquainted with this spiritual attitude and that in Isaac's days it possessed the reputation of being old. It appears also that the technical term malāma was as such translated from Syriac ܫܘܠܡܐ.

Isaac himself tells us that, when he was young, he felt inclined to follow such practices. When he visited one of the solitaries he said to him that he wished to eat bread in the galery of the Church on Sunday morning. ‚Then every visitor will see and despise me'. But the solitary dissuades him, saying

among other things: ‚The ancient fathers could do such things because of the signs and the forces which were wrought through them and because of the great name and fame they possessed. These things they practised, each of them in order to be despised and blamed, and to obscure the fame of his behaviour and to keep far from him the cause of haughtiness'[1]). As it is shown by this quotation, it is not only the practice but also the motive which is identical with that of the all al-malāma.

P. 76 sq. have very characteristic sayings about ܡܚܠܦܘܬܐ. ‚Be despised and rejected in thy own eyes, then thou wilt behold the glory of God within thyself'. ‚Learn to be disdained while being full of the honour of the Lord, not to be honoured while being injured by ulcers within. Reject honour, then thou wilt be honoured. Do not love it, lest thou be rejected'. ‚If thou givest thyself to disdain in order to be honoured, the Lord will confound thee. If thou rejectest thyself for the sake of truth, He will command the creatures to praise thee'.

And finally: ‚ܡܚܠܦܘܬܐ with discernment is followed by freedom from everything and by disregard of life and by love of men'[2]). I think these quotations are sufficient to show that the attitude of the ahl al-malāma was not original, but taken over from Christian mystics.

One of the terms which appears in the old Ṣūfī works like al-Ḳushairī's letter, is al-asbāb ‚the means'. It appears at once as a technical term, and we have no occasion to observe its growth from its usual significance in this direction. This fact is explained by its being a translation; it is Isaac's terminology which indicates where al-asbāb as a technical term takes its origin: it is a translation of ܐܡܨܥܬܐ which has exactly the same meaning ‚the means' and is used to denote the same idea, viz. earthly help and instruments as opposed to providential care and human confidence in it. I shall give some characteristic passages from Isaac. ‚If it be true to thee and thou believest that God has care for thee, thou hast not to think of the body, nor should it be thy care to govern thyself by means of the ܐܡܨܥܬܐ'[3]).

It is especially chapter LI which speaks about ܐܡܨܥܬܐ in such a way as to make clear the full meaning of the term. ‚The soul that once, on account of faith, has entrusted itself

1) p. 142 2) p. 356 3) p. 67

unto God and, under many temptations, has received the taste of faith's help, does not any longer think of itself, but is made speechless by ecstasy and silence, without being allowed to return unto the means of its knowledge or to make use of them'[1]) etc. And: ‚Never will he that seeks refuge with faith, use ܡܗܝܡܢܘܬܐ'[2]).

The idea is connected with that of confidence (ܒܛܚܢܐ). A survey of the many passages in which Isaac speaks of it (see the Register s. v. Trust) will easily show to what extent this subject is covered by the توكّل of the ṣūfī's.

But, as I have said above, it is not only in these special points, it is in his whole set of ideas that Isaac appears to be one of those Christian thinkers such as have determined the general character of ṣūfism. In this respect he has one of the first places in the history of ṣūfism.

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1) p. 360 2) p. 364. Cf. also p. 361, 362, 365, 370

SIX TREATISES ON THE BEHAVIOUR OF EXCELLENCE [1])

I

The fear of God is the foundation of excellence; for excellence is said to be the offspring of faith. It is sown in a man's heart, when he allows his mind to confine the wandering impulses to continual meditation on the order of things to come, away from the distractions of the world. As to the foundation of
2 excellence, the first among its peculiar elements is the concentration of the self, by freeing it from practical things, upon the enlightened word of the straight and holy ways, the word that by the inspired Psalmist is called the teacher.

There is scarcely to be found a man who is able to bear honours, or possibly such an one exists not; because man is very prone to err, even if he be an angel in his way.

The foundation of the way of life consists in accustoming the mind to the words of God and the practice of patience. For the draught provided by the former is helpful towards acquiring perfection in the latter; and, further, increased development towards accomplishment in the latter, will cause a heightened desire of the former. And the help provided by both of them will quickly bring about the rise of the whole building.

No one is able to come near to God save only he who is far from the world. For I do not call separation the departure from the body, but from the bodily things.

Excellence consists therein that a man in his mind be a void as regards the world. As long as the senses are occupied with [outward] things, it is not possible for the heart to rest from

1) Title taken from the end of VI on p. 99. All reference applies to the pages of Bedjan's text.

imagining them. Nor do the affections cease, nor evil thoughts end except in the desert and the wilderness.

While the soul has not yet become drunk by the faith in God, in that it has received an impression of its powers, the weakness of the senses cannot be healed and it is not able to tread down with force visible matter which is a screen before what is within and not perceived [by the senses].

3 Reason is the cause of freedom[1]) and the fruit of both liability to err. Without the first, the second cannot be. And where the second fails, there is the third bound as it were with halters.

When grace is abundant in man, then the fear of death is despised on account of the love of righteousness. He finds many arguments in his soul [proving] that it is becoming to bear troubles for the sake of the fear of God. And those things which are supposed to injure the body, and to repel nature injustly, which consequently are of a nature to cause suffering, are reckoned in his eye as nothing in comparison with what is expected to be. And his mind convinces him firmly of the fact that it is not possible to recognize truth without gaining experience of the affections, and that God bestows great care upon man, and that he is not abandoned to chance. Especially those who are trained in praying unto Him and who bear suffering for His sake, see [these truths] clearly [as if painted] in colours. But when little faith takes root in our heart, then all these things are felt as contrary, not as serving for testing us.

And that we are not always successful in trusting in God, and that God does not care for thee as it is supposed, is often insinuated by those who lay ambushes and shoot their arrows in the darkness.

The foundation of man's true life, is the fear of God. And this does not consent to dwell in the soul as long as there
4 exists the distraction of [outward] things. For the heart, by the service of the senses, is turned away from the delight in God.

The inward impulses are bound up in their sensible faculty with the senses administering to them.

The doubt of the heart introduces fear into the soul. But faith is able to make manly the mind, even under the cutting off of the limbs. As long as the love of the body is strong in thee, thou art not able to be courageous and without fear

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1) This term has nearly always the meaning of free will. Cf. Introduction.

because of the many adversaries that are constantly present in the neighbourhood of him who is loved.

If any one is fond of honour, he cannot be without causes of distress.

There is no man, whose mind suffers not likewise a change with things, in whatever respect it may be.

If there is a second apperception of the senses, which generates and gives birth to desire, as Euagrius says, then those who dwell in doubt must keep silence, promising to preserve their mind in peace.

Not that one is chaste from whom evil impulses that intended to combat him, are withheld, but he whose uprightness of heart renders chaste the gaze of his mind, so that he does not audaciously enter upon lascivious thoughts; and the saintliness of his heart is testified by the gaze of his pupils, which are guarded faithfully, so that bashfulness screens, like a curtain, the hidden place of his thoughts. So that his purity [1]), like that of a chaste virgin, is faithfully guarded for Christ.

There is nothing so apt to banish lascivious customs from the soul, and to restrain inciting memories which quicken the wild flames in the body, as burning for the love of teachings, and prosecuting investigations concerning the meaning of the words of the scriptures.

When the impulses are immersed in delight, after [having tasted] the wisdom contained in the [divine] words, by means of the faculty that absorbs information from them, then every man will leave the body behind him. Forgetting the world and all that is in it, he will also banish from his soul all recollections on which are based the images of the material world. And often the soul in its thoughts during ecstasy will desist from the use of the wonted deliberations — natural practice — by reason of the novel [experiences] which reach it from the sea of their mysteries.

Even when the mind is floating on its upper waters, without being able to make its impulses deep as the depth of the waters (so that it can see all the treasures in its abysses) — still meditation, by its [power of] love, will have sufficient force to bind the thoughts firmly together with thoughts of ecstasy so that they are checked from thinking of and running after

1) Reading ܡܕܒܪܢܘܬ in stead of ܡܕܒܪܢܘܬ

the nature of the body. As one of those, who are clad with God says: "Because the heart is weak, it is not able to bear the evil influences that reach it from without, nor the struggle within. For you know, that the evil thoughts of the body are strong. And if the heart is not accustomed to teachings, it is not possible to bear the troubled thoughts of the body.

As the heaviness of the weight [impedes] the quick swaying too and froo of the tongue of the balance in the wild winds, so bashfulness and fear [impede] the aberration of the mind. And that which is an indication of deficiency in the former, is also a [sign] of the dominion of freedom [1]) in the latter.
6 Just as in that case any additional decrease is the cause of the scales swaying too and froo with greater ease, having no solid foundation, so in this case, by the abolition of fear from the soul on account of freedom, the balance of the mind is able to turn aside quickly. So the faculty of emotion comes in the consequence of freedom; and inconstancy of the mind is the consequence of the faculty of aberration [2]). Be wise enough to lay a foundation for thy course in the way of God; in a few days it will bring thee before the gate of the Kingdom, without windings in the way [3]).

Do not in the way of those who are educated by teachers look at the words which in the way of test, are intended to elevate thy behaviour, in order that thy soul may be elevated by the height of sight that is in them. Distinguish the purport of the word in all the stories thou findest in the scriptures; so thou wilt be able to make thy soul deep so that it may dwell with the great wisdom that is in the writings of enlightened men.

Those who, by grace, are directed in their behaviour towards illumination, perceive constantly as it were an intelligible ray running between the words [of the scriptures]. This ray distinguishes for the mind the simple speech from those things that are said in spiritual loftiness in order to expand the soul.

He who simply reads lofty words, his heart will also remain simple and devoid of the holy power, that imparts to the heart a sweet taste by the meanings that stupefy the soul.
7 All things are accustomed to move towards that which is

1) Cf. p. 2 note 1.

2) Cf. Introduction.

3) Cf. *Book of the Dove*, Sentence 85: "Every serene soul seeks its original country, and directs itself towards it on the straight way, which is the nearest". And the inscription of chapter XVII: On the short paths to God.

akin [to them]. And the soul that possesses something of the spirit, on hearing anything wherein a spiritual force is hidden, fervently embraces that which it hears; and yet a tale that is told spiritually and wherein a great force is hidden, is not able to arouse every one unto admiration.

A word concerning excellence requires a heart free from the earth and earthly occupations.

If a man's mind is beset with care for transitory things, tales concerning excellence will not incite his thought to the desiring of its possession.

Solution from matter precedes the bonds in God [1]). And though, as if by Providence of Grace, in some people the latter precede the former, so that love covers love, in the usual order of Providence the common sequence is otherwise. So thou hast to keep the common order. If Grace in thee comes first, it is for its own sake. If it does not, then, along the way that every man goes by tradition, ascend the spiritual tower.

Everything which is mentally performed and the commandment of which is fulfilled thus also, is entirely invisible to the eyes of the flesh; whereas every thing which is performed in practice, is wholly of a composite nature. For it is only one commandment that necessitates these two, viz. theory and performance. Because corporeity and non-corporeity and the adap-
8 tation of the two belong to all. Therefore the enlightened intellect — as has been ordered formerly by the blessed Moses — understands in a twofold way the commandment [lying at the bottom of theory and practice]: the simple as well as the complex is understood.

Works performed carefully by the pure, do not remove the impression of the recollection of previous reprehensible things; but they abolish in the mind the painful nature of recollection, so that what has passed through the mind often enough, now becomes something excellent.

The longing of the soul for the acquiring of excellence vanquishes the desire of its partner [2]) for visible things.

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1) Cf. beneath p. 40 and Basilius: *Λουσθῆναι δεῖ τὸν δεσμὸν τῆς προσπαθείας τοῦ βίου τὸν ἀληθινῶς τῷ θεῷ ἀκολουθῆσαι μέλλοντα* (Antonius et Maximus, p. 22). And Philo I 380 39: *δεσμὰ μὲν οἷς πρότερον ἐσφίγγετο ἃ περιῆψαν αἱ τοῦ θνητοῦ βίου κεναὶ σπουδαὶ, πάντα λύσας . . . πρὸς τὴν τοῦ ἀγεννήτου παγκάλην καὶ ἀοίδιμον θέαν ἐπειχθῆναι.* — Plotinus, *Enneades* IV, 8, § 1 points to the Platonic origin of the comparison, and uses it himself § 4, speaking of the soul: *ἐπιστραφεῖσα δὲ πρὸς νόησιν λύεσθαί τε ἐκ τῶν δεσμῶν, καὶ ἀναβαίνειν . . . .*

2) the body

All things have their mean. Lacking that, even those things the use of which is apt to help, may turn aside and become harmful without meeting any obstacle.

If thou wishest to have mental communion with God, by acquiring the impression of that delight that is not subject to the senses, then cling to mercy. For the holy beauty is formed by that element within thee, which resembles mercy [1]). And all the practices of mercy bring the soul, immediately, into communion with the unique splendour of the divine glory [2]).

Spiritual unification is a perpetual recollection, that is vivid in the heart without variation, with burning love. By constancy
9 in clinging to the commandments, it acquires the force to remain in union; and there is found, in a way neither secondary nor natural, matter for spiritual vision, in which the soul may confide absolutely. So a man is drawn towards ecstasy by the closing of the two classes of senses: those of the flesh and those of the soul. There is no other way towards spiritual love which is modeller of invisible images, than to begin in the first place with mercy in accordance with the word of our Lord who commands it to those who obey him, in connection with the perfection of the Father, the foundation.

Very different is the word of practice from words of beauty. Even without experience wisdom knows how to adorn its words and to speak the truth even without having any acquaintance with it, and to express itself concerning excellence without any experience of [practical] performance. A word proceeding from practice, is a treasure to confide in. But idle wisdom is a pawn causing shame; it is as when an artist paints water on walls, without being able to quench his thirst by it; or as a man who dreams beautiful dreams.

He who from practical experience speaks about excellence, brings the word to his hearers as it were from the capital won by his own commerce; and, as from the stock of his soul, sows his teachings in the ears of his audience. He opens his mouth freely before his spiritual sons, in the manner of old Jacob before chaste Joseph, [saying]: I have given thee one portion above thy brethren, which I took out of the hand of the Amorite with my sword and with my bow [3]).

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1) Reading ܕܚܠ instead of ܕܠ.
2) Cf. Chapter LXXXI.
3) Genesis 48, 22.

10 So every man whose behaviour is stained, will love temporal life; so will also he who falls short of knowledge. Some one has well said: The fear of death distresses a fleshly man. But he who has a good witness in himself, will desire it as life.

Do not reckon as a truly wise man that one whose mind is subject to fear on account of temporal life.

All good and evil things which befall the body have all of them, to be reckoned by thee as dreams, which thou canst escape from not only by death, but which often leave thee even before death and disappear.

If thy soul is bound to some of them, then estimate them as thy possession for ever, accompanying thee also in the world to be. If they are beautiful, then rejoice and thank God in thy mind. If they are evil, then be sorry and sigh and seek to be delivered from them while being in the body. If any good is done to thee, open or concealed, then be sure that thy mediators concerning it have been baptism and faith, by which thou wert called in Jesus Christ unto good works; to whom and to the Father and to the Holy Ghost belong praise, honour and adoration, now and always and for ever and ever. Amen.

II

11 Gratefulness on the part of the recipient spurs on the giver to bestow gifts larger than before. He who embezzles petty things is also false and fraudulent concerning things of importance.

The sick one who is acquainted with his sickness is easily to be cured; and he who confesses his pain is near to health.

Many are the pains of the hard heart; and when the sick one resists the physician, his torments will be augmented.

There is no sin which cannot be pardoned except that one which lacks repentance, and there is no gift which is not augmented save that which remains without acknowledgement. For the portion of the fool is small in his eyes.

Think constantly of those who are superior to thee in excellence, so thou mayest see thyself at all times as being less than they are. And be aware at all times of the heavy troubles of those whose vexations are difficult and serious, so that thou mayest become grateful for the small ones found with thyself and thou mayest be able to bear them with joy.

When thou art in a state of subjection and languid and dejected, and thou art bound and fettered before thy foe in mournful wretchedness and laborious service of sin, then recall to thy mind the previous times of firmness: how thou shewest painstaking even concerning small things and how thou wert moved with zeal against the obstructors in thy course: how
12 thou utteredst sighs on account of the small things which were despised by thee as accidental and thy whole person was winding a wreath of victory over these things. Then, by these and similar recollections, thy soul will be aroused as from the depth, and be clad with the flame of zeal; and it will rise from its immersion as if from the dead, and stretch itself and return to its former state, in hot strife against Satan and sin.

Recollect the fall of the strong, that thou mayest remain humble under thy virtues. And think of the heavy sins of those who fell and repented; and of the praise and honour they received afterwards, so that thou mayest acquire courage during thy repentance.

Be a persecutor of thy self; then thy foe will be driven away from thee.

Be on peaceful terms with thy soul; then heaven and earth will be on peaceful terms with thee. Be zealous to enter the treasury within thee; then thou wilt see that which is in heaven. For the former and the latter are one, and entering thou wilt see both. The ladder unto the Kingdom is hidden within thee and within thy soul. Dive into thyself [freed] from sin; there thou wilt find steps along which thou canst ascend.

What the things of the world-to-be are, the scriptures do not explain. How we may acquire the faculty to perceive their delight even now, without change of nature or local transition, they teach us plainly.

Though they call these things by beloved names of glorious things which are delightful and esteemed by us, in order to spur us on, still by saying that the eye has not seen, nor
13 the ear heard [1]) and so on, they show us that the things-to-be are not equal to any of the present things, by their being incomprehensible. They have to be reckoned by us as giving us even now spiritual delight, not the enjoyment of those things in themselves, such as are found outside the being of the

1) 1 Cor. 2, 9.

receivers and promised us for the future state. Otherwise "The Kingdom of God is within you" [1]) and "Thy Kingdom come" [2]) would teach us that we possess within us a pledge of the delight which is in those things. For it is necessary that there be a resemblance between these and the pledge, partial for the present though it be, yet to be complete in the future. Again the word "as through a glass" [3]) shows us the comparability anyhow, even if they are not one in essence. If now, according to the trustworthy testimonies of the commentators of the scriptures, this is due to an intelligible influence of the Holy Ghost, and is a part of that total one, then — apart from the spiritual influence that by intelligible apprehension forms a communication between the Holy Ghost and those who are influenced — the delight of the saints in the world is not occasioned by any sensible mediator, be it senses or sense-organs, save only the wombs which contain all in defined order, which we may call the profusion of light, though not the intelligible profusion.

A friend of excellence is not he, who zealously practices beautiful things, but who gladly accepts the evil things adhering to him. Patiently to bear troubles for the sake of excellence, is not so great as this that through the determination of the good will, the mind be not confused by the allurements of exciting things.

For repentance which comes after the taking away of freedom,
14 never can be a source of joy nor can it be reckoned as a redemption of those who rue.

Protect the sinner without doing him wrong. But strengthen his courage for life; then the mercy of the Lord will bear thee [4]).

Support with thy word the weak and the distressed in spirit whenever thou canst; then the hand that bears the universe will support thee. Participate with those who are suffering in heart, in passionate prayer and mourning of the heart; then before thy demand a fountain of grace will be opened.

Be strenuous in prayer at all time before God, with a heart full of chaste deliberations mingled with passion; then He will preserve thy mind from impure thoughts, so that the way of God be not disordered in thee. Occupy thy gaze with constant

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1) Luke 17, 21. 2) Matth. 6, 10. 3) 1 Cor. 13, 12.

4) An idea which recurs in the work. Cf. Epicteti *Diatribae* Lib. I, Cap. XVIII: *ὅτι οὐ δεῖ χαλεπαίνειν τοῖς ἁμαρτομένοις.*

intercourse with intelligent recitation [of the scriptures]; lest, on account of idleness, the sight of foreign things defile thy look.

Do not tempt thy mind, for the sake of examination, by consideration of impure seductive thoughts, thinking that thou shalt not be vanquished. Even wise men have been perturbed in this place and deviated. Do not take fire in thy bosom, as hath been said [1]). Without severe bodily trouble, it is hard for the untrained youth to be bound under the yoke of saintliness.

The sign of the beginning of darkness of mind manifests itself in the soul by dejection, in the first place with regard to service and prayer. For it is not possible that the way in thy soul towards error should be opened if thou hast not fallen in
15 this point first. Then, being bereft of God's help — which [else] affords a way unto Him — thou wilt easily fall into the hands of the foes. And further, being without care for the matters of excellence, thou wilt be carried towards the contrary things in every manner. Departing, from any side, is the beginning [of approaching] to the opposite one. Let the service of excellence be firm in thy soul; meditate on it and so on.

Show thy weakness before God at all times, lest strangers come to examine thy strength while thou art separated from thy helper.

The service of the cross is a double one. And this is in accordance with its twofold nature which is divided into two parts: patience in face of bodily troubles, which is accomplished through the instrumentality of the anger of the soul [2]); this is called [3]) practice. And: the subtle intellectual service, in intercourse with God, constant prayer and so on, which is performed with the desiring part [2]) and called theory. The one purifies the affectable part [2]) by the strength of zeal; the other clears the intellectual part [2]) by the influence of the love of the soul, which is the natural appetite.

Every one, who, before being trained in the former part, passes to the latter, on account of the pleasures it affords, desiringly [4]) — or rather negligently — causes [God's] anger to
16 blow against him because, before having mortified his members

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1) Proverbs 6, 27.

2) Cf. *The Book of the Dove*, p. 524/5.

3) The text has ܟܙܘܕܬܐ. Read: ܟܝܘܕܬܐ.

4) We have either to cancel the waw of ܘܡܪܒܝܢ or to suppose an anakoluth in Isaac's construction; I have cancelled the waw.

on the earth [1]), i. e. before healing the illness of his deliberations by endurance under the labours and the shame of the cross, he has dared to occupy his mind with the glory of the cross. This is what has been said by the ancient saints: If the mind desires to ascend the cross before the senses have become silent on account of weakness, the anger of God will strike it.

By the fact of the ascension of the cross causing anger he does not point to the first part, namely, the bearing of troubles patiently (which is the crucifying of the body) but to the theoretical ascension which is the second part, and which is [truly] subsequent to the healing of the soul. For he who hastens to meditate with his heart vain imaginations concerning future things, while his mind is still stained by reprehensible passions, will be reduced to silence on his way by punishment, because, before having purified his mind by means of the trials met in subduing the carnal desires, on account of what he has heard and read merely, he has hastened headlong to tread a path full of darkness, being blind — a way which exposes to danger day and night even those whose sight is sound and full of light, and who possess Grace as their guide, while their eyes are full of tears, and with prayer and weeping they convert night into day, on account of the danger of the course and the hard rocks they meet, and the phantoms of sham truth that are frequently found on the way among those who pretend to be true. For divine things present themselves spontaneously, without thy perceiving them, if the place of the heart be pure and undefiled.

17 If the small pupil of thy soul has not been purified, do not venture to look at the globe of the sun, lest thou be bereft even of the usual sight, which is simple faith and humbleness and confession of the heart and light service in accordance with thy power [2]), and thou be cast into one of the intelligible places, which is the darkness without God, like him who ventured to go to the meal in sordid habits [3]).

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1) Cf. Colossians 3, 5.

2) Faith, confession and work are also the three elements which are enumerated as the constituents of Islam. Cf. Ghazālī, Iḥyā', I, 109.

3) This sentence occurs also, with slight variations, on p. 50 and 521 sq. In the last passage it shows its sententious character in an evident way, for here the context is not written in the 2nd person. Its sententious character appears also from the fact that it occurs three times in Isaac's book. Indeed it is not Isaac's spiritual property, but a popular sentence in Hellenistic literature. Stobaeus ascribes it to Rheginus and gives it in the following redaction: *καθάπερ δὲ τὸ τοῦ ἡλίου φῶς οὐκ ἔστι θεάσασθαι ἀσθενεῖ καὶ ἀδυνάτῳ τῇ*

From labour and watchfulness springs purity of deliberations. And from purity of deliberations inward light[1]). And from here the mind is guided by Grace towards that which it is not allowed to the senses either to teach or to learn.

Let excellence be reckoned by thee as the body, contemplation as the soul. The two [form] one complete spiritual man, composed of sensible and intelligible parts. And as it is not possible that the soul reach existence and birth without the accomplished formation of the body, so it is not possible that contemplation, the second soul, the spirit of revelations, be formed in the womb of the intellect which receives the fulness of spiritual seed, without the corporeal performance of excellence, the dwellingplace of the knowledge which receives revelations.

Contemplation is the apprehension of the divine mysteries which are hidden in the things spoken.

When thou hearest of being far from the world, of leaving the world, of being pure from the world, thou art first in need
18 of learning and knowing — not after the fashion of a novice, but with the impulses of gnosis — what the term world means, how many different meanings the word conveys. Then thou wilt be able thyself to know, in how far thou art distant from or connected with the world. If a man know not first what the world is, he cannot understand with how many limbs he is bound to or far from it.

There are many who think themselves wholly devoid of the world in their behaviour because on two or three points they refrain from it. [This is] because they have not understood nor perceived with discernment that they are dead to the world in one or two limbs, while others are living in the body of the

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ὄψει οὕτω καὶ ἐτὶ μᾶλλον τὴν ἀλήθειαν οὐκ ἔστιν ἰδεῖν ἀσθενεῖ καὶ ἀδυνάτῳ τῇ διανοίᾳ. Basilius must also have been acquainted with it; in the collection of sentences by Antonius and Maximus it occurs on his name in this form: εἰδέναι ὀφείλομεν ἃ χρὴ λαλεῖν καὶ ἃ χρὴ σιωπᾶν. οὐ γὰρ πάντα ῥητὰ τῆς γλώσσης τὰ τοῦ θεοῦ, ἵνα μὴ ὁ νοῦς καθάπερ ὀφθαλμὸς ὅλον τὸν ἥλιον θέλων ἀποβλέπειν ἀπολέσῃ ὃ ἔχει φῶς. But we can even go back to Plotinus (*Enneades* I, 6 § 9): ἐὰν δὲ ἴῃ ἐπὶ τὴν θέαν λημῶν κακίαις καὶ οὐ κεκαθαρμένος ἢ ἀσθενὴς ἀνανδρίᾳ, οὐ δυνάμενος τὰ πάνυ λαμπρὰ βλέπειν, οὐδὲν βλέπει, κἂν ἄλλος δεικνύῃ παρὼν τὸ ὁρᾶσθῆναι δυνάμενον. Τὸ γὰρ ὁρῶν πρὸς τό ὁρώμενον συγγενὲς καὶ ὅμοιον ποιησάμενον δεῖ ἐπιβάλλειν τῇ θέᾳ. Οὐ γὰρ ἂν πώποτε εἶδεν ὀφθαλμὸς ἥλιον ἡλιοειδὴς μὴ γεγεννημένος οὐδὲ τὸ καλὸν ἄν ἴδοι ψυχὴ μὴ καλὴ γενομένη. Γενέσθω δὴ πρῶτον θεοειδὴς πᾶς καὶ καλὸς πᾶς εἰ μέλλει θεάσασθαι θεόν τε καὶ καλόν. Probably, however, Isaac did not borrow the sentence from any of these three authorities, but from the works of Dionysius, where it occurs (*Ecclesiastica Hierarchia*, p. 75) in this form: καί μοι μηδεὶς ἀτέλεστος ἐπὶ τὴν θέαν ἰέτω καὶ γὰρ οὐδὲ ταῖς ἡλιοτεύκτοις αὐγαῖς ἐν ἀσθενέσι κόραις ἀντωπεῖν ἀκίνδυνον οὐδὲ τοῖς ὑπὲρ ἡμᾶς ἐγχειρεῖν ἀβλαβές.

1) Litterally: the light of the ܪܘܫܝܐ.

world. Therefore they even cannot perceive their affections and because they do not perceive them they are not anxious to be cured from them.

The world is said by speculative examination to be the extension of a common name unto distinct affections. If we wish to call the affections by a common name we call them world; if we mention the affections separately, we call them by their separate names.

The affections are parts of the usual current of the world. Where they have ceased, there the world 's current has ceased. They are: love of riches; gathering of possessions; fatness of the body giving rise to the tendency towards carnal desire; love of honour which is the source of envy; exercising government;
19 pride and haughtiness of magistracy; folly; glory among men, which is the cause of choler, bodily fear.

Where their current has been dammed, there the world, after their example, has to some extent ceased to be maintained and to exist. In the same way as some of the saints, who though being alive, yet are dead; for they are alive bodily, but they do not live carnally. See in which of those thou art alive; then thou shalt know in how many parts thou art living to the world and in how many thou art dead.

When thou hast learned what the world is, thou wilt be instructed in these distinctions and also concerning thy being bound to the world or thy being free from it.

In short: the world is bodily behaviour and carnal thoughts. For the overcoming of the world is also to be recognised in these two: viz. from the change of behaviour and from the alteration of the impulses.

From the impulses of thy mind to the things towards which its impulses go astray, thou canst understand the measure of thy behaviour: viz. to which things thy nature turns without labour; which are the constant inclinations and which are those set into motion fortuitously; whether the mind is the agent for the apprehension of incorporeal impulses only, or whether it works wholly through matter; whether this materiality is an affected state, or whether the impulses are but the stamps of the mind's service to the body, so that the mind, not of its own will, is hallucinating concerning those faculties by which it performs virtues and from which, in a sound state, it derives
20 its motive for fervour and concentration of thought, so that the mind can act corporeally, even with the loftiest aim, be-

cause of its lack of experience, even though it be in no affected state; and whether the mind is not distressed by the unseen touch of the stamps of the imaginations, in view of its excessive radiance in God, which is wont to cut off vain recollections.

The short descriptions of this chapter are sufficient for a man's illumination if he be quiet and intelligent; and they outweigh many books.

Bodily fear is strong in man, so strong that it often withholds him from praiseworthy and honourable things. But when it is face to face with psychic fear it is absorbed by it as coldness by the force of a flame.

III

The soul whose nature is not greatly solicitous for the gathering of possessions, does not require great diligence in order to find within itself impulses of wisdom unto God. For freedom from connection with the world will naturally set in motion flashes of intuition from which it can exalt itself unto God and remain in ecstasy.

When the waters from without do not enter the fountain of the soul, its natural waters will arise, viz. the wonderful intuitions which are moving towards God at all time.

21 As often as the soul is found not to be in this state, it has either found a starting point in foreign recollections, or the senses have caused it to be troubled by the touch of [outward] things, when the senses are fenced in by solitude without a break and recollections have grown dim by its helpful influence — then thou wilt see what the nature of the deliberations of the soul, and what the nature of the soul is, and what treasures are collected in it. These treasures are incorporeal intuitions which arise from the soul without care or labour being spent on them. Nay, a man does not even know that such deliberations could arise in human nature, nor does he know who was his teacher, or how he has found that which he cannot describe to his companion, or who has been his guide towards that which he has not learned from another[1]).

1) The passage reminds in a remarkable way of Plotinus' description of the spontaneous character of the illumination. Zeller, *Phil. d. Griechen*[4], III, 2, p. 672 describes it thus: ohne Vermittlung und Vorbereitung, durch eine plötzliche Erleuchtung geht es in der Seele auf, sie kann nicht sagen woher es kommt, ob von innen oder von aussen, ja es kommt streng genommen, gar nicht, sondern es ist unmittelbar da.

This is the nature of the soul. So the affections are additions, entering the soul on account of [certain] causes. But naturally the soul is not affectable [1]).

When thou findest psychic or corporeal affections here or there in the scriptures, such things are said concerning those causes. But the soul naturally has no affections.

But the philosophers who are without do not believe this; neither do those who are their followers. But we believe that God has not made His image affectable. With His image I do
22 not mean the body but the soul which is invisible [1]). Every image is a copy in which the prototype is depicted. And a visible image cannot be the copy of something invisible. So we believe that the affections of the soul are not natural as they say. If any one likes to dispute concerning this point we will ask him: What is natural to the soul? To be without affections, full of light, or moved by the affections and dark? Now if the nature of the soul is to be clear and a receptacle of the blessed light, it will be found in this condition when it returns unto its original state. But when it is moved by the affections, all the members of the church confess it to have abandoned its nature. Consequently the affections are later accessions to the nature of the soul. And it is not at all becoming to think the affections to be psychic. If the soul be moved by them, nevertheless it is clear that it is moved by something outside it, not by what is its own. And if these [affections] are thought to be natural, because the soul is moved by them through the intermediary cause of the body, then hunger, thirst and sleep would also be natural to the soul because it is affected and brought to rest by them along with the body. And this would also be true for the amputation of limbs, fever, pains, illnesses and so on, by which the body is affected because of its connection with the soul and the soul because of its connection with the body, being affected with joy because of bodily experiences, and receiving distress, along with the torments of the body.

What is natural to the soul; what is external to and what is above its nature [2]).

23 Natural to the soul is the understanding of all created things,

1) Cf. Introduction.

2) This terminology occurs in Stoic writings. Cf. Zeller, *Philosophie der Griechen*[4], III, 1, p. 264.

sensible and intelligible. Above its nature its being moved by divine contemplation; external to its nature its being excited emotionally by the affections. Also the light of the world, the victorious Basilius, says thus: when the soul is in its natural order, it is found above; When it has abandoned its nature, it is found beneath and on the earth. There are no affections above, where also the place of the soul is said to be. But when its nature abandons its order, it becomes affectable. Where then are the affections of the soul, now that it appears that they do not belong to its nature?

It is clear that the soul is moved by the reprehensible affections which are in the body, as also it is moved by hunger and thirst on account of the body. But because there are no laws concerning these, the soul is not reprehensible on account of them. Just as, sometimes, a man is ordered by God to do those things which are blameworthy and he receives, instead of blame and reprehension, good reward, as Hosea the prophet who contracted an unlawful marriage and as Elijah who committed slaughter in his zeal for God and as those, who on Moses' order, stabbed with swords their kindred.

But it is said that, apart from what belongs to the nature of the body, the soul has also that which belongs to its nature, viz. anger and choler; and these are its passions.

Second question. We ask: when the desire of the soul is kindled to a flame by divine things, does this belong to its
24 nature, or rather when it is set upon earthly and bodily things? And when it is said that the nature of the soul is on fire for the sake of those things which excite its zeal, is then this passion natural when it goes hand in hand with bodily desire, envy, glory and so on, or when it goes in the direction opposite to them? We shall answer the disputed question and we too shall enquire into it.

The holy writ says many things allegorically [1]; and often it uses metaphorical [2] terms. Many times it applies to the soul that which belongs to the body and to the body that which belongs to the soul without distinguishing between the two, for the sake of succinctness. Now the intelligent understand what they read, viz. the aim of scripture. In the things related to the divinity of our Lord for instance, in a high and elevated

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1) ܡܫܬܥܐ ܕܪܙܐ 2) ܡܛܠܠ

way, applies to His humanity, that which does not suit human nature and to His divinity what does not suit it. And many who do not understand the aim of the language of scripture have stumbled here so that they never could rise again. — So it is also with the things which concern soul and body.

If excellence is the natural health of the soul, the affections however ailments accustomed to oppress it and to bereave it of its health, it is clear that health is prior in nature to accidental illnesses. And if this be so (as it is indeed true) then excellence necessarily must be natural to the soul and the accidental external to its nature. For it is not possible that what is prior should not be natural.

25 Third question. The affections of the body are they naturally inherent in it or of a secundary nature? And those which affect the soul, by the intermediary of the body, are they secondary or natural? To call those of the body not natural, is impossible. As to the soul — because it is known and universally confessed that purity belongs to its nature — no one will venture in view of this fact to maintain that it is primarily affectable; for it is generally conceded that ailment is secondary to health and it is not possible that one and the same things should be a good and an evil nature. One of the two, in any case, must be the prior of the other; and that which is the older one, is also the natural. Whatever is accidental, cannot be said to be natural and essential; but it is an irruption from without. And all accident and obtrusion is connected, whenever it be, with variation and change. Nature, however, does not change or vary.

All [1]) existing affections are given to be a help to each of the natures to which they naturally belong and for the growth of which they were given by God. The bodily affections are placed by God in the body for the sake of profit and growth of the body; and the psychic affections, i. e. the psychic powers, for the sake of the growth and profit of the soul. And when the body is compelled to desist from its affectable nature, by withdrawing from the affections, and to follow the nature of the soul, it is injured. And when the soul leaves its own nature and follows that of the body, it is injured. Because, according to the word of the Apostle, the spirit desires that which harms

1) Cf. Introduction

26 the body and the body desires that which harms the spirit[1]). And these two are naturally opposites to one another. Therefore no one shall abuse God because He has implanted in our nature affections and sins. For, when He set in order each nature, He implanted in it that which gives it growth. But if one connects itself with the other, it is no longer in its own domain, but in a foreign one.

If these affections naturally belonged to the soul, why then should the soul be injured when using them? For that which is the property of nature, does not injure it. And how is it, that the accomplishment of the bodily affections is profitable and helpful to the body, whereas those of the soul injure the soul, if they belong to it? And why should, if this be true, excellence torment the body, but be beneficial unto the soul? Thou seest how what is external to their nature injures every one of these natures. For every one of these natures exults when it is near to what is its own. If thou art desirous to know what are the properties of every one of these natures, thou must observe that its properties are those things by the use of which it profits. And if it is tormented by [the use of] any of these things, then know that it is influenced by what is not its property. We conclude: If it is known, that the affections of every one of these natures are each other's opposites, then, consequently, all that gives profit and rest to the body when used by the soul has not to be reckoned as belonging to the soul. Because what is natural to the soul is fatal to the body, except those things which are connected with the soul in some secondary way. Because of the weak-
27 ness of the flesh the soul can absolutely not be freed from them, as long as it is clad with the flesh. For its nature is connected with the troubles of the flesh because of the union of its impulses with the carnal senses, with which they are interwoven by the inscrutable wisdom. And, though intermingled in this way, nevertheless impulses are distinguished from impulses, and will from will, viz. the carnal from the spiritual one. And nature is not at all composite nor does it disavow what is its property. And though man renders the impulses in a high degree equal to each other, by sin or by excellence, at certain times every one exerts its will and shows its power.

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1) Cf. Galatians 5, 17.

But when bodily thoughts have to some extent been lifted up, then their impulses manifest themselves wholly in the spiritual sphere, swimming in the heart of heaven with incomprehensible things. But even then the body cannot remain without some memory of what its own is, even as, when the impulses are in the domain of sin, the beautiful emotions of the soul are not brought to silence in the mind.

What is purity of mind? Not that one who does not know evil things, is pure of mind — that were to be a brute. Nor do we call pure of mind those whom nature has placed in the age of boyhood; that were to postulate that man should not belong to the class of created beings. But purity of mind consists in being captivated by divine things, [a state] that is only reached when many virtues have been practised.

We do not venture to say that he that has reached it, has acquired it without the experience of contrary deliberations. Else he would not be clad with a body. For we do not think
28 that before the world-to-be nature can be purged from contrary [inclinations]. The temptation of the deliberations is not, in my opinion this, that one surrenders to them, but the beginning of the struggle within the deliberations which begins in the mind on account of the four kinds of bases which are the root of movement to all kinds of affections. So that in this life there is not found anyone exalted above earthly recollections, even if he belong to the masters of the battle and, like Paul, be reputed perfect.

But while the body by means of its impulses, in accordance with the order of nature, and the world by its natures through the intermediation of the senses, and the soul by deliberations, recollections and powers of deviation, and the demons by the co-operating forces of the things mentioned — while [1]) the power of these fourfold affections is experienced by him [2]), he will be troubled to a small degree only [3]) and be drawn towards the excellent things which are seen by intuition. Decide thou, whether it is possible that one of these four be annihilated before the annihilation of the world, or by the transition that takes places at death; or whether the body can elevate itself wholly above its needs, without nature's urging it to seek any

1) I have retained the anakoluthic character of the original.
2) The mystic.
3) Other Mss: he will perceive this to a small extent only.

of the worldly things. If now this is deemed absurd, so long as these [four powers] exist, it is necessary that also the affections move themselves in all beings clad with a body, and consequently caution must be practised by every one. By the affections I do not understand one or two, but all the different ones which [occur in] those clad with flesh. But if a man should
29 venture [to say that he experiences only] weak impulses and harmless strife, we would say that, whoever such people may be, they do not require works but great watchfulness.

What is the difference between purity of mind[1]) and purity of heart.

Purity of mind is something other than purity of heart, just as there is a difference between one of the members of the whole body and the whole body. The mind is one of the senses of the soul. The heart is the central organ[2]) of the inward senses; this means the sense of senses, because it is the root[3]). And if the root is holy, so also are all the branches. But this is not so if it is holy in one of the branches only. Now with but little acquaintance with the scriptures and a little exercise in fasting and solitude, the mind forgets its former occupation and is cleansed, while it refrains from foreign habits. But is also easily defiled.

The heart is purified through great trouble and by being deprived of all association with the world, together with a complete mortification in every point. And when it has been purified, its purity is not defiled by the touch of insignificant [worldly] things; this means: it has no fear even before severe struggles. For it possesses a sound stomach that easily digests all sorts of food which are difficult for others who are sick in their interior. For the physicians say: All meat which is difficult of digestion, increases the forces of the sound body, because it is taken up by a strong stomach. In the same way every
30 purification that is brought about easily, in a short time and by small labours, is easily defiled again. But the purity that is acquired through great troubles and after a long time by the highest part of the soul, is not endangered by insignificant touches of the [worldly] things.

Quiet senses give birth to peace in the soul, because they do not allow it to experience strife. But since the soul has no

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1) ܢܝܚܝܐ 2) ܠܒܐ 3) Cf. Introduction.

sensation of any thing, it is a victory without struggle. But when it becomes negligent, it is not able to remain steadfast, and when it strives to ged rid of apprehension after the latter has got accession, the soul destroys its previous properties, viz. serenity and natural perfection. For the majority of men, and possibly the whole world, leave their first state on account of this cause [1]). Only one out of many returns to his first place when he has once adopted the second habit. Much better is simplicity than the different kinds of forgiveness.

Human nature needs fear in order to guard against the borders of the commandments being crossed, [it needs] love to excite the desire of good things, for the sake of which man hastens to perform beautiful things.

Spiritual knowledge is posterior to the performance of excellence. Prior to both are love and fear. And fear is prior to love. Every one who ventures to acquire the latter things before the former, undoubtedly lays a perishable foundation in his soul. For they are placed by God in such an order, that these proceed from those. Do not interchange the love of thy neighbour with the love of [worldly] things, for that which is precious above all things, is hidden in it.

31 A material object which is a mark for the eyes of the flesh, is also of such a nature as to affect the hidden visual powers; and the affections which cloud the second natural contemplation, acts in the same manner for the natural steadfastness. They are related to one another in the same way, up to where ceases the current of all kinds of contemplation. When the mind [2]) is in a state of natural steadfastness, it is in angelic contemplation, which is the first and natural contemplation which is also named naked mind. When the mind is in the second state of natural knowledge, it sucks and is sustained by the milk from the corporeal breasts; this state is called the last garment of the afore-mentioned state; it is placed after [the state of] purity, which the mind enters first. It is prior in being, for it is the first stage of knowledge, although posterior in honour. On this account, therefore, it is also called the second one, as also on account of the indications of some of the tokens by which the mind is purified and trained for the ascent to a second order, which is the perfection of the intel-

1) Negligence. 2) ܪܥܝܢ

lectual impulses, and the stage which is near divine contemplation [1]).

The last garment of the mind are the senses. Its state of nakedness is its being moved by kinds of non-material contemplation. Leave the small things in order to find the honoured ones.

Be dead in life, then thou wilt not live in death. Let thyself die in integrity, but not live in guiltiness [2]). Not only those who suffer death for the sake of the faith in Christ are martyrs, but also those who die for the sake of keeping his commandments.

32 Be not inept in thy petitions, lest thou grieve God by thy ignorance.

Learn to pray with prudence, that thou mayest be esteemed worthy of glorious things.

Seek well-esteemed things from Him, who does not withhold; then thou wilt receive honour from Him, because of the choice of thy wise will.

Solomon sought wisdom and he received, apart from it, the earthly kingdom, because he knew how to ask wisely viz. great things from the King.

Elisha sought one or two parts of the spirit that was upon his master and his request was not withheld from him.

The honour of the King is lessened by him who seeks contemptible things.

Israel sought despicable things; it gained the anger of God. It neglected to wonder at the workings and terrible effects of His deeds and it sought the desires of its belly. And while their food was still in their mouth, the anger of God reached them. Present thy requests unto God in accordance with His glorious being, in order that thy honour be great in His eyes and He rejoice in thee.

When a man seeks from a king a measure full of dung he will not only be despised on account of his despicable request,

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1) The above passage betrays its relation with Philonean thought at once by the term "naked mind" which often occurs in Philo (I 76 sq., 98, 179, 270). There is further concordance, but also difference between the two authors. Both of them distinguishes three kinds of nakedness. According to Isaac they are: the puerile state, the state of natural purity, and the purified state. According to Philo (I 76 sq.) they are: the puerile state; the state of Noah's drunkenness in which the soul has lost its faculties; the state of purity in which the soul has abandoned all earthly things.

2) Cf. Porphyrius, *Sententiae*, IX: *ὁ γοῦν θάνατος διπλοῦς· ὁ μὲν συνεγνωσμένος λυομένου τοῦ σώματος ἀπὸ ψυχῆς· ὁ δὲ τῶν φιλοσόφων, λυομένης τῆς ψυχῆς ἀπὸ τοῦ σώματος.* And the Pythagorean sentence in Stobaeus (p. 158): *τεθνάναι πολλῷ κρεῖττον ἢ δι' ἀκρασίαν τὴν ψυχὴν ἀμαυρῶσαι.*

exposing thus his ignorance, but he also insults the king by his insipid demand: such also is he who in prayer asks corporeal things from God.

Lo, the angels and the archangels which are the chiefs of the angels look at thee in the time of prayer, [in order to know] which prayer thou wilt present unto their Lord. And they wonder at thee when they see the corporeal one leaving his dunghill and asking heavenly things.

33 Do not seek from God that which He is anxious to give us even if we do not beg for it, which He withholds not from his housemates and not even from those who are wholly foreign to the knowledge of Him, nay who do not even know that He is.

Use not vain repetitions, as the heathen do [1]). What is this "as the heathen"? The corporeal things are sought by the peoples of the earth; but give ye no thought saying what shall we eat, or what shall we drink or wherewithall shall we be clothed? For your Father knoweth that ye also have need of all these things [2]).

A son does not ask bread from his father, but makes supplication concerning the great portions in store for him in the house of his father. That which our Lord has commanded concerning daily bread, namely that we pray for it, is a petition which he handed down to the common people, because of the weakness of their minds. Regard that which he commands to those who are perfect in knowledge and sound of soul, viz.: ye shall not take thought of food or raiment. If your Father bestows care upon the fowls that have no soul, how much more upon you. But ask from God the Kingdom and righteousness, then he will add these things too.

If He is slow in granting thy request, when thou askest without receiving promptly, then be not distressed. For thou art not wiser than God. When thou remainest as thou art [3]), [it is] either because thy behaviour does not agree with thy request; or because the ways of thy heart diverge from the aim of thy prayer; or because thy inner state is childish in comparison with the greatness of the thing.

It is not becoming that great things should fall into our
34 hands easily; lest the gift of God should be thought to be mean because of its being acquired without difficulty.

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1) Matthew 6, 7. 2) Matthew 6, 31 sq. 3) The prayer not being heard.

All that is acquired with labour, is guarded with caution.

Thirst after Jesus; then he will satisfy thee with his love. Shut thy eyes to the precious things of the world; then thou wilt be deemed worthy of a peace given by God to reign in thy heart.

Restrain thyself from the allurements that are shining for the eyes; then thou wilt be deemed worthy of spiritual joy.

If thy behaviour is not worthy of God, do not ask from Him praised things, lest thou appear as a man who tries God.

Prayer accords strictly with behaviour.

No man desires heavenly things as long as he is bound with ties [impeding] his will, on account of the body. And no man asks divine things while he is occupied with earthly things. The desire of every man is known from his works; and that which he cares for, he will be anxious to seek in prayer. And he will be zealous in showing by his outward deeds that which he asks for in his prayer.

He who desires great things, has no intercourse with mean ones.

Be free even while thou art bound in the body and show submission in thy freedom for the sake of Christ; and be wise in thy innocence, lest thou be beguiled.

Love humility in thy dealings, that thou mayest be freed from the imperceivable snares which are continually to be found by the side of the paths on which the humble walk.

Do not reject the troubles, by means of which thou art led towards knowledge.

Do not fear temptations by means of which thou wilt find precious things.

35 Pray that thou mayest not be led into temptations of the soul. To those of the body thou shalt prepare thyself with all thy force and with all thy limbs thou shalt swim in them. For without them it is impossible for thee to approach unto God. For beyond them lies divine rest.

Who flees from temptations, flees from excellence; not from the temptations of desires, but from [those of] troubles.

How does the sentence "pray, that ye enter not into temptation" [1]) concord with "strive to enter in at the strait gate" [2]) and "fear not them which kill the body" [3]) and "he that loseth his life for my sake shall find it"? [4])

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1) Matthew 26, 41. 2) Luke 13, 24. 3) Matthew 10, 28. 4) Matthew 10, 39.

In all these places our Lord recommends to us temptations; but in that he orders us to pray that we enter not into temptation. What kind of excellence can be accomplished without temptations? Or what kind of temptation is stronger than the which he orders us to undergo for His sake? And "he that taketh not his cross and followeth after me, is not worthy of me" [1]). "Pray that ye enter not into temptation", but entering into temptations occurs everywhere in his teachings. And he has said: without temptations the Kingdom of heaven is not found.

O how strait is the way of thy teachings, our Lord! And he who does not discriminate with knowledge, as he reads, will always remain without it, as far as his insight is concerned.

When the sons of Zebedee and their mother desired of him to sit with him in the Kingdom, he postulated this: Are ye able to suffer gladly the cup of temptations? Are ye able to
36 drink of the cup that I shall drink of and to be baptized with the baptism that I am baptized with [2])? And how orderest Thou here, O our Lord: pray that ye enter not?

Which are the temptations into which we shall pray not to enter.

Pray that thou enterest not into temptation concerning thy belief.

Pray that thou enterest not into temptation through mental presumtion, with the demon of abuse and haughtiness.

Pray that thou enterest not, under [God's] admission, into the manifest temptations of the senses, which Satan is able to instill unto thee with God's permission, on account of the foolish thoughts thou hast cherished.

Pray that the witness of chastity be not taken away from thee lest thou be tempted in the flames of sin without him.

Pray that thou enterest not into the temptation of abusing anything.

Pray therefore, that thou enterest not into psychic temptations, namely those which lead the soul into struggle, doubt and allurements. But prepare for the bodily ones with thy whole body and swim in them with all thy limbs, thy eyes full of tears, that thou be found amidst of them with thy guardian. For without temptations God's care cannot be perceived and familiarity of speech with Him cannot be acquired and

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1) Matthew 10, 38. 2) Matthew 20, 22.

spiritual wisdom cannot be learnt and the love of God cannot be implanted in the soul.

Before [having experienced] temptations, man prays unto God as a stranger. But when he has entered into troubles for the sake of his love, without being changed, then, as one that has laid upon God [the obligation of paying] a certain loan, he is reckoned as His housemate and His friend, who has fought, for the sake of His will, against the host of His enemies. This
37 is [the meaning of]: Pray that ye enter not into temptation.

And further: pray that thou enterest not into temptations for the sake of thy self-exaltation, but for the sake of thy love of God, that His power may be conspicuous in thee. Pray that thou enterest not into such on account of the folly of thy thoughts and deeds, but in order that thou provest to be a friend of God and His power be glorified in thy endurance.

On the mercy of our Lord in this matter, who measures his word in accordance with human weakness.

Further he deals [with us] in this matter compassionately. If thou considerest bodily things [it appears that God], also in this point has remembered the weakness of nature; it was possible that, on account of the wretchedness of the body, we should not find fortitude against the power of the temptations whenever it should present itself, and consequently we should even leave [the path of] truth, being overcome by troubles. Therefore he orders us that, as much as possible, we should avoid entering wilfully into temptation. And not only this, but [he even says]: Pray that you be not found in it without just cause, if it be possible to please God without temptation.

But if very great excellence is desired, when temptations assail and that most terribly, and if that excellence cannot be accomplished without a man's bearing them, in that case it is not becoming to spare ourselves or anyone. Even on account of fear thou shalt not shrink from that great thing upon which the life of thy soul depends, putting forward as an apology
38 for thy laxness: Pray that ye enter not into temptation. For such are those, concerning whom it is said that they sin secretly by [fulfilling] the commandments.

If one of the divine commandments comes to be dissociated from a man, be it the state of chastity, or the habit of holiness, or the confession of faith, or the testimony concerning the word

of God, or the cautiously guarding of the other prescriptions of the Law — it is impossible that he should not fall if he be afraid of temptations. Therefore he has to despise the body with complete confidence, and to entrust God with its soul and to proceed in the name of the Lord. And He that was with Joseph in the land of Egypt and who was the witness of his chastity, and who was with Daniel in the pit of lions, and with Hananja and his companions in the furnace, and with Jeremia in the pit of mire and who saved him and made him an object of compassion in the midst of the camp of the Chaldaeans; who was with Peter in the prison and brought him out of it through shut gates; and with Paul in the synagogues of the Jews; in short, He who in all generations was with His servants always and everywhere and showed in them His power and made them victorious and guarded them miraculously so that they saw His salvation manifestly at the time of their troubles, He will strengthen and guard him in the midst of the storms which surround him. Therefore he shall arm himself against the invisible foe and his hosts with the zeal of the Maccabees and of the other holy prophets, apostles, martyrs, confessors and recluses who have maintained the divine laws and the spiritual commandments in frightful places and
39 among difficult and fearful temptations and who have thrown the world and the body behind them and clung to the truth in them without giving way to the constraint pressing both body and soul and endured as heroes; in short, whose names are written in the book of life until the coming of our Lord. And their deeds are preserved in the book by God's decree for our instruction and encouragement according to the testimony of the blessed Apostle, so that we may get insight from them and learn the way of God, placing their stories before our mental eyes as living images, that we may resemble them and conform the ways of our behaviour unto theirs, after the pattern of the Ancients.

To the soul endowed with mind the words of God are delightful as oily food which makes fat the body, to the palate of those who are healthy.

The stories of the just are as desirable to the ear of the perfect, as a constant watering to young plantations.

Listening to God's providential leading of the Ancients be estimated by thee as precious drugs for weak eyes. And let

the recollection of it be kept with thee at all times of the day. Meditate and think of it and learn wisdom from it, that thou be able to receive in thy soul with honour the recollection of God's greatness and find for thyself everlasting life in Jesus Christ, the mediator of God and mankind, who was one in his two natures. Though the legions of the angels are not able to look upon the glory surrounding His majestic throne, yet for thy sake He has appeared before the world the most contemptible and humble of man; without form or comeliness;
40 and while His invisible nature was not within the reach of the apprehension of created beings, He accomplished His providential dealings by [covering Himself] with a veil [made of the stuff] of our limbs, in order to save the life of all.

This is he through whom He has purified many peoples [1]) and on whom the Lord has laid the sin of us all [2]), as Jesaja says. It pleased the Lord to humble him and to put him to grief [3]).

Sin has been placed in him who knew no sin [4]). To whom, for his providential dealings in all generations for our sake, be glory and praise and thanksgiving and adoration from all, now and at all time and for ever and ever. Amen.

IV

The soul that loves God [finds] its rest in God only.

First detach from thyself the outward bonds, then strive to bind thy heart to God.

To be detached from matter is prior to being bound to God [5]).

When a child has been weaned, bread is given him as food. And a man who wishes to become excellent in God, has first to wean himself from the world, as a child is weaned from his mother's breasts.

Bodily labours are prior to psychic service, as the creation of the body takes place before that of the soul.

For he who does not perform bodily labour, does not per-
41 form psychic labours either. For the latter are born out of the former as the ears from mere grains. And he who does not perform psychic service, is also devoid of spiritual gifts.

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1) Jesaja 52, 15 in the Peshito. 2) Jes. 53, 6. 3) Jes. 53, 10.
4) 2 Cor. 5, 21. 5) The sentence occurs also p. 7. Cf. Introduction.

Temporary suffering for the sake of the truth is not to be compared with the delight preserved for those who perform labours of excellence.

As the weeping of the time of sowing is followed by the joys of harvest [1]), so are the labours for the sake of God followed by joy.

The bread earned with sweat, delights the workman; labours for the sake of righteousness, the heart that has received the knowledge of Christ.

Suffer contempt and [2]) humiliation in the thought of excellence, for the sake of the heart's familiarity of speech with God. Every time a man suffers a hard word with discernment, save only when it is caused by his own fault, he receives a crown of thorns on his head for the sake of Christ; blessed is he! At other times he is crowned and knows it not.

He who flees from the fame [that rests] on knowledge, will perceive in himself the hope of the world to come.

He who promises to leave the world, yet quarrels with men concerning [worldly] things because he is not willing to give up anything of what is agreeable unto him, he is perfectly blind, because he has given up the whole world voluntarily, yet quarrels about a part of it.

If anyone flees from what is agreeable [unto him] in this world, his mind will behold the world to come.

He who is master of possessions, is the slave of passions. Do not estimate gold and silver only as possessions, but all things thou possessest for the sake of the desire of thy will.

He who cuts off impediments from fear of affections, he is a wise man indeed.

Without the constant service of excellence true knowledge
42 cannot be found.

Not by bodily works alone is the knowledge of life acquired, but by directing our efforts to the cutting off of mental affections.

He who labours without discernment will easily become the victim of the causes of sin when they present themselves to him. Never praise him who labours with his body, but concerning his senses is lax and without constraint, viz. whose ears and mouth are open and whose eyes are prone to wander.

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1) Litterally: full hands. Cf. Ps. 126, 6. 2) Reading of London Ms. 14632.

If thou settest up as thy aim to practice mercy, train thyself not to pursue justice in other fields, lest thou appear to work with one hand and to spill with the other. For there clemency is necessary, but here magnanimity.

Let the forgiveness of those who are guilty towards thee in these things, be reckoned by thee as a work of righteousness. Then thou wilt see peace springing up in thy soul from both sides, that is when thy path is superior to dignity and justice, and thou wilt favour the rise of freedom in all things. For one of the saints, speaking of these things, says: The merciful, if he be not just, is blind, in so far as he provides others from wealth which has been gathered with justice and by his own labours, and not from the acquirements of falsehood, oppression, iniquity and cunning.

In the same way, in another place, this man preaches: If thou sowest among the poor, sow from thy own possessions; what thou sowest from those of others is much more bitter
43 than weeds. But I say: if the merciful be not even above justice, he is not merciful. This means, that he will not only show mercy unto men on his own part, but that he will voluntarily suffer iniquity with delight, so that he does not maintain and postulate full justice in his dealings with his fellow men, but is merciful towards him and surpassing justice by mercy, wreathing for himself the crown not of the just under the law, but of the perfect under the new covenant.

To give the poor from one's own possessions, and to cover the naked on seeing them, to love the neighbour as one self, not to do iniquity or falsehood, are things commanded also by the old law. But perfection in behaviour, according to the new covenant, commands thus: If a man takes from thee, do not demand back; give every one who asks from thee. And not only hast thou to suffer gladly iniquitous dealing in possessions and other outward things, but thou hast even to give thyself in behalf of thy neighbour.

Merciful is he, who shows his compassion towards his neighbour not only in gifts, but who after hearing or seeing anything that causes suffering to any one, cannot withhold his heart from burning; who, even if he receives a blow on his cheek from his brother, does not venture to repay him even with a word and so cause him to suffer intellectually.

Honour the works of vigils, then thou wilt find consolation

near in thy self. Be constantly occupied with recitation in solitude, then thou wilt be drawn towards ecstasy at all times.

44 Love poverty with endurance, that thy mind may be concentrated and so not wander.

Hate abundance, that thou be preserved against confusion of mind.

Cut off [intercourse with] the multitude and take care of thy behaviour that thy soul be saved from spilling its inward rest.

Love chastity lest thou be put to shame at the time of prayer before Him who exposes thee to strife.

Acquire a pure behaviour, that thy soul may exult during prayer and joy be kindled in thy mind at the recollection of death.

Keep control of small things, lest thou neglect great ones.

Be not lazy with regard to labours lest thou be put to shame when in presence of all comrades.

Pursue thy work with knowledge, lest it throw thee out of thy whole course.

Be not destitute of provisions; lest [thy companions] leave thee alone in the midst of the way and depart.

Acquire freedom in thy behaviour, that thou be freed from confusion.

Do not use thy freedom for the sake of comfort, lest thou become a slave of slaves.

Love abstinence in thy behaviour, that the deliberations leading to haughtiness of heart and lasciviousness may be restrained.

That he who loves finery should acquire a humble mind, is not possible. For the heart within and the habits without necessarily must be parallel one to another. Who would be able to acquire chastity of mind, when he is addicted to luxuriance? And who could acquire humble inward deliberations, when he is pursuing outward glory? And who is he, that being lascivious without and lax in his limbs, should be chaste in his
45 heart and pious in his deliberations? When the mind is guided by the senses, it feeds with them upon the food of the beasts; but when the senses are guided by the mind, they feed with it upon the sustenance of the angels.

Vain glory is a servant to fornication. If it is concerned with behaviour, to haughtiness. To humility brevity is proper.

Love of glory is connected with prolixity. The former through

constant concentration, attains to contemplation and arms the soul unto chastity. The latter through the continual wandering of the mind, gathers provisions [1]) through contact with [outward] things, and defiles the heart.

It touches lasciviously upon the nature of things and excites the mind through lascivious deliberations. The former is spiritually concentrated by contemplation and moves its possessors towards glory.

Compare not all powers and signs that are worked in the whole world, with a man's consciously sitting in solitude.

Love the ease of solitude rather than satisfying the hunger of the world and the converting of the multitude of heathen peoples from error unto adoring God. Let it be more excellent in thy eyes to detach thyself from the bonds of sin, than to detach the subdued unto liberty from those who subject their bodies.

Prefer to make peace with thyself, in harmony with the trinity within thee: body, soul and spirit, rather than to appease those who are angry at thy teachings.

Love simplicity of speech together with experienced know-
46 ledge within, rather than the production of a Gihon of teachings by acuteness of mind and out of a deposit of hear-say and ink.

Be anxious to quicken the deadness of thy soul caused by affections, unto the emotion of the impulses in God, rather than to quicken those who are dead in the natural sense.

There have been many people who have exercised powers, quickened the dead, bestowed their labour upon the erring, done great signs and drawn many people towards God by exciting their admiration of the things done by them; but afterwards those who have saved others, have fallen into impure and disreputable passions. And after they had given life to others, they have brought themselves to death and caused themselves to stumble by the offence given by their works. The cause of this is, that, while they were still sick of soul, they did not care for their own healing, but plunged themselves into the sea of the world in order to heal the souls of others, being still sick themselves. So they have bereft themselves of the hope in God as I said before, because the weakness of their senses was not yet able to bear the touch of the rays

1) The London Ms. has ܟܝܣܪ "bonds".

of [worldly] things that excite usually the vehemence of the affections in those who still are in want of caution. I mean the sight of women and comfort and money and worldly things, and the passion for governing and for exalting oneself above others.

Be despised by fools for simplicity, not by the wise for audacity. Seek poverty for humility's sake and do not seek riches
47 for the sake of audaciousness. Confound critics by the power of thy virtues, not by thy word; and the impudence of those who will not be persuaded, by the peacefulness of thy lips, not by sounds. Confound the lascivious by thy honourable behaviour and those of audacious sensuality by the chastity of thy eyeballs that are concentrated within thee in quiet.

Deem thyself a stranger wherever thou enterest all thy lifelong [1]), that thou mayest be able to flee from the great damages rising from freedom of speech.

Think concerning thyself always that thou knowest nothing, that thou mayest be liberated from the reprehensible things caused in thee by conceit; then thou wilt be entitled to direct others.

Let thy mouth constantly administer blessing; then the scorn of any one will never hurt thee. Disdain gives birth to disdain, blessing to blessing.

Think concerning thyself always that thou needest teaching, in order that thou be found a wise man during thy whole life.

Do not hand down to others as thy own, the practical ethics [2]) that thou hast not yet reached; lest thou be put to shame by thyself and thy deception appear from the comparison with thy behaviour. But if thou speakest concerning what is becoming, speak as one belonging to the class of pupils, not as an authority, having before subdued thy self and shown thyself as being less than thy listener. Then thou wilt give also thy hearers an example of humility and thy words will spur them unto the course towards [good] works and thou wilt be honoured in their eyes.

48 As much as is possible for thee, speak about such things with tears, so that it be profitable unto thyself and thy companions and attract grace towards thee.

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1) Bukhārī, *Rikāk*, b. 3: Be in the world as a stranger (كن في الدنيا كأنك غريب). And according to Porphyrius man in this world is a stranger, who longs for home (Zeller, *Phil. d. Griechen*[4] III, 2, p. 718). Cf. Hebrews 11, 13 etc.

2) See beneath p. 40, note 1.

If, by the grace of Christ, thou hast reached the delight of the mysteries of the visible created things, which is the first summit of knowledge, then arm thy soul against the spirit of slander. For without arms thou canst not hold thy place in this country, but thou wouldst soon be killed secretly by the seducers. Let thy arms be: fasting and tears which thou shedst in constant self-humiliation; and prudence against reading books which accentuate the differences between the confessions, with the aim of causing schisms, which provides the spirit of slander with a mighty weapon against the soul.

When thy stomach is replenished, do not venture to scrutinize, or thou willst regret it. Understand what I say: in a full stomach, there is no knowledge of the mysteries of God. Be occupied with the books of God's providence intensely, without becoming satisfied. They have been composed by holy men and show the aim of His different works in His establishing the different natures [1]) of the world. Let thy mind be strengthened by them and thou wilt acquire enlightened impulses from their subtlety; then thy mind will go its way with a clear consciousness towards the aim of [understanding] the right scheme of the creation of the world, according to the laudable wise intention of the Creator of the natures.

Read in the two Testaments which God has destined for the instruction of the whole world, so that it should be dazzled by the power of His Providence in every generation and be enveloped in wonder.

Such recitations and the like are very useful to this aim. Let thy recitation take place in complete rest, while thou art
49 free from too great care for the body and from the disturbance of practice; then the recitation will give thy soul a delicious taste, by the sweet insight, exalted above the senses, which the soul, by constant intercourse with it, perceives in itself. Do not deem the words that are founded upon experience as the babbling of those who sell words, lest thou remain in darkness till the end of thy life, bereft of their profit, groping in the night in times of war, nay even falling into one of the pits, under the pretext of [clinging to] truth.

This shall be the sign for thee, when thou art near to enter that country: when grace begins to open thy eyes so that they

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1) Isaac uses the word "nature" (ܟܝܢܐ) in a sense corresponding with our "species".

perceive things by essential sight, at that time thy eyes will begin to shed tears till they wash thy cheeks even by their multitude, and the vehemence of the senses will be calmed so that they will be shut up within thee peacefully. If any man teach thee otherwise, do not believe him. To ask from the body anything else — as a manifest sign of the real apperception — than tears, is not allowed to thee, save only if the influence of the members of the body be silent. This takes place when the mind is elevated above [earthly] beings and the body is without tears, apprehension and emotionality, except only its natural animal existence. For this knowledge does not stoop to take with it as secondary companions of spiritual sight the
50 ideas of the things of the sensual world. "Whether in the body or out of it, I do not know". It is God who knows this as well as the fact that he has heard unutterable words [1]).

All that is heard by the ears can be spoken. But he did not hear sensible sounds, nor did he [see] in a vision of corporeal sensible images, but with the impulses of the mind, in a state of rapture apart from the body, the will having no part in it [2]). The eye never saw the like, the ear never heard its equal and his varied knowledge never dreamt of recollecting the likeness of what his heart saw, namely that which God has in store to show the pure in heart when they have become dead to the world: not corporeal sight received through the eyes of the flesh in gross distinctions, nor fantasies which they themselves form in their mind, in a secondary way, but simplicity of contemplation concerning things of intellect and faith — the contrary of partition and division — that show the images of the elements.

Fix thy gaze on the sphere of the sun according to thy visual strength and only with the object of enjoying its rays, noth with the aim of scrutinizing the course of its wheel, lest even thy limited sight be taken from thee [3]). If thou find honey, eat in measure lest thou, having become satisfied, hast to reject it. The nature of the soul is of small dimensions; and sometimes it proceeds onwards, desiring to learn what is beyond its nature. And many times, during the course of recitation and
51 the contemplation of things, it grasps one or more things; yet the sum of its knowledge is insignificant as compared with

1) 1 Cor. 12, 2—4. 2) Cf. above p. 14 note 1. 3) Cf. p. 17.

what it found. But how far does its knowledge penetrate? Until its deliberations are clad with emotion and trembling. Then it hastens to turn backwards from fear, venturing [from time to time] to penetrate into the luminous things.

But fear witholds it on account of the frightfulness of these things. And discernment warns in silence the mind of the soul not to be audacious lest it should die. What is too hard for thee, seek not; what is too strong for thee, search not. Scrutinize with thy intellect that which has been allowed to thee, and do not venture to approach unto hidden things. Adore therefore and praise in silence and confess thy unability to understand. For too much for thee has been shown to thee, but do not trouble thyself with the rest of His works. As it is not good to eat much honey, so it is not good to examine laudable words. Lest, desiring to gaze from a great distance before we have approached near, we be exhausted by the interminable way, without having the power to gaze, and be injured.

For sometimes in stead of truth fantasies arise; when namely the intellect becomes too weary to understand, and forgets its true essence. And the wise Solomon has well said that he that hath no rule over his own spirit, is like a city that is in ruins and without walls [1]).

It is not necessary to search for God in heaven and earth and to send out our mind to seek Him in different places.
52 Purify thy soul, o man, and strip thyself from the thought of recollections which are unnatural and hang before thy impulses the curtain of chastity and humility. Thereby thou wilt find Him that is within thee. For to the humble the mysteries are revealed.

If thou wouldst give thyself to the service of the pure prayer of the mind and to constant vigils in order to acquire a mind clad with light, withdraw thyself from the sight of the world, and cut off intercourse by speech. And refuse to receive in thy cell thy accustomed friend, even [if he comes] for the sake of excellence, save only him that has the same aim as thyself and shares in the secrets of thy behaviour. If thou art in fear of distraction and secret psychic intercourse, which originates spontaneously without our seeking it, cut off from thee even outward intercourse.

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1) Proverbs 25, 28.

Let thy prayers be followed by works of excellence, that thy soul may see the flower of the light of truth. In consequence of the heart's freedom from external recollections, the mind will receive [the gift] of ecstatic understanding of things. The soul can easily be accustomed to interchange one occupation with another if we only bestow some little care and trouble upon it.

Burden it with the labour of reading books expounding the narrow ways of behaviour, contemplation, and the stories of the saints, even if it does not perceive delight in the beginning, because of the darkness and disturbance originating in present recollections; then it will interchange one habit with another.

53 Accordingly when thou risest for prayer and service, instead of meditating worldly things, scriptural thoughts will be pictured in the mind. And thereby the recollection of that which it saw and heard before, will be forgotten and effaced in it. So thy mind will reach purity. This is what has been said: the mind is made chaste by recitation when it comes to prayer, and by recitation it is enlightened during prayer. This means: the soul will find strength to interchange outward distraction with the habits of prayer, viz. essential understanding shining in the mind on account of the wondrous recollections of that world. How often at those times has the power of contemplation [stimulated] by the scriptures, made silent and stupefied [the solitary] during prayer and left him standing without impulses; the same power, that cuts off prayer by delight as I have said, giving rest to the heart and bringing to silence its impulses, the psychic and bodily members being in rest.

Those know what I say, who have experienced this in their soul, who have penetrated into its mysteries, who have not learnt it from others or snatched it from writings which so often are found to falsify truth.

A full stomach shrinks from examining spiritual questions, as a harlot from speaking of chastity. A conscience full of disease abhors fat food; a mind full of the world, cannot approach the investigation of divine service.

54 Fire cannot burn fresh wood; the love of God cannot be kindled in a heart that loves comfort.

A harlot cannot cling to the love of one man; neither can the soul, that is tied to many things, cling to loving spiritual teachings.

As he who has never seen the sun with his eyes is not able, on the basis of hearing about it, to imagine its light in his mind, or to receive some image in his soul, or to perceive the beauty of its rays, so he who in his soul does not have perception for the taste of spiritual service and whose behaviour has never brought him experience of its mysteries so that he is able to conceive in his mind an image resembling the truth, is unable to find real conviction in his soul nor to attain the essence of the matter through human teachings and training in writings [1]).

If thou possessest anything above thy daily sustenance, go and give it the poor and then offer unto God prayer with frankness. This means: speak with God as a son with his father.

There is nothing which brings the heart so near unto God as mercy [2]); and nothing which gives peace to the mind as voluntary poverty. Many will scorn thee as an ignorant because of thy liberality and for thy giving thyself without stint for the sake of the fear of God; they will not call thee wise or steady of mind, because of thy asceticism.

If any one is riding on a horse and stretches out his hand, do not withdraw from him thy hand in which is that which his need truly requires. For at that time he is needy as one of the indigent. And what thou givest, give it with a bountiful eye, and make thy face glad towards him. And give him above what he asks, that which he does not seek. Cast thy bread upon the waters for thy shalt find remuneration after many days [3]).

Do not make any distinction between the rich and the poor nor know who is worthy and who is not worthy. Deem all men worthy of bounty on thy part. Especially because thou spurrest them unto truth thereby. The soul can easily be drawn by corporeal things to the thought of the fear of God. Also our Lord shared his table with publicans and harlots without making any distinction between those who were worthy and those who were not, seeking to spur them on thereby unto the fear of God and to bring them, through communion in bodily things, unto spiritual communion. Therefore deem all

1) Cf. *Book of the Dove*, Sentence 3

2) Cf. the title of Chapter LXXXI and p. 8 sq., 42 sq.

3) Eccles. 11, 1.

people worthy of bounty and honour, be they Jews or miscreants or murderers. Especially if they be thy brothers and comrades who have erred from the truth on account of ignorance.

When thou doest well, do not wish a remuneration in this world; for both thou wilt be recompensed by God. If possible, do not even wish a remuneration in the world-to-come; but be excellent only by the love of God. The degree of love is more intimate than that of service unto God; nay, it is more
56 intimate in its mystery, with an intimacy that surpasses that of service as the soul's the body's.

If thou hast set for thyself the aim of renunciation, and by the grace of God thou hast been freed from care, and exalted above the world by thy renunciation, take care lest, on account of thy love of the poor, thou desire to fall back into the care of possessions and things, even with the aim of giving alms, falling thereby into trouble, taking from one to give unto another [1]); for thou wouldst expose thy honour to contempt by thy propensity to accost others in thy search for these and cognate things and thou wouldst fall back from the height of thy liberated mind unto care for earthly things.

Thy rank is higher than that of almsgivers. I pray thee, do not make thyself an object of laughter. The latter is the class of adolescents being educated; the former is the way of perfection.

If thou possessest, spend at once. If not, be not desirous to possess. Purify thy life from luxuriousness and superfluous things; this will necessarily bring thee towards asceticism.

Necessity bears many things which our will, as long as possible, would not submit to bear. Those who have overcome outward struggle have also annihilated inward fear and no compulsion can force them to go its way by confounding them with strife before and behind.

Outward struggle I name that which a man excites by the senses against himself foolishly; viz.: worldly dealings, hearing
57 and seeing, speech and stomach, gradually and continually associating himself with the practice of life, so that the soul is blinded and becomes unable, because of external troubles that meet it, to discern its self in the hidden strife that arises; then

1) To take and give is an expression denoting worldly dealings.

for the sake of quiet, he subdues that which comes from within. But if a man closes the gates of the town, there will be a strife face to face; and he will not fear from the ambushes outside the town.

Blessed is the man who knows these things and endures them in silence without even then imposing upon himself much work, but interchanging the whole of his bodily service with the labour of prayer, if he is able to do so, who, proceeding from service to service, does not join anything to the worship of God consisting in prayer and recitation, but believes that, when serving God and meditating upon Him night and day, He will not leave him in need of the necessary things he needs, because he does not work for himself.

If anyone is not able to bear solitude without service, he must necessarily have recourse to it. But he shall take it as a helpful means only, without eagerness, and as a secondary thing, not as a principal commandment.

This applies to the weak. Manual work is called by Euagrius an impediment to the recollection of God. The Fathers have prescribed service to the indigent and despondent, not to those who are zealous to perform their legal obligations.

When God opens thy mind from within and thou givest thy-
58 self to frequent kneelings, let no care of anything take hold of thee, though the demons secretly persuade thee to do so; then see and wonder at what is born in thee from these things.

Do not compare any of the ethical practices [1]) with a man's throwing himself day and night on his face before the cross, his hands turned backwards. If thou desirest that thy fervour may never abate, and that thy tears may never fail, then practice this. Blessed art thou, o man, if thou thinkest of what I have told thee, without seeking any other thing night and day. Then thy light will be spread out like dawn and thy righteousness will shortly appear [2]). Then thou wilt be like an exulting paradise and like a fountain never destitute of water.

Behold, how many signs of grace happen to a man from Providence. Sometimes a man will be on his knees at the time of prayer, his hands spread out or stretched towards heaven, his face looking to the cross, and, so to speak his whole emotion and mind stretched out towards God in supplication;

1) ריבוי 2) Cf. Ps. 37, 6.

and while absorbed in these beseechings and pains at this time, of a sudden a fountain of delight will spring from his heart, his limbs will relax, his eyes be darkened, his face bow down and his deliberations be confuse, so that even his knees are no longer able to lean on the earth, from the exulting joy of the sign of grace that spreads through his whole body.

Distinguish, o man, what thou art reading, can these things be known from ink? Or can the taste of honey be spread over the palate of the reader, from written documents?

59 If thou doest not seek, thou wilt not find. And if thou doest not wake and knock fervently at the gate, without a break, thou wilt not be answered. Who could hear these things and be desirous of outward righteousness, unless he who is not able to bear the bonds of the cell? But if there be anyone who is not able to do these things, since it is a gift of God that a man remain within the door, he should not however desist from this other part [1]), lest he be bereft of the two parts of life. For until the outward man becomes dead to the ways of the world, not only to sin, but also to the whole bodily service, and the inward man to the seducing recollections of evil things, until the natural impulse is brought low and the body has almost died through labours, so that the sweetness of sin has no more mastery over the heart, the spirit of God does not spread its sweetness and man's limbs are not unveiled to life and divine impulses do not show themselves in the soul. And as long as a man's heart is not freed from earthly care, except those necessary things which nature imposes upon him at the time of his necessity — and which he leaves also to God to arrange — spiritual drunkenness cannot rise in him and that madness, for which the Apostle was disdained, he will not perceive; for the multitude of books had made him mad.

But I do not say this in despair; namely that unless a man reach the depth of perfection, the grace of God will not be given him and consolation will not come to him.

Verily, when a man rejects evil things and becomes wholly
60 alienated to them, and clings to good things, in a short time he will be aware of profit. And if he shows only a little zeal he will find the consolation of the forgiveness of sins in himself, and he will be dignified with grace and receive many good

1) outward righteousness.

things. But he is little when compared with him who has become wholly alienated to the world and has found in himself as it were the blessings of the world to come and has reached that for the sake of which Christ reached us. To whom and to his Father and to the Holy Ghost be glory and praise for ever and ever. Amen.

Here ends the fourth discourse.

V

God has made great the honour of man, by the twofold teachings he has given him. And from every side He has opened for him a door through which he has access unto knowledge.

Ask from nature a true witness concerning thyself, then thou wilt not err. If thou goest yet astray, let thyself be taught by that second witness who will bring thee back to the way from which thou hast erred.

A distracted heart cannot help but erring. And wisdom will not open its gate before it.

He who is able to understand through essential knowledge to what a degree of equality all men will come in the end, will not seek another teacher concerning the contemptability of the world.

61 The first book given by God to the rational beings, is the nature of the created things. Written teachings have been added only after aberration.

He who does not willingly remain far from things causing sin will be drawn towards them involuntarily. Things causing sin are wine and women, riches and bodily health. They are not to be called sin in themselves, but on account of man's weakness and their unlawful use, nature is easily drawn by them — more easily than by any other thing — towards different sins and therefore there is need of peculiar caution in regard of them. If thou rememberst continually and recognisest truly that thou art weak, thou wilt never overstep the borders prescribed by watchfulness. Despised above all things among men is poverty. But much more despised by God is haughtiness of heart and a disdainful spirit.

Among men riches are honoured; by God a humble soul.

When thou intendest to begin with one of the virtues, first prepare thyself, lest, by the evil things which it causes, thou shouldst fall into doubt concerning the truth.

62 If the Evil one sees some one beginning with one of the virtues in the fervour of faith, he attacks him by vehement and terrible temptations, with the intention that he be frightened by them, so that the love of his mind may abate and his fervour not rise again to bring him near to the works of God. And thus, because of fear of temptations accompanying good works [he hopes that] nobody will practise them anymore. Thou, however, prepare thyself to meet the evil things accompanying virtues, bravely and strongly; and then begin. If thou doest not expect evil things, do not begin with excellence. The man who is in doubt concerning the Lord, is persecuted by his own shadow; at the time of satiety he will be hungry and at the time of peace his ruin will be heavy. But whoever confides in God, his heart will be strong and his honour will be manifest before the crowds and his glory before his enemies.

The commandments of God are better than the treasures of the whole earth. He who acquires His laws in his heart, will find the Lord in them. He who meditates upon God in the night, will acquire Him as a housemate. He who is pliable to His will, will find the angels of heaven his teachers.

He who trembles before sins will pass without stumbling even through a dangerous place and at the time of darkness he will find a light within himself. If any one tremble before sins, his footsteps will be guarded by the Lord and mercy will precede his failures. He whose faults are small in his own eyes will fall into those which are worse than the former ones and it will be necessary that he pay for them sevenfold. Sow alms in humility and thou wilt reap mercy in the court of justice.

63 Whereby thou hast lost goods, thereby thou shalt acquire them again. If thou hast to pay a penny to God in some way or other, He will not accept a pearl from thee in its place. For in this case that thing is necessary.

If thou hast lost chastity, let not fornication take its place. If thou givest alms as a reparation, He will not accept them from thee; He postulates saintliness for saintliness. And if thou wrongest not the poor, let not unjust possession take the place of that. While thou art refraining from bread, let not injustice usurp its place so that thou must struggle with some other thing.

Oppression is eradicated by compassion and renunciation. If thou leavest the plant in its place, thou wilt have to struggle with some other thing, according to the word of the great teacher Mar Afrem.

Take care not to fight against heat during summer in clothes destined for winter. Thus each will reap, with the contrary of that with which he sows injustice. And every illness he will combat with its peculiar antidotum. Now thou art deadly wounded by envy; while thou strugglest against sleep. When sin is still green, eradicate it, lest it cover the whole ground. He who neglects an evil thing while it is small, will find it at last a hard master and he will go in bonds before it. He who treats it severely in the beginning, will easily rule it. He who bears injustice with gladness while victory is in his hand, he has received from God the consolation of his faith clearly mani-
64 fested. And he who bears oppression in humility, has reached perfection. The angels will admire him. There is no profitable action more difficult and more meritorious.

Do not believe thyself strong before thou hast been led into temptations and thou hast found thyself steadfast in them. In all things thou hast to try thyself in this way.

Acquire glory on account of the faith of thy heart, then thou wilt tread upon the neck of thy enemies, and thou wilt find thy mind humble. Do not confide in thy strength lest thou be left to the weakness of thy nature and thou learnest thy weakness in thy fall; nor in thy knowledge, lest thou be surrounded in thought with hidden ambushes and becomest confused.

Acquire a humble tongue; then disdain will never hurt thee; and pleasant lips; then thou wilt be found a friend of every one. Do not boast of any thing with thy tongue, because among creatures there is nothing exempt from change; and thy shame will be double when thou art found the contrary [of what thou didst boast of]. Everything of which thou boastest before men, will surely be altered by God, so that thou mayest have a cause for humility so that thou judge God's knowledge to be all, and believe not that there is anything true in creatures. And when thou thinkest thus, thy eyes will at all times be fixed upon Him.

[Divine] care surrounds all men at all times; but it is not seen, save only by those who have purified themselves from

sins and think of God perpetually. To these then it is revealed
65 clearly; for when they have been led into great temptations for the sake of truth, then they receive a faculty of perception clearly as if with the eyes of the flesh. [They receive it] when they want it, in a sensible way, in accordance with the kind and the cause of the temptation, in order to strengthen their courage. As in the case of Jacob and Joshua the son of Nūn, Hananya and his companions, Petrus and others, to whom the figure of a man appeared in order to encourage them and to console their faith.

If thou sayest that these things were acts of Providence of a universal nature, let then the holy martyrs console thee, who sometimes together, sometimes one by one in separate places have suffered for God. Not only a hidden force was with them, by which the members of their bodies were fortified against being hanged in irons and against torments of all kinds, things beyond natural power — but sometimes also holy angels were seen by them manifestly, in order that every man should know that God's care is with those who suffer for His sake for any reason, so that they themselves might receive encouragement and their torturers be ashamed. For as the former were made conspicuous by such visions, to the same degree the latter were tormented by their endurance.

And what shall we say about many of the solitaries and strangers and true monks, who have made waste land habitable and an encamping ground of the angels, who visited them on account of their worthy behaviour? As true comrades [serving] one Lord the heavenly hosts mingled [with them] in their
66 dwelling place, solitaries who during their whole life loved solitude, who made holes and rocks their dwelling places, who gladly suffered cold and heat for the love of God. And because they left the earth and loved heaven like the angels, the angels have not concealed themselves from their sight. But sometimes they taught them concerning behaviour. And again they answered the questions they asked them concerning other things. And sometimes the angels showed them the way when they wandered through the desert; sometimes they delivered them from temptations; sometimes they saved them from some net of danger which suddenly, without their foreseeing it, threatened them, some serpent for instance, or falling from a rock, or a stone that suddenly fell down with violence from a height.

Sometimes, also under the attacks of the open battles of Satan, the angels showed themselves to them manifestly, and clearly announced that they were sent in order to help them and encouraged them by their words. Sometimes also they cured their pain and healed some injuries which had befallen them in some way or other, by the touch of their hands. Sometimes again they imparted to their bodies, which had been weakened by abstention from all food, by their words or by the sudden
67 touch of their hands, a force foreign to nature, adducing in some secret way a force unto the lowered nature. Sometimes they brought them food, warm bread and olives, and to some of them various fruits. Others they informed concerning the time of their death. And how long must be the enumeration of things concerning the love of the holy angels towards our race and concerning the care they showed unto the righteous, as great brothers who fostered and guarded their little ones. All this serves to make clear for every one how near God is to His friends and how much care He bestows on those who entrust their life to His hands and follow Him with a serene heart.

If it is certain to thee and thou believest that God cares for thee, thou needest not be anxious for thy body nor have care concerning the guiding of thyself by means. But if thou doubtest this and desirest to care for thyself, without God, thou art more wretched than any man, and what does life mean to thee? Throw thy care on God [1]), that thou be strengthened against all fear. He who once has entrusted his life to God, will dwell in mental peace.

Without renunciating possessions, the soul cannot be liberated from confusion of thought. And without quiescence of the senses, peace of mind cannot be perceived [2]). And without
68 entering into temptations, spiritual wisdom cannot be acquired. And without constant reciting, subtlety of thought cannot be learned. And without the deliberations being set at peace the mind cannot be moved by hidden mysteries. And without the confidence of faith one cannot venture to throw his soul amidst sorrowful and hard circumstances. Without the practical experience of God's care the heart is not able to confide in God. And when the soul does not taste sufferings for the sake of Christ, it is not united with Him in knowledge.

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1) Ps. 55, 23. 2) Introduction

Deem him a man of God, who constantly takes upon himself the lot of want, being moved by great compassion. He who does good to the poor finds God his provider. He who suffers want for His sake finds Him to be a great treasure. God does not need anything; only He rejoices when anyone satisfies or honours His image [1]) for His sake.

When anyone asks thee and thou hast, do not say in thy heart: I will keep it for myself in order to have more comfort by it and I will let him pass quickly; God will provide for him from another; I will bestow it upon myself. Do not speak thus. For in this way think iniquitous men, and people who do not know God deliberate thus, fostering such thoughts. But a righteous man does not give his honour to another one nor does he let slip the opportunity for bounty. God will provide for him certainly in some other way; if He knows that he is in trouble. God will not abandon any one. But thou art willing
69 immediately to leave God's honour and to throw His bounty from thee. On the other hand rejoice if thou possessest and give, saying: Glory to thee, o God, who hast granted unto me that I find some one to comfort. And if thou possessest not, rejoice the more, thanking God with many thanksgivings, saying: I thank thee, o God, who hast granted me the honour of becoming poor for Thy sake, and who hast deemed me worthy to taste sufferings enjoined in Thy commandments namely illnesses and poverty such as the saints have tasted who have gone this way.

And if thou art ill, say: Blessed are those who find in the things which God sends us for our profit, the aim for which God has destined them. God sends sickness for the sake of the health of the soul.

One of the saints once said: The following I have taken as a sign. When a solitary does not serve God in the right way, and is not zealous in His works, God certainly will send him a temptation to occupy his thoughts, lest he be wholly idle and, by complete idleness, his mind turn aside to thinking of the things of the left hand. But if he is not willing to think of excellence, the influence of the temptations will cause him to think of it and not to think of idle things. This God does with every man who loves Him. When He sees that he begins

1) viz. man

to disdain His works, he sends a heavy sorrow in order to make him wise and to chastise him. Therefore, when such
70 people call to Him, He does not pay attention, nor does He hasten to free them, till they have become weary and know that they have to bear these things on account of their neglect. 'When ye spread forth your hands, I will hide mine eyes from you; yea, when ye make many prayers, I will not hear' [1]). Even if this was said to others, still it is certainly applicable to those who leave the way. But if God is so compassionate, why do we then so frequently knock at His door in trouble and pray, and yet He turns away from our prayer? He says: Behold, the Lord's hand is not shortened, that it cannot save; nor His ear heavy, that it cannot hear. But your iniquities have separated between you and your God, and your sins have hid His face from you, that He will not hear [2]). Remember the Lord at all times, then He will remember thee when evil approches unto thee. He has made thy nature a receptacle of accident. And in the world where He has created and left thee He has made frequent the causes of accidents and temptations. He has made thy nature a small receptacle of these things. Evil things are not far from thee, neither are they a few in number. For they rise from within thee when He gives a sign, and from under thy feet and from the place where thou art standing. But like one eyelid is near the other, so temptations are near the children of men.

With wisdom God has provided these things for thee in this way, for thy profit, that thou mayest continually knock at His door and that, for fear of sorrowful events, the thought of Him may constantly recur to thy mind and thou be near to God in constant prayer and sanctified by constant thought of Him in thy heart.

And when thou callest unto Him and He answers thee, thou
71 wilt know that thy saviour is God. And thou wilt perceive thy God who has created thee and is thy provider and preserver, therein that He has made in thy behalf two worlds. One for thy instruction, as it were a school for a short time; and another one, a paternal home and thy abode for ever and ever.

He has not made thee apathetic, lest thou shouldst desire divine rank and receive what Satan received. Nor has He made

1) Is. 1, 15 2) Is. 59, 1 sq.

thee incapable of error or, lest thou shouldst be like the beings which are bound and thou shouldst receive thy good and thy evil without profit or remuneration as the other corporeal beings on the earth. How many blows and humiliations together with thanksgivings are born from the capacity for affections, and fear, and also error, is manifest for every one so that it should be known that our zeal for righteousness and our turning aside from evil are of our will, and that the honour and disdain, caused thereby, should be put to our credit. Thus we are put to shame and we fear on account of disdain; but we thank God and press towards the good on account of honour.

All these instructions He has multiplied for thee, lest freed from them on account of thy not needing them or thy nature not being capable of them, exalted above fear and affecting things, thou shouldst forget God and turn away from Him and invent many gods. For though subjected to affections and want, which scourges were sent against them on account of paltry
72 riches and short-lived temporal power and precarious health, — still many have not only invented many gods, but have even ventured in their insanity to pretend to be of divine nature.

Therefore He has turned thee away from all these things through that which troubles thee from time to time, lest He should be angry with thee on account of thy turning aside and destroy thee from before Him in punishment.

I omit the ungodliness and the sins that arise from health and lack of fear and comfort, even though that which has been mentioned above should not happen [1]). Therefore, by sufferings and distress He has caused thee frequently to recall Him in thy heart; and by fear of adversities He incites thee to turn towards the gate of his mercy. By liberating thee from these [troubles] He sows in thee causes of love unto Him. And when thou hast found love he brings thee near to the honour of the sons; He shows thee the richness of His bounty and the steadfastness of His care for thee. Then He will make thee perceive the holiness of His honour and the hidden mysteries of the nature of His greatness. How shouldst thou have become acquainted with these things if there had not been adversities? For through these the love of God is able to increase, viz. by understanding His acts of bounty and by recalling His various

1) viz. that creatures pretend to be of divine nature.

acts of care. All this good is born for thee from things causing grief, if thou knowest to give thanks.

Therefore remember God, that He may remember thee constantly; and when He remembers thee and saves thee, thou wilt receive all these goods. Forget Him not in idle distraction, lest He also forget thee in thy temptations.

73 In prosperity be near to Him and obedient, that thou mayest have freedom of speech with Him in trouble because of thy constantly being near to Him in thy heart by means of thy prayer. Sit before His face all thy time, thinking of Him and recollecting Him in thy heart, lest, seeing Him only after long thou shouldst lack freedom of speech with Him on account of bashfulness. A high degree of freedom of speech is born from constant intercourse. Constant intercourse with men is of a bodily nature; that with God is psychic meditation and offerings in prayers.

On account if its intensity this meditation is sometimes mingled with ecstasy. For the heart of those who seek the Lord rejoices. Seek the Lord, ye sinners and be strengthened in hope in your thoughts. Seek His face by repentance at all time and you will be sanctified by the holiness of His face and you will be purified from your unrighteousness. Speed unto the Lord, ye unrighteous, the Lord who forgives unrighteousness and effaces sins. For He has sworn: I have no pleasure in the death of the wicked; but that he turn from his way and live [1]). I have spread out my hands all the day unto a rebellious and disobedient people [2]). And why will ye die, O house of Jacob? [3]) Turn unto me, then I will turn unto you [4]). And by Ezekiel He says: When the wicked turns from his way unto the Lord and do that which is lawful and right, the sins he has com-
74 mitted will not be remembered but he shall live, sayeth the Lord [5]). Thus it is also with the righteous; when he turneth from his righteousness and comitteth sin and iniquity, the righteousness he has done will not be remembered but I will lay a stumbling block before him and by the iniquity he has done he shall die if he remains steadfast in it [6]). Why is this? Because the iniquitous will not stumble on account of his iniquity after he turns unto the Lord. But the righteousness of the righteous

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1) Ez. 33, 11. 2) Is. 65, 2. 3) Ez. 33, 11. 4) Zach. 1, 3.
5) Cf. Ez. 33, 19. 6) Cf. Ez. 33, 18.

will not save him when he sins, if he builds his building on that foundation.

And to Jeremia He spake thus: Take a roll of a book, and write therein all the words that I have spoken unto thee, from the day of Josia the king of Juda even unto this day. It may be that [the house of Juda] will hear and fear and they may return every man from his evil way and turn again unto me, that I may forgive their sins [1]). And the sage has said: He that covereth his sins, shall not prosper. But whoso confesseth and forsaketh them, shall have mercy from God [2]).

And Jesaja, who was rich in revelations, says: Seek ye the Lord and call ye upon Him when ye have found Him. And when He is near let the sinner forsake his way and the unrighteous man his thoughts. Let him turn unto me and I will have mercy upon him and to our God for He will abundantly pardon. For my thoughts are not your thoughts neither are my ways your ways [3]). Wherefore do ye [4]) spend money on that which is not bread? and your labour for that which satisfieth not? Hearken diligently unto me, and eat ye that which is good. Come unto me, hear and your soul shall live [5]).
75 When thou keepest the ways of the Lord and doest His will, then thou wilt confide in the Lord. Then thou wilt call on Him and He will answer thee; thou wilt cry and He will say: Lo, here I am.

The wicked when evil befalls him has confidence in God to call on Him. And he is not able to expect His salvation, because he has left His ways in the days of his prosperity.

Seek a helper for thyself before thou hast to struggle.

Seek a physician for thyself before thou art ill. Pray before distress has reached thee; then in the time of distress thou wilt find prayer(?) and it will answer thee. Pray and ask before thou stumblest. Prepare thy gifts before thou makest a vow, they are thy provisions.

The ark was constructed in time of peace. A hundred years before its wood was planted. So when anger came, the wicked who had been comfortable in their wickedness, were confounded. But the ark was a refuge for the righteous.

The wicked shuts his mouth during prayer. Inward baseness takes away freedom of speech from the heart.

1) Cf. Jeremia 36, 2 sq. 2) Prov. 28, 13. 3) Is. 55, 6—8.
4) The Syriac text adds not. 5) Cf. Is. 55, 2 sq.

Steadfastness of the heart makes tears of joy to flow during the imploration [of God].

Strong endurance of injustice borne by free will purifies the heart. Endurance of injustice is based on contempt for the world. That a man remains steadfast during oppression without being distressed, is caused by the fact that the heart begins to see the truth. Joy on account of oppression and injustice borne by free will, exalts the heart. No one can bear oppression and injustice with a glad will, save those whose deliberations have wholly become dead to the world.

Those whose thoughts are wholly filled with the odour of
76 this life, are made to blaze with anger at once through vain glory; or they fall into thoughts of spite, born of [the love of vain glory]. O how difficult is this excellence, and how honoured it is with God! He who denies this behaviour, has to go abroad and to leave his country. It is difficult for a man to accomplish this exalted excellence in his country; the eminent and the strong only are able to bear the grief that is born of this behaviour, among their acquaintances and also those who in their lifetime have become dead to this life and have abandoned hope of the consolation of this time. As Grace is near to humility, so are difficult accidents to haughtiness.

The heart of the Lord is towards the humble, to comfort them. The face of the Lord is against the haughty to humiliate them. Humility receives compassion, continually. But hardness of heart and unbelief meet hardships continually that seem hopeless till of a sudden evil rises against them and they are delivered to destruction.

Make thyself small among men, then He will exalt thee even above the heads of the people. Let thy prostration be low before all men and be the first to salute; then thou wilt be honoured more than he who brings gold from Ophir. Be despised and rejected in thine own eyes, then thou wilt see the glory of God within thyself.

77 Where humility sprouts, there glory will rise. If thou strivest publicly after dishonour among men he will make thy honour great. And if thou art humble in thy heart, He will show thee His glory in thy heart. Be disdained in thy greatness, not great in thy being disdained. Learn to be disdained, while being full of the honour of the Lord; not, to be honoured while being injured by ulcers within. Reject honour, then thou

wilt be honoured. Do not love it, lest thou be rejected. If thou pursuest honour, it will flee from thee. If thou fleest from it, it will rise for thee from the place where thou hidest thyself and it will be a herald of thy humility to every one.

If thou givest thyself to disdain in order to be honoured, the Lord will confound thee. If thou rejectest thyself for the sake of truth He will command the creatures to praise thee. And they will reveal to thee the glory of the creator who from eternity speaks through them and they will glorify thee as the creator, because thou art His thrue image.

Has anyone found a man whose behaviour is exalted, who is despised among men and who is enlightened and wise and poor in spirit? Blessed is he who has humbled himself in all things, for he will be magnified in all things. He who has humbled and made himself small for the sake of God, will be glorified by God. And whoever for His sake is hungry and thirsty, He will give to drink him from His good a wine causing a drunkenness that never leaves those who drink it. And he who goes naked for His sake will be clad by Him with a garment of glory. And he who is poor and indigent
78 for His sake, his consolation will be established in His true richness. Make thyself disdained for the sake of God, then thy glory will be great, even if thou doest not perceive it.

During thy whole life deem thyself as a sinner, then thou wilt found to be a righteous man during thy whole life. Be despised though wise, and do not err in thy wisdom. Be simple in thy wisdom and do not assume the appearance of being wise if thou art simple. If humility elevates the despised how, much more will it elevate the honoured.

Flee from praise, then thou wilt be praised. Fear haughtiness, then thou wilt be exalted. For pride was not assigned to the children of man, nor haughtiness of heart to those born from a woman.

If thou hast voluntarily renunciated the whole body of the world, do not quarrel with anyone concerning small parts of it.

If thou hast rejected glory, flee from those who hunt praise.

Flee from possessors as from possessions. Depart from the luxurious, as from luxury. Flee from the lascivious, as from fornication. If the memory of their habits troubles the mind, how much more if one see and be near to them. Be near to the excellent; through them thou wilt be near unto God.

Be an ascete with the humble, to learn from his ways. If to see his habits is profitable to those who see him, how much more the character of his behaviour and teachings received from his very lips.

Love the poor; through them thou wilt find mercy. Do not approach unto the quarrelsome, lest thou be compelled to leave thy peaceful customs.

Flee not from the ugliness of the illness of the sick, for thou art also clad with flesh. Do not contend with the bitter in
79 heart, lest thou be beaten with the rod with which they are beaten and seeking a consolator, wilt not find any. Do not reject the cripples lest thou enter Sheol with them.

Love the sinners but reject their works. Do not despise them because of their shortcomings, lest thou be tempted by the same. Remember that thou sharest in the stink of Adam and that thou too art clad with his illness. To him who needs passionate prayer and soft words, do not give blame in stead, lest thou cause his destruction and his soul be demanded from thy hand. Resemble the physicians who use cold medicines against symptoms of fever.

Compel thyself to show honour to thy fellow man, when thou meetest him; and kiss his hand and his foot, and warm thy heart with love unto him, piously. And take his hands several times and place them upon thy eyes and caress them with great honour. And attribute to his person beautiful things, that do not belong to him. And also when he is absent, speak about him fine and beautiful things and call him by several honourable names. By these things and the like, thou compellest him not only unto the desire of beautiful things, since he will be ashamed of the renown thou imputest him without his deserving it and so thou wilt be able to sow in him the seed of excellent things, but by means of these habits and the
80 like to which thou accustomest thyself, thou wilt found in thyself peaceful and humble customs and be liberated from many severe struggles, against which others learn to guard themselves by steady works. And not only this. But if he, who receives these honours from thee, has any shortcoming or fault of will, he will easily acquire from thee healing, if thou lettest him clearly perceive [it] but for an instant only; for he will be ashamed because of the honour shown to him and because of the sign of love he constantly perceives in thee.

This be thy aim regarding all men. And when thou becomest angry at any one and zealous for the sake of faith, or on account of his evil works, or thou reprehendest and vituperatest him, then be cautious. We all have a just judge in heaven. But if thou art merciful and seekest to turn him unto the truth, thou hast to suffer for him. And with tears and in love thou must speak to him without being enraged against him, effacing all sign of hostility from thy face. Love does not know how to be angry; it is not indignant, it does not despise so as to cause suffering. Wherever the sign of love and knowledge is present, it is profound humility rising from the inner mind.

VI

81 The fact that a man may fall into accidental faults, proves the weakness of his nature, namely that our nature necessarily is liable to such things. It has not seemed good unto God that it would be profitable for him that he should be wholly exalted above this [weakness], before his nature arrived at the second creation. The fact of his being subject to chance, is profitable for the subjugation of the mind. But the constant [falling into faults] causes audacity.

There are three modes by which every rational soul may approach unto God: by the fervour of faith; by fear; by punishment from God. For it cannot approach unto the rank of love by its own power; but only if it is based on one of these modes.

As from a disordered [1]) belly confusion of thought is born, so, from wantonness in speech and confusion of habits, ignorance and folly of mind.

The care of practical things confuses the soul, and the distraction of work disturbs the mind and makes it lose its quietness and drives away from it its peacefulness. It is becoming for the solitary who has devoted himself to heavenly work, that his mind be constantly free from care so that, when he examines his soul and deliberates, he may not see in it any thing belonging to this world, nor desire of any visible object,
82 but that, on account of his complete absorption from temporary

1) Cf. Thomas a Kempis' *inordinatus*.

things, he may be able to meditate upon the law of the Lord night and day, without any distraction.

Bodily works without mental beauty are like a barren womb and dry breasts; they do not bring any nearer unto the knowledge of God. They have no care for a body labouring to eradicate passions from the mind; so they do not reap anything.

As a man who sows on thorns and is not able to reap, so is he whose mind is injured by care and wrath and desire of gathering treasures, and who sighs on his bed on account of the frequency of his vigils and abstinence. Witness is the scripture that says: As a nation that did righteousness and forsook not the ordinance of their God: they ask of me the ordinances of justice; they take delight in coming near unto God. Wherefore have we fasted and thou seest not? Have we afflicted our soul and thou takest no knowledge? Behold, in the day of your fast ye find pleasure and sacrifice unto all your idols [1]).

This means: the evil designs and the evil thoughts hold you in yourself in stead of God and sacrifice to them your liberty, a thing esteemed at all times; the sacrifice which is honoured above all things and which you ought not to omit, consists of your good works and pious inner being. A good land which makes its lord rejoice by yielding an hundredfold, is the soul
83 that is made excellent by meditation on God, in vigil day and night. The Lord will build upon its foundations and around it, a cloud for shade during the day and a shining flame of fire during the night. From within its darkness, light will dawn.

As a cloud obscures the rays of the moon, so the vapour of the stomach obscures the divine wisdom so that the soul does not see it [2]). As a hearth burning with dry wood, so is bodily desire in a full stomach. As oily matter excites the fierceness of a flame, so does the humidity of food the carnal passion in the body.

The knowledge of God does not dwell in a body that loves comfort.

A man who loves his body will not be deemed worthy of divine gifts.

As from the travail a fruit is born that gladdens the woman, so from labours there is born in the soul the knowledge of God's mysteries. To the pusillanimous and those who love

1) Is. 58, 2 sq. 2) Cf. *Book of the Dove* p. 27 note 3.

comfort, a fruit is born that causes shame. As a father shows mercy unto his son, so Christ shows mercy unto the body that performs labours, and He is near its mouth at all times. The labour of wisdom is priceless.

A stranger is he who is strange is his spirit unto every habit of this world. A mourner [1]) is he, who spends all the days of this life in hunger, thirst and mourning, for the sake of the expectation of heavenly hope. A recluse is he who,
84 removing his abode from the sight of the world, and looking beyond, has only one demand in prayer: the desire of the world to be. The riches of the solitary are in his heart [2]). The riches of the solitary are either consolation granted him from the midst of mourning, or gladness that dawns from faith, the treasury of his spirit. The compassionate is he, whose spirit does not distinguish, when practising compassion, any of the classes of men. Virginity is this, that a man not only guards his body from the corruptions of revelling, but that he also guards his chastity against his soul even when he is alone. If thou desirest chastity, restrain the course of impure deliberations, by occupying thyself with recitation and constant beseechings unto God. Then thou wilt be armed also in thy inner being against the things that spring from nature. Without those, man is able to see purity in himself.

If thou art desirous to acquire compassion, first train thyself to acquire contempt for [outward] things, lest their importance draw the mind away from the aim which it has set before itself. The purity of compassion is known from patience in bearing wrong, and the perfection of humility from idle oppression borne gladly. If thou art really compassionate, thou wilt not be angry within thyself, when thou art bereft of thy possessions iniquitously and with injustice; and thou wilt not show thy suffering openly unto others, but let the sin of thy injustice be effaced by pas-
85 sionate compassion, as the headiness of wine is abated by [mixing it with] much water. But show thou the mark of purity that arises from great mercy, by adding there-unto other things and do well to those who do thee wrong, with gladness, as also the blessed Elisha did unto his enemies, which were come to take him prisoner who, by praying and by blinding their eyes

1) ܚܝܕܝܐ, also a word for monk.

2) Supplied from London Mss.

by visions, made manifest the power at his disposal. And if he had wished this, they would have been annihilated before him; but by providing them with food and drink and letting them go away, he made manifest the mercy he possessed within himself.

If thou art truly humble, be not troubled if thou art oppressed. And do not excuse thyself in any point, but actually take upon thee the wrong laid to thy charge, without being anxious to persuade people that the matter is otherwise. On the contrary, pray that thou mayest obtain forgiveness. Some have taken upon them the evil name of fornication and others have taken upon them deeds of adultery for which they were too pious, and the fruit of a sin which they had not committed they made appear serious by bewailing it as if it were their own. And they implored forgiveness for sins which they had not committed from their oppressor with tears, while their soul was crowned with the full purity of chastity. Others, lest they should be praised on account of wonderful deeds performed in secret, have assumed the habits of lunatics, though they were in the full possession of their wits and their serenity; so that
86 the holy angels, in admiration of these deeds, became spectators of the greatness of such men. Thou, however, hast assumed humility where those others have given witness against themselves; thou art not even able to keep silence if thou art accused, and yet thou deemest thyself to be humble? If thou art [really] humble, try thyself by these things, whether or not thou art troubled.

The many mansions in the house of the Father denote the spiritual degrees of the inhabitants of that place. This means: the different gifts and the spiritual ranks in which they rejoice spiritually, and the variety of the classes of gifts. It is not to be understood in such a manner, that every person has really his defined portion in the various local habitations, so that [these differences] manifest themselves openly in the variety of particular mansions apponited for every one; but they are to be compared with the personal advantage every one of us obtains by the personal yet common use of this apperceptible sun in accordance with the purity of his visual power. Thus as the eyelid regulates the effusion of the quality of light, and as a lamp[1]), in one and the same house, distributes the use of

1) The same comparison is used by Ghazālī, *Iḥyā'*, III, p. 4.

its light in a varied fashion, although the lamp itself is not bereft of the simplicity of its light, so as to become many with its varied aspects, so, those who have been deemed worthy of that place, although dwelling in one mansion, indivisible as it is into parts, attract, at a fixed time, from one and the same intelligible sun, every one according to the rank of his beha-
87 viour, the own delight, in one air and one place and one abode and with one sight and one mode. The high degree of his neighbour's rank is not seen by him who is inferior, namely not as if it arose from the many gifts of his neighbour and from the scarcity of his own gifts, so that it should be to him a cause of grief and spiritual torment, absit! To think such things in the place of delights were impossible. Every one rejoices within himself at the gift he has been deemed worthy of, and at the height of his rank. But the outward aspect of them all, is one; and the place is one. And what is still truer, they dwell as in encampments of angels, in one aereal abode, in equality of actual vision, with secret consciousness of their [different] ranks, in contemplative revelations that vary according to their degree.

If real personal beings possess, apart from working apperceptive power, also spiritual impulses, no one will venture, even in the world to be, to proclaim in words an order of things deviating from this one: that [that the only differentiation is with regard to] the intellect and further [spiritual] powers, even though [this differentiation] be very manifest on account of the perfection of nature. True, therefore, is the word spoken by the Fathers: on the one hand there is ignorance for an undetermined time; on the other hand there is a limited time for the manifestation of its abrogation, together with [the revelation of] other peculiar mysteries that are defined in silence by the [supreme] being. For there is no mean between com-
88 plete elevation and absolute abasement, in the future separation. Either one belongs wholly to the high ones or wholly to the low ones. But within this and the other [state] there are varying modes of retribution.

And if this be true, as it is true, what then is the folly of some, who say: I do not desire to be in the kingdom; if I only could strive after salvation from hell. Being saved from hell is the kingdom. And being without the kingdom is hell. For the scriptures do not teach three places [in the world to

be]. What do they teach? When the son of man shall come in his glory, he shall set the sheep on his right hand, but the goats on the left [1]). Here the scriptures do not mention three classes, but two: those of the right hand and those of the left. The difference between the dwelling place is given distinctly. And these, it says, shall shine forth as the sun in the kingdom of the father [2]), and those [will depart] into everlasting fire [3]). Further: They shall come from the east and west, and shall sit down with Abraham in the kingdom [4]). And the children of the promise that have not been obedient shall go into the darkness outside the kingdom. There will be psychic weeping and grinding of teeth, which is a grief more hard than the fire. Now thou understandest that to remain far from that elevation means torturing hell.

It is beautiful for a man to admonish mankind unto beau-
89 tiful things and to bring them, by his constant care, from error to the knowledge of life. And this is the stage of our Lord and the apostles, and it is very elevated. But if he perceives within himself, that by familiar and constant intercourse, his inner being becomes injured by the sight of [worldly] things, and his serenity is disturbed so as to lose its discernment, and is darkened, since his spirit still acquires cautiousness and stricter submission of the senses. For he is sick as long as his senses are not yet healed: and wishing to heal others, he loses his own partial health of soul and quits the chaste freedom of his will for a troubled mind. Such a one has to recall the word of the apostle who says: Strong meat belongeth to the healthy [5]), and he shall turn back, lest he hear from them, symbolically: How art thou a physician for others, yet full of wounds thyself? Accordingly he shall keep to himself and guard his own health only. Then instead of audible words he shall care [6]) for a beautiful behaviour, and others will profit not by his spoken words, but by the health in which he holds himself, if possible. Thus by his health they will be healed, even though he be absent, [thay is to say] by the zeal of his excellent deeds, which is a more excellent thing than to serve them merely with words, while sick himself, and in need of healing more than they themselves.

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1) Matthew 25, 32. 2) Matthew 13, 43. 3) Matthew 25, 41. 4) Matthew 8, 11.
5) Hebrews 5, 14. 6) Read ואזהר

For if the blind lead the blind, both shall fall into the ditch[1]).
90 For strong meat belongeth to the healthy and to those whose senses have been trained and strengthened so as to receive all kinds of food, that is [those that are strengthened] against all sensual shocks, because the heart is healthy on account of its training in perfection.

But when Satan desires to defile the chaste spirit by thoughts of fornication, he first tempts its endurance by vain glory, since the beginning of such a thought does not resemble that of the affections. This he does with the guarded spirit into which he cannot easily instill a thought which is purely evil. But when he that was strong, by meditating on old thoughts has left his fortress and when he is at some distance from it, Satan causes him to be assailed by full opportunity of fornication, by associating the spirit with lascivious things.

At first the spirit feels a sudden terror when it meets them, because of the chastity of the deliberations that meet the [worldly] things, for the mind, their governor, has refrained from looking at them before. But it falls from the height of its original thought, even though it be not defiled. And it does not turn and regains quickly the former deliberations which are the cause of the secondary ones, then, when it meets often with these things, custom will blind the discernment of the soul through frequency of meeting. So in accordance with the quantity and the character of the first affection, is the submission to the second.

To avoid the affections by the recollection of virtues is easier and more beautiful than to vanquish them in strife. For when the affections leave their place and are in motion so as
91 to show themselves at strife, then they also print on the spirit forms and images. [People of] this rank[2]) possess a great valiance, so that they draw strength from the spirit; but the mind is greatly disturbed and troubled. By the former way of proceeding mentioned, even the traces of affections are not known in the spirit when they have departed.

Bodily labours and meditating upon the scriptures preserve purity. And labours are made firm by hope and fear. Hope and fear are established in the spirit by seclusion from the

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1) Matthew 15, 14.
2) Namely those who vanquish the affections.

children of man and by constant prayer [1]). Until man has received the Comforter, he needs written documents [2]), in order to fix in his heart, by images, profitable recollections. And by constant meditation upon them, he will renew the attractions of excellence and see in himself caution against the narrow paths of sin; for he does not yet possess the dominating force of spirit which reduces to oblivion those powers which bereave man of profitable recollections and adduce in him languor by distraction of mind.

But when spiritual force enters and dwells in the intelligible forces of the operative soul, then there are fixed in the heart in stead of written laws spiritual commandments, which the heart learns secretly from the spirit, which does not need the help of sensible material [3]) by the medium of the senses.

Whenever the mind learns from matter this instruction is followed by error and forgetfulness. But whenever it draws instruction from incorruptible things, its recollection will also be incorruptible, founded on their intelligible nature.

92 There are good deliberations and there is a good will. There are evil deliberations and there is an evil heart. The former, without the latter are of little account for remuneration. The latter are impulses which blow over the mind, as the winds that blow over the sea causing waves to arise. But the latter are the roots. And in accordance with the fundamental direction is also the good or the bad remuneration; not in accordance with the motion of the deliberations. For the soul does not cease from setting into motion varying deliberations, and if thou calculatest a remuneration for all these even though they have no root beneath, thou wilt be near to changing thy remuneration and thy retributions thousand times every day.

A young bird without wings is the mind that has lately left the bonds of the affections, by means of the works of repentance. At the time of prayer it strives to exalt itself above earthly things, but it cannot. For it creeps still on the surface of the earth, where also the serpent crawls. But it concentrates its deliberations by recitation and works and fear and care for excellent qualities. For beyond these it does not yet know anything. And these keep the mind pure for a short time. But

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1) ܩܪܝܢ 2) Litt.: impressions in ink.

3) ܡܠܝ

then recollections will return, troubling and defiling the heart. For he does not yet perceive the air of peace and liberty, which concentrates the mind for a long time, [keeping it] quiet without any recollection of [worldly] things. For it has still
93 wings of flesh, viz. bodily virtues which are exercised openly. But is does not yet see and perceive the theoretical significance of the virtues exercised, which consists in wings of the mind by which it approaches unto heavenly things and is removed far from the earth.

As long as man serves God in a way that can be perceived by the senses and in [outward] things, the prints of things will be delineated in his deliberations and his mind will think of divine things in bodily forms. But when he perceives that which is within things, then, according to the measure of its apperceptive power, the mind will also be exalted above the forms of things in due time. The eyes of the Lord are upon the humble and His ears are willing to hear them [1]). The prayer of the humble [goes] as it were from his mouth unto [God's] ear: O Lord, my God, let my darkness be enlightened. When thou art [occupied] in solitude with the beautiful work of humility, when thy soul is near unto coming forth from under the darkness, this will be thy sign: thy heart will burn and glow as with fire, night and day, so that thou wilt esteem all earthly things as ash and dung. This means that it will not even please thee to touch food, on account of the pleasure of the new, fervent deliberations, which move continually within thee. Then, of a sudden, the fountain of tears will be given thee, so that they flow from thy eyes, as the waters of brooks, without compulsion, mingling themselves with all thy work, viz. with thy recitation and with thy prayer, with thy service and with thy meditation, with thy food and with thy drink, with all that thou doest tears will stream. If thou observest this in
94 thyself, take heart, thou hast passed through the sea. Continue thy labours, keep thy cautiousness sound that thy grace may augment from day to day. As long as thou hast not yet met with these things, thy way has not yet finally reached the mountain of God.

If this state vanishes after thou hast found it and if this fervour abates, without thy proceeding to take another thing

1) Cf. Ps. 34,15.

as its substitute, woe to thee, what hast thou lost! Either thou hast become haughty, or thou art lax. What is it that is situated after tears, and what a man meets after having passed beyond them, and what there is further after this latter state, we will describe beneath, in those chapters which deal with the course of behaviour, as a thing concerning which we are enlightened by the scriptures and by the Fathers who were entrusted such mysteries.

If thou hast no works thou shalt not speak about excellence. Dearer to God are trials for righteousness' sake, than all vows and sacrifices. And dearer is the odour of the sweat of the fatigue they cause, than all the drugs of sweet scent and exquisite perfumes.

All excellence, which does not vex the body, must be deemed by thee a miscarriage without a soul. The sacrifices of the righteous are the tears of their eyes, and their acceptable offerings are the sighs of their vigils. The saints lament because of the dulness of the body and they sigh and send their prayers unto God with suffering. And at the voice of their lamentations the
95 holy hosts assemble to them in order to give them heart through hope and to console them. The holy angels are their partners during the temptations and sufferings of the saints, because they are near to them.

Labours and humility make man a God on the earth. Faith and compassion give a speedy advance to clearness. Fervour and a broken heart cannot dwell in one soul; neither do those that are drunk know control of their mind. When fervour has been given, sorrow and mourning are taken away. Wine has been given for gladness, and fervour for the joy of the soul. The former warms the heart, the word of God the mind. Those who are kindled by fervour, are transported to the world to be in their deliberations by meditations of hope. As to those who are drunk with wine, various hallucinations present themselves, so he, who is drunk and is ablaze does not know trouble, nor the world nor anything in it. These things happen to those who are simple of heart and fervent with hope.

The many things which will happen unto those who go the traditional course of behaviour after long labours of purification are tasted by them, in the beginning of the way, by faith of soul only. All that the Lord wills, He does.

Blessed are those who, in the sea of troubles, keep themselves

simple and avoid investigation, in fervour to God, without turning their back, for they will quickly be safe in the harbour of the promises and rest in the mansions attained by all who labour well. There they are consoled for their toiling, exulting
96 with the joy of their hope.

Those who proceed with hope, are not liable to see the injuries on the way; neither are they able to investigate the like. But when they have gone ashore they appear unto them, and they praise God [thinking of] how they have been guarded amidst all those storms and the many cliffs of which they were unconscious, because they were not anxious to look at such things. But those who cherish serious thoughts and wish to deal very prudently, and give themselves up to evolving deliberations and to bear and make many preparations, and wish to see and to deliberate the causes of injuries and thoughts of relaxation, such are usually constantly found at the door of their houses. For the slothful man saith, There is a lion without, I shall be slain in the streets [1]). And as those who said: And there we saw the giants, and we were in our own sight as grasshoppers [2]). And the cities are strong and walled up to heaven [3]). These are the people who at the time of death are found at the beginning of their way. They are those who constantly wish to act prudently, but never to begin. But the simple swims and passes with his first ardour. He does not think of the body nor of the possibility that his commerce will not prosper.

Let not the greatness of thy wisdom be a stumbling-block for thyself and a snare before thee, preventing thee from beginning manly and quickly, in the hope in God, thy course
97 cleansed with blood, lest thou be constantly needy and devoid of the knowledge of God.

He who looks at the winds will not sow. Better for us is death in the war for [the sake of] God, than a life of shame and baseness [4]). If thou wilt begin with one of the works of God, make thy testament beforehand as one who has no further life in this world and as one prepared for death. Draw near to it without hope, as one whose end will be reached in that action and as if it will be the end of thy days without thy seeing any more. Let this be truly decided in thy mind, lest victory

1) Proverbs 22, 13 2) Numbers 13, 33 3) Deut. 1, 28 4) Cf. p. 31

be taken from thee through hope of life, being a cause of spiritual laxity.

Therefore let not wisdom reign wholly over thy actions. Give quickly room also to faith in thy spirit. Remember constantly the days after death and let laxity never enter thy soul, according to the word of the sage who has said: A thousand years in this world are not like one day in the world of the righteous [1]).

Begin manly with every work of excellence; do not approach it with a double heart. Do not doubt in thy heart, on the way of thy course, of the hope of God's grace, lest thy toiling become in vain and the work of thy service become heavy for thee. But believe in thy heart that God is merciful and gives grace to those who seek Him, not in accordance with our service but in accordance with the love of our soul and with our faith in Him. For as thou hast believed, so it will happen unto thee.

98 Some are occupied by knocking their head the whole day in stead of by their services; and with some, perpetual kneelings take the place of the number of their prayers. Some are occupied by the course of their tears in stead of by their canonical [duties] without seeking any thing besides, because it is better to them than all other things. Some fulfill the laws prescribed to them by their zeal for their spiritual meditations, by their suffering from hunger which eats away their flesh. Some are withheld from accomplishing their work, by the torments which torture their stomach. Some do not make a break in their reciting of Psalms on account of their spiritual fervour. The heart of some is set aflame by written words; some are captivated by the understanding thereof. And there are some whose lips are withheld from their ordinary course by the stupor caused by the contents of their recitation. Some taste all these things and are satisfied and turn away and desist. Some taste a little from them only, and become puffed up and isolent and forget.

Some are held back from them by the severe suffering from their plagues; some by all kinds of allurements; some by power, some by glory among men, others by passion for [worldly] things; some by wanton occupations. Some however advance

1) Cf. Ps. 84, 11

well and making up their mind, they do not turn their back before they have taken possession of the pearl.

Begin every work for the sake of God joyfully. And if thou art pure from affections and from doubt of heart, God will
99 remunerate thee and help thee and give thee wisdom, and according to His will and in a wonderful way He will bring thee to perfection. To whom be glory and power and adoration and exaltation for ever and ever. Amen.

Completed are the six treatises on the behaviour of excellence.

VII

ON OTHER SUBJECTS, CHAPTER BY CHAPTER, IN SHORT SECTIONS. ON THE CHARACTER OF TRUST IN GOD AND FOR WHOM IT IS BECOMING TO TRUST IN GOD. AND FURTHER: WHEN A MAN TRUSTS, HE WILL HAVE POWER ACCORDING TO [THE STATE OF] HIS MIND. AND WHO TRUSTS FOOLISHLY AND WITHOUT DISCERNMENT

There is a trust in God, with a faith of the heart, which is beautiful and which rises from the discernment of knowledge. And there is another trust which is insipid and rises from folly; and this is false trust.

That a man who has absolutely no care for any of these passing things and whose soul is night and day given to the works of God, without thought of any work of this world because of his great zeal for exellence and because of his absorbing anxiety for the divine things, and who, therefore, neglects to prepare dress and food and to fix and to prepare a place for his shelter and the like, — that such a man trusts in God that He will prepare in its due season all he needs and that He will care for him — this is really true trust and a trust of wisdom. And in truth, for such a man it is also
100 beautiful to confide in God, because he is His servant, and he is ladened with thoughts concerning Him and he bears the weight of His works without neglect. And so it is becoming

to Him to show care for him, which is distinguished from His care for the rest of mankind, because he has eminently maintained in his person the word of our Lord saying: seek the kingdom of God and His righteousness[1]) and: Take no thought for your body[2]). And if ye care for this, the world will prepare all for you, like as a servant. And as unto a master it will be obedient unto your words without hesitation, without thwarting your will in anything.

Therefore, because such a man does not desist on account of [worldly] causes from standing perpetually before Him, he will not surrender himself to those things which the body needs. For he does not care for other things either, but he abstains from them all equally, be they small or great, be they things of comfort or pleasure — an abstention based on fear of God. So he will find sustenance in a wondrous way, even though he does not touch any of these things, nor fatigues himself with them.

Another however, whose heart is wholly buried in the earth and who constantly eats dust with the serpent without caring in any way for the things pleasant to God, who fatigues himself in every respect by the bodily things and is occupied by and constantly cares for intercourse and pleasure and luxury, and who has manifold worldly connections, — when such a man, given to such laxity and indifference regarding excellence, from time to time gets into trouble or want, or the fruits of sinfulness disturb him in any way, and [when he] says as follows:
101 I trust in God, He will work for me without doubt and He will comfort me, — o fool, till now thou hast not recalled God but thou hast disdained Him by the laxity of thy works and His name was slandered among the nations, as the scripture says. And now thou sayest with a full mouth: I confide in Him who will help me and care for me. God has well said through the prophet, scorning such people: They seek me daily and delight to know my ways, as a nation that did righteousness and forsook not the ordinance of their God: they ask of me the ordinances of justice[3]). To them belongs the fool who does not even spiritually come near unto God, but, at a time when the darkness of troubles surrounds him, elevates his hands unto Him in confidence. That such become wise, requires that they

1) Matthew 6, 33 2) Matthew 6, 25 3) Jes. 58, 2

be branded several times. For, although they have no works such as could be a basis for trust in God, yet they have been thought worthy of chastisement and loaded with mercy, as it were from [the midst] of their evil works and their indifference regarding their duties. They should not mislead themselves and, forgetting the rank of their previous way of life, say: I trust in God. Such have to be chastised, lest they, though not possessing works of faith, stretch out their feet in idleness, saying: I believe that God will give me to eat, as if they were toiling in the works of God.

Or it may come to pass that some one goes and falls into a pit through his own folly, and although he has never thought of God before, he says now: I trust in God, He will
102 deliver me. Err not, thou fool. Trust in God has to be preceded by works for the sake of God and by the sweat of His service. If thou believest in God thou doest well. But also faith requires works; and confidence in Him requires the testimony of the heart which is born of the toils [for the sake] of excellence. Believe that God is He who cares for His creatures and who is clad with all power. But connect with this faith the works which suit it. Then He will answer thee. Take no wind in thy fist, viz. faith without deeds.

If a man travel a road without being conscious of the fact that there are evil beasts or murderers on it, or the like, how many times will this universal care of God cause [the danger] to pass, by retaining him at the place where he is, for any cause, till the danger is over, or by some one meeting him and causing him to return. Or another time, a dangerous serpent lies on the way, which he has not noticed. If God will that he be not entangled in evil, the animal will at once make a sound or leave its place and disappear, or it will creep farther so that he sees it and is cautious. Thus God will save him, even if he be not worthy, for motives which God alone knows, especially for His mercy's sake. Or, another time a house or a wall or a rock is on the point of falling or slipping from its place and coming down instantly [at the place] where
103 some men are sitting. Thereupon God will order an angel and will hinder this accident and prevent it till those people have risen [and left] that place, for any reason whatsoever that makes them go away, so that none will remain under [the falling thing]. But as soon as they have left [the place], it will

fall. But if it happens that anyone be under it, he will not be damaged. By this God desires to show the greatness of His power.

Such things and the like are [signs of] universal care. The righteous possesses this grace perpetually; as an individual, not [1]) as a member of the community. The rest, however, are ordered by God to govern themselves with insight and to mingle in their affairs intelligence with the care of God. But the righteous does not need this insight in order to govern with it his affairs. In stead of this insight he possesses faith by which he storms strong fortresses. And such things as we have enumerated he does not fear. As scripture says: the righteous is bald as a lion [2]) and he ventures all through his faith. Not as one who tempts God but as one who possesses confidence in Him and as one who is armed and strongly clad with the force of the spirit. And concerning His great perpetual care for him God has said thus: I will be with him in trouble; I will deliver him and honour him. With long life I will satisfy him, and shew him my salvation [3]). He who is
104 weak in his works and lax or negligent, or whose deeds are evil, it is impossible that this hope be his. But it will be for him that is constantly with God in all things and who is His relative by his beautiful works, who directs constantly the gaze of his heart towards God's grace, as David says: My eyes fail while I wait for the Lord [4]).

VIII

WHAT IT IS THAT HELPS A MAN TO COME NEAR UNTO GOD WITH HIS HEART AND WHY IT IS THAT HELP COMES NEAR UNTO HIM SECRETLY AND WHAT IT IS THAT CAUSES A MAN TO COME NEAR UNTO HUMILITY

Blessed is the man who knows his weakness. This knowledge becomes for him the foundation and the beginning [of his coming] unto all good and beautiful things. When a man

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1) Lacking in one of the London Mss. 2) Proverbs 28, 1
3) Ps. 91, 15 4) Cf. Ps. 119, 123

knows and perceives that he really and in truth is weak, then he restrains his soul from profuseness which is dissipation of knowledge and he will augment the watchfulness of his soul.

Unless a man has been remiss in some small thing and a slight negligence has appeared in him and tempters have surrounded him either with temptations that arouse bodily affections or with temptations which stir the affectable power of the soul, he cannot perceive his own weakness, Then, however, he recognizes the greatness of God's help by comparing it with his own weakness.

Thus if he sees that his heart does not rest from fear, even though he be provident and very cautious, withdrawing and
105 hiding his soul in innumerable apartments and providing his soul with causes of trust, then he understands and knows that this whole impulse of his heart denotes some other thing which is lacking and which is very necessary to him, viz. that he needs other help. For the heart testifies to [this] within, by the fear that moves in it, denoting the lack of something. And therefore he cannot remain in confidence. For the help of God is necessary for deliverance.

When he knows that he needs divine help, he will frequently pray. And by much beseeching the heart becomes humble. For there is no man who is needy and asking, without being humble. And God will not despise a broken and contrite heart [1]). Until the heart has become humble, it will not rest from distraction. Humility restrains the heart. And as soon as man has become humble, mercy will surround and envelop him. And when mercy draws near, the heart will perceive help at once, because some confidence and force will also move in it. When it perceives that divine help approach unto it and that He is its support and its helper, then the heart will be filled with faith at once. Then it will see and understand that prayer is the port of help, the fountain of salvation, the treasure of confidence, the sheet-anchor amidst the storms, the light in the darkness, the stick of the weak, the shelter at the time of temptations, the medicine at the time of illness, the shield of protection in the battle, the sharp arrow against the enemies.

106 And because by prayer he has found the entrance unto all this good, he will delight in prayer of faith for ever more,

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1) Ps. 51, 17

while his heart exults in confidence, not blindly and with words only, as it had been till then.

When he knows this, he possesses prayer as a treasure within his soul. And from joy he changes the tenor of prayer into sounds of thanksgiving. And the following word has been said by the sage among the saints, Mar Euagrius, who did every thing which he did with a purpose: Prayer is a joy that gives place to thanksgivings. Concerning this prayer, which takes place after receiving the knowledge of God, he says: This prayer that gives place [to thanksgiving], in which a man does not pray nor act as in the other passionate prayers which he prayed, perceiving grace, consists therein that in the heart, which is filled with joy and ecstasy, frequently emotions of thanksgivings and gratitude stir themselves, in the silence of kneelings. Then, on account of the inner ardour, which is set in motion by wonder at the understanding of God's bounties, he will of a sudden raise up his voice and praise without being wearied, while the inner ardour gives place to thanksgivings also of the tongue; and so he will give utterance [to his feelings] long and wonderfully. Who has experienced these things clearly, not dimly, and has noted them with intelligence, will understand when I say that it occurs without variation, for it has been experienced many times. And furthermore [such a man]
107 will leave idle things and be constantly with God, without a break, in constant prayer, fearing that he will be bereft of the current of its helping forces.

All these beautiful things are born from a man's perceiving his own weakness. For from this, because of his longing for help, he turns to God with beseechings. And as he brings near his spirit unto God, He comes nigh unto him with His gifts. And He does not take away from him His inspiration, because of his great humility. For as a widow unto the judge, he cries at all times: avenge me on my adversary. Therefore God, the merciful, necessarily will delay his petitions, that he have the better reason to approach unto Him. And because of his need he will constantly remain at the fountain of help, while God grants some of his demands quickly, others not: [He grants] those concerning which He knows that they are necessary for life, the rest He delays. And in some cases He withholds from him the ardour of his enemies, and in others He gives an opening to temptations, that this, as I have said,

should be a cause for approaching unto God, and that he should become prudent by temptations. And this is what is said in the scripture: The Lord left many peoples and He did not destroy them at once, nor did He give them into the hand of Joshua, in order to test Israel by them so that the generations of the children of Israel should learn war [1]).

108 As for the righteous who is not acquainted with his weakness, all his affairs are in peril. He is not far from falling, the destroying lion is not removed from him nor the demon of haughtiness. Who lacks knowledge of his weakness, lacks humility. Who lacks humility, lacks perfection. Who lacks perfection is still in a state of peril. And the enemy can attack him at every quarter, because his town is not fortified with iron bolts nor with a brazen lintel.

Neither is humility to be acquired except through the causes which bring about a continually broken heart and destroy the deliberations of presumption. Without humility the service of man cannot be sealed: the seal of the spirit has not yet been placed on the charter of his freedom, he is still a slave and his service cannot be established without his being made humble, neither can he acquire wisdom without temptations, neither can he reach humility without wisdom. Therefore God necessarily sends the saints things which cause humility and brokenness of heart and passionate prayer without distraction. Sometimes he afflicts them by accidents that arise from the natural affections or by transgressions arising from impure deliberations; sometimes by disdain or by idle oppressions which they have to endure from men, or by bodily pains; sometimes by poverty or need of necessary things; sometimes by vehement affections

109 of fear in the open war of the demons which He allows in order to keep them continually in motion, or by terrible varying states of which one is still more strong and sorrowful and hard than the other.

All these things happen, that man should have a reason for being humble, lest he should sleep in neglect either of things present from which the struggler suffers, or of fear of things to be. Therefore temptations will necessarily be profitable unto men. Now I do not say, that, in order to have a cause of humility, he ought to let loose his will unto evil

1) Cf. Judges 3, 1 sq.

things, with the purpose of humbling himself by the recollection of them, or that he should hasten unto other temptations. But it is beautiful for him that, apart from his performing good works, he should constantly spur himself and remember that he is a creature and naturally prone to be seduced. And whosoever is a creature, requires an external power, viz. to help him. And he who requires external help, the deficiency of his own nature is manifest. And every one who knows that he is deficient, to him humility is becoming in order to receive what he needs from Him who is able to give it.

If he knows all these things from the beginning and looks to them at all times, he will not sleep. And if he does not sleep, he will not be delivered into the hand of the powers which endanger his vigilance. Therefore it is becoming for him
110 that goes the way of God, that he confess and reproach and rebuke his soul for all [evils] that overtake him, knowing that either because of his negligence it is excited by the tempter by order of the Governor, or because he has exalted himself. Therefore he shall not leap up nor be shaken, but keep his soul quiet without accusation [of God], lest his evil be doubled. For there is not iniquity with God, on the contrary, He is the fountain of justice.

IX

ON SINS [COMMITTED] INTENTIONALLY AND WITH EVIL WILL AND ON THOSE [COMMITTED] ACCIDENTALLY

There are sins in which a man is entangled through weakness and accidentally. And there are sins the source of which is the will; others [spring] from an uncultivated mind. Some are committed occasionally, others continually; others are customary. And all these classes and kinds of sins, though bound by the common verdict of reprehension, have a different character and their punishment may be greater or smaller.

Some sins are reprehended severely; others are near to mercy. God has also shown unto Adam, Eve and the serpent, though not one of them was exempted from receiving the retribution of his fault, a great variety in the curse which was directed

against each one of them; and so He did in the curses directed against their offspring. In accordance with the propensity and inclination of each unto sin, is judgment made more heavy.

111 If any one be not inclined to follow sin, but he be drawn towards it on account of neglect regarding righteousness, although he be not zealous for it, his judgment will be severe even if the connection with sin be difficult for him. But if he be diligent and temptations rise, mercy is near to purify him, without doubt. For it is another thing that a man who is careful regarding excellence and constant in its works, meditating on it even in the night, should fail in any of its duties; while by day he is loaded with its burden and goes around with it, all his thoughts concentrated upon justness — it is a different thing that, while he is occupied with such things, through ignorance or the compulsion of opposition on the way of excellence and the mighty waves that arise every moment in his limbs, and the propensity towards aberration which is implanted in him as a test of freedom, the indicator of his scale should point somewhat to the left, and through the sickness of the flesh he should be entangled in any kind of sin and suffer and be sorry on account of it and bewail himself passionately because of his miserable weakness in the face of what overtakes him now and then.

It is a very different thing, that one being lax in the works of righteousness or wholly neglectful of the way, should run like a slave in complete obedience to all the delights of sin, and try to find the means of its accomplishment; and that like

112 a slave he should purpose zealously to perform the will of his adversary, his limbs serving him as weapons on behalf of Satan in complete obedience and that he should not even think of repentance so as to draw nearer unto excellence and end his path of shortcomings.

Different are the trespasses and the stumbling-blocks laid on the way of virtue and in the course of righteousness. As the Fathers say: On the way of excellence there are stumbling-blocks, there are varying states, there is compulsion, and the like.

A different thing is death of the soul and complete destruction and total abandonment. This is known thereby that, although one falls, he does not forget the love of his Father; and although he is loaded with trespasses of every kind, his zeal for the service of good is not held back, nor does he

desist from his course, nor abhor to stand in struggle against these things anew and with the same chance of being vanquished, nor cease from demolishing every day his building and beginning a [new] foundation.

And the word of the prophet is in his mouth: Till the hour of my departure from this world, rejoice not against me, O mine enemy: when I fall, I shall arise; when I sit in darkness, the Lord shall be a light unto me [1]). And he will not cease to struggle till death. He will not allow himself to be vanquished, as long as there is breath in his nostrils. And though his ship is wrecked every day and the sweat of his commerce becomes a prey to the depths, he does not cease to borrow and fit out ships and navigate with good hope; till the Lord, seeing his zeal, has mercy for his shipwrecks and inclines unto
113 him in compassion and gives him strong impulses towards patience and towards braving the burning arrows of the Evil one. This is wisdom from God and whoever is sick in this way, is wise.

To abandon hope profits not. It is more expedient for us to be judged on account of special [sins] than on account of complete abandonment. Therefore the blessed commentator [2]) warns us against becoming weary in face of the many struggles and the frequent various kinds of strife to be met on the way of righteousness lest we should turn back and give our adversary the opportunity of a complete victory in any kind of evil. And so the blessed commentator says, arranging the strugglers as it were in classes: If you are truly zealous to look towards excellence and anxious for serenity of mind unto God, and to practise those things which are agreeable unto Him, you must necessarily bear for the sake of these things, all the struggles which will arise continually against you on account of the natural affections and the attractions of this world and the evil of the demons, without relaxing in spite of the constant and never ceasing strife, without fear of the tenacious vehemence of war, without dread of the hosts of enemies, and without dejection if it happen that you trespass somewhere and sin, but receiving on your faces the blows and wounds such as are [to be expected] in so great a war. On account of these things, therefore, you must not let yourself be moved

1) Micah 7, 8 2) Theodore of Mopsuestia

even from your will's decision; on the contrary you must maintain the choice of your behaviour, deeming it a beloved and
114 glorious thing to show yourselves in the war besmeared with the blood of your blows, without pausing in the slightest degree from strife against the enemies. These are the warnings of the blessed commentator.

Thus, it is not becoming in us to relax because of these things. Woe to the solitary who is unfaithful to his covenant and, treading down his conscience, gives Satan entrance into him, in small and great matters of sin, so that he does not find strength to defend against the enemies the breach [Satan] has made in his soul. And with what countenance will he behold the chaste, his companions, when they are brought together from whom he has separated his way to go the way of destruction, and the freedom of speech with God which the pious possess, and the prayer which arises from the chaste heart towards God and uplifts itself and even passes the hosts of the angels and stops not until it reaches God's majesty, holding the keys in its hands ceasing not until it has acquired its demand, returing unto the mouth that has sent it, with gladness. [And with what countenance will he look upon] what is harder than all these things, viz. that, as he has separated his way from them here, so Christ will separate him from them on that day. When the brilliant clouds will bear on their backs [1]) the bodies that have become splendid by purification and that enter the great gate of heaven. Therefore the ungodly shall not stand in the judgment [2]), because their work is already judgment, nor sinners in the congregation of the righteous [2]), in the resurrection before the judgment, nor the impure in the ranks of the saints.

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1) Litterally: hips
2) Ps. 1, 5

X

115 ON THE WORDS OF THE SCRIPTURES BEING SPOKEN AS IT WERE TO PATIENTS IN MODERATION LEST THEY SHOULD WHOLLY ABANDON THE LIVING GOD. BUT THIS SHOULD NOT BE TAKEN BY US AS A REASON FOR GREATER FREEDOM REGARDING SIN

The encouragement which our Fathers give us in their writings and the help towards repentance which is in the writings of the Prophets and the Apostles, should not be taken by us as a reason to disregard the threats of the divine acts of judgment, nor the punishment which God has decreed firmly against the trangression of the borders which should not be passed, through the mouth of all His saints and by means of all kinds of laws, in order to eradicate sins. As if the hope of repentance could be reason for us to strip from ourselves the feeling of fear in order to sin more freely and without dread. These [threats] are confirmed by the seals of the word of God, in all the scriptures of our salvation, and by the [divine] decrees fixed against them, [threatening] all kinds of terror. Some of these He has partly revealed to the many or to the few [people] by the punishments He brought upon them in order to show that He hated sin. Or why then were drowned in the Deluge the generations of the days of Noah? Was it not on account of the vileness of lasciviousness, because they had violated the
116 beauty of the daughters of Kain? In that time there was no love of money nor adoration of idols, nor sorcery, nor wars waged [by men] against one another.

Or again, why were five towns of the Sodomites for ever burnt? Was it not because they had given way to lust of the flesh, which had taken possession of them according to its good pleasure, consisting in all kinds of impurity? Was it not because of the fornication of one man that in Israel, the first-born of God, there fell twenty-five thousand by the plague in an instant? Why then was Simson rejected by God, Simson, the man of strength, the Naziraean from the womb, the sanctified to God, whose birth was annunciated by an angel like that of John the son of Zecharia, through whose hand [God] wrought marvels and signs, and who by the supernatural strength

which God infused into his body smote a thousand men with the jawbone of an ass and became a saviour and a judge unto Israel? Was it not because he made impure and defiled his hallowed limbs by intercourse with a harlot, that the Lord left him and gave him into the hands of his enemies? David, the heart of God, for whose excellence the promise made unto the righteous Fathers was carried out in his offspring from whom sprouted Christ the Saviour of the whole world — was it not by adultery with one woman and for the feebleness of one moment that from a glance of his eye he got an arrow in his soul and wrought evil against himself from within his own house; for the son which was to come forth from his loins was to pursue him?

And this happened although he showed repentance and the
117 Lord said to him: Also have I put away thy sin; thou shalt not die [1]), and he wept a flood of tears so that he moistened his bed during the nights.

I return to what I was saying before: Why then did distress and destruction hit the house of Eli the priest, the righteous old man, a priest and a judge of Israel during forty years? Was it not because of Pinehas and Hophni his sons who treated the women scornfully that came to pray in the tabernacle, though he himself did not sin, at any rate not wilfully, but only in so far as he was silent and reprehended with words only, without showing fervour against the fornication of his sons, so that the judgment of the Lord took revenge on them? And lest any one should think that the Lord shows His zeal only against those who are sinners in their lifetime, He also displays it against this audacious sin hated of Him, in the case of those who are near to Him, His priests and judges and the heads of the people and against those men who were holy unto Him and by whose hands He had done wonderful things, yet whom, when they violated the laws He had laid down, He did not spare. As is written in Ezechiel where He says to the man whom He orders to smite the people of Jerusalem with a hidden sword: Begin before my altar and do not spare, neither old man nor boy nor youth [2]); to show that it was the people near to Him, those who walked in fear
118 and chastity before Him and performed His will. The saints

1) Cf. 2 Samuel 12, 13 2) Ezekiel 9, 6

of the Lord and those near to Him are good works and a pure heart. But when they reject the ways of the Lord's will, He also rejects them and puts them away from before Him and takes His grace from them.

And why then did the judgment of the Exalted smite Belshazzar by the sign of the hollow hand? Was it not because he had behaved audaciously against the holy vessels which he had taken from Jerusalem and in which he drank with his concubines? And in the same way the judgment of the Exalted will of a sudden smite him who in abandoned audaciousness uses for worldly purposes the limbs that once were set apart for the holiness of the Lord, just as Belshazzar was smitten who behaved audaciously against the holy vessels taken from the sanctuary of the Lord.

Therefore we should not make use of the confidence in repentance and the heart-giving words of the scriptures as a motive for disregarding the words and the threats of the Lord and disdain Him by evil deeds, disdaining thereby also the limbs that once we have offered as a sacrifice for the ministration of His sanctuaries and for the use of His service.

Verily we are the sanctified of the Lord and the Naziraeans abstaining from women, as Elijah, Elisha and the prophets and the other sanctified Naziraeans and holy virgins by whose hands great and amazing things were done, who spake with God face to face; and as those who lived afterwards, John the virgin and the holy Simeon and the other preachers of
119 the New Testament who sanctified themselves to the Lord and received mystic secrets from Him, some from His own mouth, others by revelation. And so they became mediators between God and mankind, and the receptacles of His revelations and the preachers of the Kingdom to the inhabitants of the world.

XI

WHEREBY THE BEAUTY OF SOLITARY LIFE IS TO BE PRESERVED AND HOW IT CAN BE A CAUSE OF GOD'S BEING GLORIFIED

It is becoming for the solitary to be in every way a vision of stimulation unto those who look at him, so that because of the beauties which radiate from him on all sides as the rays

of the sun, even the enemies of truth unwillingly acknowledge that the Christians have a well-founded hope; and from every side they will flow to their place of refuge, and thus the head of the church will be elevated above its enemies.

Thus the glory of the solitary's deeds will be a stimulus for many to withdraw from the world. And [it is becoming] that he be reverenced by every one on account of his excellence, so that the mouth of the members of the church will be opened on his account and their head exalted above all creeds.

The pride of Christ's church consists in the behaviour of the solitaries. Therefore it is becoming to the solitary that the beauties of his habits shine on all sides; in the humble attitude of his limbs, in the simplicity of his habit, in his elevation
120 above visible things, in the veracity of his renunciation, in his rigorous fasting, in his being continuous silent, in the subduing of his senses, in the continence of his aspect, in his not being quarrelsome with other people for any reason, in the sparingness of his speech, in his being pure from rancour, in his discriminate conscious simplicity. And [it is becoming for him] that it be known that he is alien to this harmful and fleeting life and near to true and spiritual life, from his constantly being by himself, from his being unknown among men, from his not being tied to any one by the bonds of comradeship and intimacy, from his quiet dwellingplace, from the small space of his habitation, from his few and mean utensils, from his avoiding men, from his constant prayer, from his hating and avoiding honour, from his not being bound by temporal life, from his great patience, from his endurance in temptations, from his keeping aloof from rumours and from inquiries into worldly affairs, from his constant care for and meditation upon his true country, known by his sad countenance and his shrivelled face [1]), from his constantly weeping night and day, and above all from his cautious chastity and his freedom from covetousness in small and great things.

These are, in short, the manifest beauties of the solitary
121 which testify to his being wholly dead to the world and near unto God.

It is becoming for him to think of these things constantly in order to acquire them.

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1) ,ܡܥܪܐ ܕܚܘܪ

If any one asks: Wherefore are these lengthy descriptions necessary? I answer: they are very necessary. For if any one search for them, one by one, in himself, and if any fail him who cares for his life, he can ascertain from these distinctions his deficiency in any of the virtues. And thus these descriptions may become to him admonitions. And if he possess personally all the things described and also those omitted, the knowledge of them is given him [in this way] and so he will become a cause of God being praised among men and angels. And then he may prepare for his soul a place of rest before departing this world.

XII

THAT IT IS NOT BEAUTIFUL FOR THE SERVANT OF GOD WHO HAS RENUNCIATED THE WORLD AND HAS GONE FORTH TO SEEK EVEN THE TRUTH, OUT OF FEAR THAT HE SHALL NOT FIND THE TRUTH TO DESIST FROM SEEKING IT OR FROM THE FERVOUR WHICH IS BORN FROM THE DESIRE OF DIVINE THINGS, OR FROM THE INQUIRY AFTER THEIR MYSTIC SECRETS WHICH ARE DESCRIBED MYSTERIOUSLY. THAT, BY THIS SEEKING, THE MIND MAY DESIST FROM EVIL DISTRACTION AND RECOLLECTIONS OF THE AFFECTIONS

There are three degrees which constitute the whole course of man. The degree of novitiate, the middle one, and that of perfection.

122 And although the mind of the first degree looks with all its occupations and recollections towards excellence, yet it is connected with the affections.

The second degree, the middle one, lies between the affectable and the spiritual state. Righthand and lefthand deliberations are stirred equally in it. And neither the fountain of light nor that of darkness ever cease to flow on its side, as it has been said. If the [solitary] cease for even a short time from meditating restlessly on spiritual writings, or from thinking of divine things, such as enflame him as fire by their tending towards the truth, in union with outward heedfulness as strict

as possible which includes inward cautiousness and sufficient works — then he is swept away towards the side of the affections.

But if he heighten his natural warmth in the way mentioned, without desisting from seeking and inquiring, and if he follow these things from afar without seeing them, except their designation in the scriptures, and if he multiply his deliberations and dominate them by those which do not decline unto the left side, and receive not any seed of phantasies coming from the demons instead of from truth, but be desirous on the contrary, long and guard himself and beseech God in passionate, enduring prayer — then, as soon as it will please God to give it, He will open His gate before him. Especially on account of his humility, for to the humble the mysteries are revealed.

If he dies, however, in that expectation, without having seen that country at a short distance, I think that his heritage will be with the ancient righteous, who have expected perfection, according to the word of the Apostle, but have not seen it[1]),
123 yet have worked in expectation of it all their lifetime and have departed. But what shall we say, if any one does not reach [the degree which enables him] to enter the promised land which is the stage of the perfect and to find truth eye to eye in so far as nature is capable of this? Shall he then resign this [and remain] on that low stage which is wholly connected with that of the left side? And because he has not found the whole truth, shall he remain in this low state which does not even know to desire these things, or shall he elevate himself unto the middle stage mentioned, even though he does not look as it were in a mirror, but expects it from afar, and in that expectation will be gathered unto his fathers?

Even though he is not deemed worthy of the fulness of that grace here, yet he shall occupy his mind through intercourse with it at a distance and by its stimulating influence during his lifetime he shall eliminate and fly from bad deliberations. And in this hope, his heart being full of God, he shall depart this world.

All that takes place in humility, is beautiful. The uncorporeal thoughts of the mind inclining towards the love of God [engendered] by the understanding of the scriptures, are a

1) Cf. 1 Peter 1, 10—12

fence for the gates of the soul against foreign deliberations. They guard the spirit by ardent recollections of future things, against its being distracted through idleness to the recollection of [worldly] things; this would quench the ardour of its emotion and it would fall into desires.

XIII

124 ON THE VARYING STATES WHICH COME TO THOSE WHO LIVE IN SOLITUDE, AS IS JUSTLY ORDERED BY GOD CONCERNING THIS [SPIRITUAL] WAY: NOW SADNESS AND PSYCHIC SUFFOCATION, THEN, SUDDENLY, GLADNESS AND JOY AND HOT FERVOUR AND UNUSUAL STRENGTH. PRAISE TO HIM THAT HAS ORDERED OUR WAY AMEN

To him who has determined to order his being in lonely dwelling and to pass the remainder of his days in service and in the ordering of the way of solitude, it will come to pass that, while he is as usual, in solitude, such as is justly prescribed by divine grace, his soul will be hidden in darkness. And just as the radiance of the sun is hidden from the earth by thick clouds, so, for a short time he is bereft from spiritual consolation and from the rays of grace, by the clouds of the affections; and some of the joy-giving force is withdrawn from him, while an unusual darkness falls upon his spirit; yet his mind is not troubled nor inclined towards dejection; but he remains patient, occupying himself with the writings of divine men and with prayers to which he forces himself, looking for help.

Then of a sudden it will be given him unexpectedly [1]). For, as the face of the earth is gladdened by the rays of the sun when the dense atmosphere is torn asunder, so the words of prayer are able to tear away and to remove from the soul the
125 dark cloud of the affections and to gladden and to illuminate the spirit by the rays of joy and consolation which is born in our deliberations.

Especially when the soul is able to have recourse to the profit from the holy books and from vigils that make the mind pure. Constant meditation upon the holy scriptures will perpetually fill the soul with incomprehensible ecstasy and joy in God.

1) Literally: though he does not know it.

XIV

AS TO WHEN THOSE WHO LIVE IN SOLITUDE BEGIN TO KNOW, EVEN TO A SLIGHT EXTENT, HOW FAR THEY HAVE ADVANCED IN THEIR SERVICE IN THE UNFATHOMABLE SEA OF SOLITARY LIFE SO THAT THEY ARE ABLE TO HAVE CONFIDENCE SOMEWHAT ON THEIR LABOURS THAT THEY BEGIN TO BEAR FRUIT

I shall tell thee a thing at which thou must not laugh; for I tell the truth. Do not doubt it, for those from whom I have received it, are trustworthy.

If thou hangest on they eyelids before God, do not think that in behaviour thou hast reached anything till tears come forth; for thy hidden being still ministers unto the world. This means, that thou art on the same stage of behaviour with faithful lay people. For thou workest with thy outward man in the service of God but the inward man is still without fruits. His fruits begin at the point which I have indicated. When thou hast reached the place of tears, then understand that the spirit has left the prison of this world and set its foot on the way towards the new world. Then it begins to breathe the
126 wonderful air which is there, and to spend tears. For now the throes caused by the spiritual child, become vehement. And grace, the common mother, hastily delivers, as it were, the soul, God's image, unto the light of the world to-come. And when the time of birth is come, then the mind will perceive a something belonging to that world, like a faint perfume, which the child has received in the members into which it has grown.

But he who does not patiently bear what is unusual, will move his body with weeping mingled with joy which excels the sweetness of honey. Together with the growing of the child within there will be an increase of tears. The stream of tears begins when the spirit begins to become serene. I mean the flowing of tears belonging to the stage which I have described, not that partial one, which takes place from time to time.

This consolation which takes place from time to time, will come to pass to every one who serves God in solitude. Sometimes during spiritual contemplation. Sometimes when hearing or reading the words of the scriptures. Sometimes while occupied with beseechings.

But I propose to speak of that complete one, which continues night and day without a break, and which comes to him who has found truth in solitude by the sincerity of his behaviour, when the eyes become fountains of water for a period of nearly two years. This happens during a transition-period; I mean symbolical transition [1]). At the end of the period of tears thou wilt reach peace of deliberations; and by this peace of deliberations thou wilt reach the divine rest of which Paul speaks, rest in part, according to [our] nature.

From the beginning of [this period of] rest onward, the mind
127 will see hidden things. Then the Holy Ghost will begin to reveal unto it heavenly things, while God dwells in thee and promotes spiritual fruits in thee. Then thou wilt perceive the state which the whole nature will receive in the renewal of all things, dimly and mysteriously.

This I have written to the profit of myself and of every one who comes across this book, being that which I have attained by contemplation of the scriptures and from the mouth of veracious men (and to a small part by experience) that I also may gain profit by the prayers of those who have gained profit from these things, because I have toiled upon them.

Listen also to another thing which I tell thee, as I have heard it from a mouth that does not lie: As soon as thou hast entered this place where the deliberations are set at peace, then the violence of weeping is again taken from thee and thou reachest the state of moderation.

This is the exact truth in a few words; and it is true and confirmed by the whole church, by the excellent among her sons and by her chief protagonists.

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1) ܬܚܘܝܐ ܬܚܝܬܝܐ

XV

ON THE COURSE OF THE SOLITARY CAREER, SUCCINCTLY AND WITHOUT PROLIXITY. AND ON THE QUESTION HOW AND AT WHAT TIME ITS VIRTUES ARE BORN ONE FROM THE OTHER

Lucidly and distinctly, the course of virtues shows itself so.

From works performed by compulsion, in solitude there is
128 born a blazing and immeasurable heat, which is generated in the heart by fervent deliberations, newly born in the spirit.

Works and watchfulness polish the mind by their heat and give it sight. And sight gives birth to the fervent deliberations mentioned, because of the depth of psychic sight which is called contemplation.

Contemplation gives birth to fervour; from this fervour sight given by grace is born; and then outbursts of tears begin. At first partial ones; this means that a man's tears will flow several times every day. Then he will come to [the state of] tears without a break. Through the tears the soul receives peaceful deliberations. From peaceful deliberations it rises unto serenity of insight. And by serenity of insight a man reaches the sight of hidden things. For purity is brought about by being free from war.

And after these the mind will reach that which is denoted by the symbol of the brook in Ezekiel the prophet [1]), a symbol which contains the type of those three psychic stages which are near to divine things and of which the third is the utmost which a man can reach.

The beginning of all these is a good will unto God and various works in solitude and that uprightness which is born from severe reclusion from the world.

It is not necessary to enumerate the distinctions between the works, for they are known to every man. But as soon as any one occupies himself with them it is not possible that he deteriorate; I know, on the contrary, that he will profit by

1) Ez. 47

them. They are the following: the work of hunger, of reciting, waking during the night, according to every one's strength; frequent prostrations, several times in the day and often during the night. Some will perform thirty prostrations at one time, salute [the cross][1]) and go away from it. Some will perform even a greater number. Others will prolong prayer during three hours and stay in concentration while prostrated, without compulsion and without distraction.

These two varying states show the great richness of grace, which works in various ways with every man according to his measure, be it that he multiplies the number [of his prayers] on account of his fervent ardour, be it that he acquires quiet in his soul so that he reduces to one the large number of his former prayers.

As to the question of the cause of that other prayer and its duration without compulsion, it seems to me that it is not becoming for us to treat such things in detail, by describing their nature in speech or writings lest the reader, being unable to understand anything of it, should judge it to be something insipid; or, if he should be acquainted with these things, should despise him who is not able to cross the border of certain things. From the one blame, from the other laughter would be the consequence; and thus I would become a barbarous writer to such ones, according to the word of the apostle concerning him that speaks in prophecies[2]).

But he who is desirous to know these things should know that their course has been described above. He may combine works with deliberation, by the grace of our Lord. And what practically happens in these states he may experience personally.

Stay therefore in thy cell and the cell will teach thee everything.

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1) Cf. p. 140

2) Cf. 1 Cor. 14

XVI

HOW PROFITABLE IT IS FOR THE SOUL WHILE IN SOLITUDE TO BE FREE FROM WORKS AND HOW INTERCOURSE HARMS THE MIND OF THE NOVICE WHICH HAS BUT LATELY BEGUN TO HAVE INSIGHT FOR ITSELF AND HOW IT IS CLEAR THAT BODILY WORKS NECESSARILY BRING ABOUT IN THE SOLITARY A DEFICIENCY IN DIVINE WORKS

That a man who is beset with care, should be quiet and in a state of peace, is impossible. For the necessary things which cohere with those things upon which he expends his labour, cannot but have the effect that he be shaken; and they will bereave him of his rest and quiet. For the only opportunity for Satan to enter the soul is distraction. Therefore it is becoming for the solitary to place himself constantly before God's face and to look for His will [1]), if it be his intention to keep his mind in watchfulness and if it be his will grasp quickly the small deviations as soon as they begin to stir in him, and, in peace of spirit, learn to recognise what passes in him [2]).

131 Frequent oscillations are a sign of the solitary's relaxation as to the preparation of Christ's service, and they are signs of deficiency in divine things.

Without being free [from cares] thou canst not demand lucidity from thy soul; nor rest and quiet if the senses are set free; nor concentration of the senses when the oscillations of practice [are frequent].

Keep thy self free from accidents; then thou wilt find no trouble in thy mind.

Without constant beseechings it is not possible to be near to God. And to think of other things at the same time with the work of beseechings, is distraction of the heart.

If fervent emotions befall thee sometimes when thou tastest God in the hot fire of divine things, but when thou seekest them again thou findest them to have become insipid and cold

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1) מצות 2) Literally: those who go in and out.

within thyself, [this is because] the distraction of intercourse with men has assailed thee somewhere, or because thou hast estimated bodily work above them, and on account thereof the fervour of thy deliberations has become cold. Tears, however, and beating the head [on the ground] during prayer, and fervent self-humiliations quicken again their warm sweetness in the heart. And in lauded madness the heart will fly after God, crying: My soul thirsteth for thee, the living God: when shall I come and see thy face[1])? He that has tasted this wine and has been bereft of it, he only knows in what a torment he has been left and what has been taken from him on account of his relaxation.

O, how evil is the sight of men and intercourse with them
132 for him that lives in solitude, especially him that is relaxed and left alone[2]). Verily, my brethren, as a strong blast of cold, that suddenly hits the buds of the trees and nips their small heads germinating from the twigs, so intercourse with men, even though it be short and in a congregation with a good purpose, withers the sprouts of the virtues which have but lately shown their heads because of the good air[3]) of solitude, and which beset with their humidity the tree of the soul, planted by the brooks of repentance. And as the sharpness of the cold strikes the new sprouts of the roots, destroying and pushing back their heads into the earth, so intercourse with men destroys the root of the mind which but begins to grow green by reason of the herbs of virtues, thrusting them back to their original place and destroying their tenderness. And if intercourse with those who are nearly master of themselves is so obnoxious to the soul, be it only on account of their hindering the customary service, this must happen to a larger extent if a man speaks with and sees stupid and uncultivated men or even lay people, which has the effect of fire upon small wood. And as the humility of an honourable and estimable man, who forgets himself frequently by drinking wine, is troubled and his honour stained and his chastity shaken by the foreign deliberations which dominate his spirit on account of the force of the wine, so the chastity of the soul is shaken by intercourse
133 with and sight of men; and it forgets the aim of its watchfulness and is bereft of the whole intention of its will; and

1) Ps. 42, 2 2) viz. by grace 3) literally: the mixture of the air

intercourse and recreation and the use of luxury eradicate from its depth the whole foundation of laudable behaviour.

And even if a man be silent and only in the presence of such men in person, hearing and seeing, the mere fact that the doors of his eyes and his ears let in [what is seen and heard], is able to turn his spirit from divine things and to trouble it greatly.

If thus the mere sight of men and the bare hearing of their speech for only a small time is able to cause so much harm to the solitary who is watchful, what then shall we say about regular meetings or about those of a longer duration?

The vapour rising from the stomach obscures [1]) the knowledge of divine things, as the inhalations rising from the damp earth obscure the face of the sun [2]).

Haughtiness does not understand that it proceeds in darkness without knowing insight and wisdom. In its own thoughts it is elevated above all things, but it is poorer and lower than any thing. It is unable to know the ways of God, and the Lord will hide His will from it, because it does not like to go in the way of the humble.

XVII

134 ## ON THE SHORT PATHS TOWARDS GOD WHICH ARE REVEALED TO ONE FROM THE SWEET WORKS IN VIGILS AND THAT THOSE WHO ARE GIVEN TO VIGILS ARE SUPPORTED BY HONEY THEIR WHOLE LIFETIME

Do not think, O man, that among all the works of ascetics there is any one greater and more profitable than that of vigils. In truth, my brethren, if during the day the ascetic is not distracted by corporeal things and temporal care, but cuts himself off somewhat from the world, and is watchful to even a low degree during vigils, then I do not object to declare unto you in truth, that soon his spirit will fly as with wings and ascend unto God to be in delight. And he will easily look at that glory, and in that knowledge which is higher than

1) In one Ms. only 2) See p. 83

human spirit he will quickly swim. The solitary who during his vigils abides by the discernment of the mind, will no longer seem to be clad with flesh. Verily, this work belongs to the class of the angels. And it is impossible that those who applicate themselves to this behaviour, should be left without great divine gifts, on account of the vigilance and serenity of their heart, and because their deliberations tend to Him only.

The soul, therefore, which applies itself in its labours to the duty of vigils, becomes trained, and acquires Cherubs' eyes in the swiftness and acuteness of their gaze, so that at all times it gazes on heavenly contemplations.

I am of the opinion that he who on account of vaste know-
135 ledge and with discernment has chosen for himself this great and divine work, and is wholly devoted to bear the load of the glorious part he has chosen, will necessarily be zealous to guard himself also during the day against the trouble of occupations and of care for [worldly] things, and that he consequently will not be devoid of wonderful fruits and the great delight he will gather from them. And I may say deliberately, without lying, that he who despises this, does not even know for what purpose he performs all this toil: the loss of sleep, the many repetitions, the fatigue of the tongue, the standing on his feet during the whole night, while his mind is not there where he recites his Psalms and prayers; but he performs these works as a matter of custom, as something which is devoid of discernment. And if this were not as I say, how could he suffer to be bereft of and to remain without reaping profitable fruits from the constant occupation with his work? But he strives towards these [results] through the holy occupation of the recitation of the scriptures, which is a fortification of the mind and, principally, a cause[1]) of prayer, a helper and a companion of vigils, a light of the mind, a guide on the way and the seed[2]) of manifold contemplation during prayer. It is a check against the distraction of the spirit and against its occupying itself with idle things. It sows in the soul constant recollection of God and [of] the ways of the saints who have pleased Him. And it causes the mind to acquire wisdom and subtlety.

Wherefore then, O zealous man, doest thou order thy occu-

1) ⲥⲁⲛⲉ 2) literally: the sower

136 pations in this way, without discernment? For thou showest care for thyself in that thou standest upon thy feet during the whole night, fatiguing thyself with glorifications and Psalms and prayers. It would be easy for thee, by little watchfulness during the day, to be made worthy of the divine grace for thy strenuous efforts in other duties. Wherefore doest thou fatigue thyself and sow in the night, whereas during the day thou renderest useless thy works so as to lose the fruits, dissipating this vigilance and fervour which thou wouldst acquire by vigils, through the distraction of intercourse with men and through different occupations, and destroying thy profit by wandering idleness?

If thou wouldst associate to thy nightly meditation, o man, service during the day without breaking in twain the fervour of the occupations of the heart, thou wouldst quickly embrace Jesus' bosom.

And from this thou seest that thou sufferest for lack of discernment. For thou doest not perceive why vigils are necessary for the ascetic. Thou thinkest it is for the sake of toiling only, and not in respect of another thing which is expected to be born from it.

But he that by grace has almost been made worthy of understanding that for which the sages hope in combating sleep and compelling nature to such a degree that during the whole night, awake bodily and mentally, they offer prayers — also knows the strength given by watchfulness during the day and the profit it grants the spirit in its nightly solitude while 137 at its vigils with discernment, and the power it supplies over the deliberations and the purity[1]) and concentration with which it endows the mind, so that without compulsion and strife the spirit gazes at the greatness of the words [recited].

I say this also, that though the body may fall short in the work of fasting on account of its great weakness, yet vigils, by their lonely character, afford the mind steadfastness in prayer, and enable the heart to recognize spiritual powers by means of insight. This can only take place if it is not assailed by any disturbance through relaxation caused by things met during the day.

Therefore I admonish thee, o man of insight who wishest to acquire vigilance of mind in God and knowledge of the

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1) Reading of some Mss.

new life, that during thy lifetime thou mayest not despise this duty [1]) of vigils, by which thy eyes will be opened so as to see the whole glory of ascetic work and the power of the way of righteousness.

And if it should happen — unfortunately — that a thought of relaxation should make its nest in thee, and thou shouldst think, on account of [previous] experience, that thy usual helper is training thee and making thee prudent by means of varying states, such as coldness and heat, or by variety of chance and occasion, or on account of thy body being ill or weak; and if this should induce thee to forego sleep in the evening, though thou shouldst not be willing to fatigue thy body — then I beseech thee with love to desist from all this zealous labour, the reciting of Psalms, the performing of the service, the fre-
138 quent kneelings during regular praying. I advice thee to sit in solitude, awake, if thou art able to do this, without recitation of Psalms and without prostrations. And if thou art able to do so, pray with thy heart only. But do not sleep. And by all means pass thy night, sitting, in the usual beautiful meditation. Only — do not make thy heart heavy [2]) and dark by sleep. Then the old swiftness and force and fervour will be given thee by grace and thou wilt rejoice and exult and thank God. For such heaviness and coldness [3]) are admitted unto man in order to test him.

If a man rouse himself fervently and shake off and cast away [despondency], compelling himself somewhat, suddenly grace will approach as before. And another force will impart itself to him, in which ten thousand [gifts of] grace and profitable states are hidden. And man will be astonished while thinking of the former heaviness and the swiftness and strength following it, and of how such a state of a sudden has overcome him.

Therefore he will be prudent henceforth, so that, when this heaviness comes again at other times, he will recognize it. But if he had not been daring on former occasions, he would not have acquired this knowledge.

Thou seest how prudent a man becomes if he rouse himself a little and if he be valiant at the time of struggle. But when

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1) ܩܝܛܘܬ 2) Literally: thick

3) Reading ܩܗܝܝܢ with the London Mss.

his nature really subsists only and no longer struggle, but sickness or natural weakness, it is useless to resist. If a man compel himself in other points, strength in all things will be given him.

139 Constant solitude, with recitation and moderate food, easily arouse in the spirit a state of ecstasy [1]), if perpetual solitude be not broken for any cause. Insight brought about by works performed in solitude, will of itself, automatically and suddenly, impart to these two eyes a kind of baptism, by tears which burst forth and moisten the cheeks by their profuseness.

If thou perceivest in thy body, humbled by the asceticism of watchful solitude, the vehement passion of fornication, — not the usual dark impulse of nature, — know then that thou art tempted in thy spirit by haughtiness. Mix thy food with ashes, press thy belly against the dust and scrutinize what thou hast thought. And recognize the varying states of thy nature and thy service which is above thy nature. Perhaps God will have mercy upon thee and send thee light so that thou wilt know how to be humble, lest thy evil become greater.

So we will not desist from carefulness, till repentance dawns in our heart and we find humility and our heart finds rest in God.

XVIII

THINGS WHICH I HAVE HEARD FROM OLD MEN AND STORIES OF HOLY PEOPLE, THEIR PIOUS WORDS AND WONDERFUL BEHAVIOUR. MAY GOD PRESERVE US BY THEIR PRAYERS AMEN

One day I went to the cell of a holy brother and lay down
140 in a corner as I was ill, expecting that he would visit me for God's sake. There was nobody in that country [whom I knew]. I had seen this brother several times at night, as he stood, a long time ago. He usually woke for the service earlier than any of the brethren. Then he would begin with Psalms and would recite them diligently. Then, of a sudden, he would leave the service, fall on his face, and beat, so to speak a hundred times, with his head on the earth violently and quickly, on

1) ܬܕܡܫ ܕܥ ܪܘܚ amazing attitude regarding things

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account of the fervour which grace had kindled in his heart. Thereupon he would rise and salute the cross. Then again he prostrated himself, rose, saluted the cross and again fell down on his face. This he repeated so many times that I was not able to count them. Who could have counted the many kneelings which that brother performed these nights?

He would also approach the cross and kiss it twenty times, full of reverence and of fervour, in love mingled with fear; thereafter he continued his reciting of Psalms. From time to time, when he was no longer able to bear that flame of joy, he was suddenly overwhelmed by frequent currents of deliberations, which kindled him with their fervour; and he would elevate his voice because he could not restrain himself.

And I was astonished at the grace which was with that brother and I wondered at his zeal and alacrity in the works of God.

141 After the morning service, when he sat down for recitation, he was like one in the state of rapture. At every verse he recited he would fall on his face several times; and at many of the words he would stretch his hands towards heaven and utter the glorification several times.

He was a man of middle age, nearly forty years old. He ate but little; his temperament was dry and hot. And because he compelled himself, when his body could not bear it, he looked like a shadow from time to time, so that one pitied him on account of his thin face, which was vanishing and becoming as small as two fingers. Several times I said to him: moderate this strict rule of behaviour, my brother, and this beautiful way which thou treadest and do not disorder nor break thy rule as a spiritual chain, out of desire to add a small quantity of works with the result that thy whole course will be brought to a close. Eat moderately, but eat regularly. And make not thy way too long for thy strength, lest thou shouldst have to desist from it wholly.

Further he was compassionate and very bashful, he was glad to show compassion. He was honest by nature and easily persuaded, and prudent in God. Because of his honesty and joyous disposition he was liked by every one and they all loved him. He worked with all the brethren in clay in their cells, when

142 they had any, now for three, now for four days; every evening he returned to his own cell, till the work of the brother was finished. He was very well skilled in this work.

If he possessed any thing, and one of the brethren begged him to give it him, he gave it him even though he was in great need of it [1]). He was very sensitive before all sorts of persons and was not able to say: I have not, or: I want it myself. And that he regularly left his cell to work with the brethren, was because of his sensitiveness before others; so he compelled himself, although not inclined to go out. And several times he spoke to me about his aversion to leave his cell. This was the divine behaviour of that wonderful brother.

Concerning another solitary [2]). Once I went to the cell of an old solitary, an excellent man who loved me greatly. He was somewhat quaint in his words, but illuminated in his thoughts and profound. And what he choose to tell, he spoke with a certain goodheartedness. He scarcely left his cell, except for the holy mysteries [3]). He was constantly concentrated and in solitude.

Once I said to him: Father, I purpose going on Sunday and sitting down in the galery of the church and to eat early in the morning. Then every visitor will see and despise me. The solitary said to me: It is written: He who offends the lay people, will not see light. Nobody knows thee in these regions, neither do people know what thy fame is. So they will say: The solitaries eat early in the morning. There is a
143 greater reason. There are novices of weak deliberations, many of whom will be edified by thee now; but if they see thee [eating], they will turn back. The ancient Fathers could do such things, because of the signs and the forces which were wrought through them and because of the great name and fame they possessed. These things they practised, each of them in order to be despised and blamed, and to obscure the fame of his behaviour and to keep far from him the cause of haughtiness. But what is the necessity for thee to act in this way? Doest thou not know that even for the behaviour [of solitaries] moderation is necessary and a fixed time for every one of their works? But what necessity is there for thee regarding such things? Thou doest not follow a distinct discipline, nor art thou famous. Thou hast the same discipline as the other brethren. Therefore, thou doest not gain profit for thyself by doing so, but thou art harmful for others.

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1) Translation according to the London Mss. 2) ܩܘܪܒܢܐ 3) The Eucharist

And this behaviour [1]), is not profitable for all men, but for the great and perfect only, because it involves relaxation of the senses. For the novices and those of the middle state however it is very harmful. For they, on the contrary, need watchfulness and subduing of the senses. For the trained solitaries have passed [the period of] watchfulness, as has been said, and mix with what they like, yet know to gain profit. A simple merchant will lose greatly in great affairs; in small ones he often easily comes forward. Therefore, as I have said,
144 in all work moderation is necessary; and every discipline has its fixed time. Every one who, before its time, begins with what is above his rank, will be injured and gain no profit.

If thou desirest this, first suffer that disdain which Providence sends thee without thy willing it, gladly, without being troubled thereat and without hating those who disdain thee.

Concerning another solitary. Once I was in intercourse with the virtuous one that had tasted from the tree of life in the sweat of his soul, from the morning of youth until the evening of old age. And after much conversation in which he taught me concerning excellence, he also said this to me: Every prayer, in which the body does not participate and by which the heart is not affected, is to be reckoned as an abortion without a soul.

Further he said to me: Have not the slightest intercourse with any man who strives after victory in his words, and is astute in spirit and of keen senses, lest thou destroy the serenity thou hast acquired by works and thy heart become full of darkness and trouble. —

Once I went to the cell of one of the Fathers. This saintly man scarcely ever opened to any one. When he saw from his window that it was I, he said: Thou wishest to enter? I said to him: Ay. When I had entered and we had prayed and sat down and he had spoken with me concerning many things, I asked him at last: What shall I do, my lord? There are persons who constantly visit me, without my profiting by their inter-
145 course. To forbid them to enter would be painful to me. They often hinder me even in my usual service. But I am not able to say so to them openly. So I am much troubled by this matter.

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1) Assuming the habits of sin

This blessed man said to me: When such people visit thee, people who like to be lazy and who spread [1]) idle words, and when they have sat down a little time, assume the air that thou desirest to stand for service. And say to [thy visitor], whosoever he be, with an obeisance: My brother, we will perform the service. For the time of my service is come and I may not overlook it. For it would be hard for me to combine it with the next prayer; that would cause me trouble; and I may not omit any service without [the plea of] necessity. At present there is no necessity to let the time pass. — This shalt thou urge till he stand up with thee for the service. And if he say: Perform thou thy service, now I will go away — make an obeisance before him and say: Be kind to me and perform with me this single service, that I may be helped by thy prayer. Then, when he agrees and you are standing, make thy service longer than usually. So thou shalt do with them as often as they enter. And when they see that thou art not of their kind and that thou doest not love idleness, then they will no more come where they hear that thou art. Behold, thou shalt be no respecter of persons and neglect none of the works of God.

If, however, [thy visitor] be one of the Fathers, or a foreign
146 brother who is fatigued, then deem it an important service to remain in intercourse with him. But if this stranger also should be one of those who love idle words, content him as much as thou canst and dispatch him quickly.

Once one of the saints said to me: When I hear, that there are people who perform work in their cell and also accomplish the rules of the cell without failure, I wonder how it is possible that they are not troubled.

He also said a wonderful thing: verily, I say that even when I go to make water, this troubles my constancy [of mind]; because practice turns away from me the complete discernment which I have mastered.

A solitary asked a brother: What shall I do? Often I desire a thing and am in need of it on account of illness, or work, or some other reason, so that by its aid I would nigh well be able to lead a life of solitude. But if I see anyone who needs this thing as I do, then compassion causes me to give it him.

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Or if any one asks me for this thing, I am pressed by love and by command so that I give it him. But afterwards I require this thing. And my need causes me care and disturbance and troubled thoughts, and it takes away my concentration of spirit and my care for the usual service of solitude. So that I am
147 compelled many times to leave my solitude and go and ask for this thing. And when I restrain myself from going out, I am in great need and perturbance of mind. On account of this thing I am constantly shaken and disturbed without knowing which of the two I shall choose: that which destroys and disturbs my peace for the sake of the peace of my neighbours; or to abandon this, so as to remain in solitude and renunciation, and to care for the small things of my self only, without any inclination to think many thoughts or to care for others.

I beg to learn, in answer to this, what is good and worthy of recommendation. The solitary answered saying: All compassion is either love, or alms, or a gift. And every becoming thing, and every deed reckoned as being godly which destroys thy solitude and bereaves thee of thy freedom regarding the world, and causes thee care and troubles thy thoughts concerning divine things, and breaks the order of thy prayers and brings about troubled deliberations and takes from thee the concentrated occupation with recitation and freedom from distraction, and destroys thy watchfulness and makes thee instead of a prisoner one who walks where he likes and [changes] thee from a solitary into one who mingles [with other people] and awakens in thee buried passions and relaxes the asceticism of thy senses and quickens thee again who wert dead to the world and casts thee out of thy angelic service which is concentrated solitary thought, and sets thy part with the service of the laity — this [sort of] righteousness may perish. To accomplish alms of love to thy neighbour, consisting in bodily
148 comfort, belongs to the service of lay-people, or of those solitaries who are inferior to service in solitude or practice a mingled solitude in the company of one another and through constant visits [1]). — But those solitaries who have earnestly chosen to be free from the world in body and in spirit in order to establish in their mind the prayer of solitude which is the being dead to the things that perish and to all thought

1) literally: entering and departing

of practice and seeing and recollecting [worldly] things, they do not serve Christ by any service in these bodily things or with a righteousness founded upon manifest deeds with the intermediation of persons in order to be justified thereby, but [they serve Him] by mortifying their members which are upon the earth [1]), according to the word of the Apostle, offering at all times the pure sacrifices of their thoughts as the first fruits of their service and their bodily affections through patience in trouble for the sake of that which they expect. The behaviour of the solitaries is like that of the angels. So it is not just to neglect the service of heavenly things and to gather righteousness by [practising] earthly things.

A brother was blamed because he provided the wants of the poor from his own possessions. He answered proudly: Solitaries are near to alms. He that blamed him said: Well known is the solitary who is not near to alms; who without shame can say to our Lord, as has been said: Behold, we have forsaken all, and followed thee [2]). This is he that does not possess any-
149 thing on the earth, nor does he perform bodily labour for earthly things, his thoughts do not turn to any of the visible things in the world, nor does he expect to acquire anything. If any one offers anything to him, he only accepts according to his want; he never looks at aught else. But he is in his dealings like a bird, the which does not think of giving alms; for he has a service more excellent than alms.

How can he give others from that of which he is liberated? But as long as a man works with his hands and receives from others, he is also obliged to give alms. To neglect this would be a manifest transgression of God's commandment. But if he does not make progress with God in hidden things, and does not know to serve God in spirit and despise the manifest things which lie within his power, what further hope has he to acquire life? Be he anathema.

ADMONITION OF ONE OF THE FATHERS CONCERNING THE RIGHT SOLITUDE

I wonder at those who trouble themselves in their course of solitude because they desire to comfort others by bodily things.

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1) Colossians 3, 5 2) Matthew 19, 27

He also said: It is not becoming to mingle with the service of solitude the thought of any thing in the world, safe only those which it is possible to perform in solitude. And we have to honour every solitary performance in its place, lest we become confuse in our solitary course. For he who cares about
150 many things, is a slave of many persons. He who lets go all and cares for the steadfastness of his soul, is a friend of God. Behold, those who practise alms and completely show their love of neighbours by bodily things, are many in the world. But those who beautifully serve in solitude and have intercourse with God are scarcely to be found. Or who are, among those who practise righteousness and gain it by earthly things, those from whom we may receive one of the gifts which those who work in solitude receive from God?

The same has further said: If thou art a lay man, practise the behaviour which suits lay people. But if thou art a solitary, gain profit by the labours by which the solitaries gain profit. If, however, thou wilt practise both, thou wilt fall short in both. The work of solitaries is this: to become liberated from sensible things and to be constantly with God in the thoughts of the heart and through fatiguing the body by prayer. Judge thou thyself whether it be possible to despise these things and to fill their place with worldly excellence. Or should a solitary be able to practise in solitude two kinds of behaviour, the outward and the inward one viz. meditation on God and burdening his heart with the care of others? I say even this that he who has honestly willed to lead a life with God, and leaves all, fixing his attention solely upon matters of behaviour — that even he will not be able to accomplish without shortcomings
151 all the duties of the practice of solitude. He is found wanting in the bearing of his load, though he desists absolutely from the use and the care of the world — not to mention the case of his being occupied by many other thoughts.

To our Lord are given [1]) those who administer and visit His servants and His sons. He has also chosen those who minister before Himself.

We do not only see, in the affairs of earthly kings, that those who are constantly with the king and participate of his secrets are more glorious and elevated in their ranks than those

1) ܐܒܗܝܢ

who accomplish their outward affairs with love, but, also in divine affairs, it is easy to see what a freedom of speech those possess who, in intercourse with Him possess the mysteries of prayer at all times; and over what riches of heaven and earth they reign, and how apparent is their mastership over all created natures, which, without dispute, obey their words as those of God. They are stamped with the manifest sign of His image, with a glory greater than that of all rational and irrational [1]) beings, greater than that of those who serve God with possessions and earthly things and seek to content Him in [the company of] their companions. This may be very beautiful, but as to us, we have not to take as examples those who stand at a low degree in the service of God, but those who are athletes in our path [2]) and the saints who go our course, and those who once for all have given up and turned their back on the earth and have taken hold of the vault of heaven.

Whereby have the ancient saints pleased God, those who
152 have trodden the way of our behaviour and have excelled: the holy John of Thebaïs, that treasury of excellence and fountain of prophecy? Did he comfort his companions with bodily things, in his reclusion, or did he please God by prayer? I confess that there have been [solitaries] who also in these things pleased [God] and gained profit. But they are less in number than those who pleased God by prayer and by renouncing all things. What their help to their followbrethren who live in solitude is, is well known. It consists in helping them as often as they are in want of a profitable word or [in helping them] by offering prayer in behalf of them. Apart from these things, it is not wise for him who dwells in solitude to give place in his heart to recollections or thoughts concerning any one as far as bodily things are concerned. 'Render unto Caesar the things which are Caesar's; and unto God the things that are God's [3]) and what belongs to a neighbour is his, and what belongs to God is His' does not apply to those who dwell in solitude, but to those who walk without. It is not the duty of him who performs the service of the angels with the thoughts of the soul, to please in earthly things; namely to have thought

1) Literally: speaking and mute
2) In the sense of: mystic course, طريقة
3) Matthew 22, 21

for manual work or to taking from others and giving to others. His service is in heaven.

It is not becoming for the solitary to allow the thought of anything to move and drive away his spirit from before God. If, however, anyone dare to adduce the example of Paul, who
153 also performed [manual] work and also gave alms, we reply to him: Paul was unique and a master in all things. We know not that another Paul has ever existed who was a master in all things like him. Show it me, if thou art found to be another Paul, and I will believe thee. Do not, therefore, compare the matters of government with the inner practice. For the work of the heralds is different from that of solitude.

But if thou wilt master solitude, be like a Cherub who has no care for earthly things. And think that there is no other man in the created world, excepted thee alone, and God about whom thou thinkest, as thy Fathers who have gone the way before thee, have taught thee. Unless a man harden his heart and restrain his compassion forcibly so as to be far from the thought of any man, should it be for the sake of God or of any bodily being — but he shall only be in prayer, at the times appointed to him, lest love or care of anyone enter his heart — it is not possible for him to be freed from the trouble of thought or to be in solitude. So much is certain. But when a deliberation is awake in thee, urging thee to the thought of anyone under the pretext of excellence, the purpose of which is to drive away from thee the peace that was becoming customary to thy heart through the recollection of God, then say to it: it is beautiful to lead a life of love and compassion for the sake of God, but I do not seek it, even for the sake of God, so it only remains to me to drive thee away for the sake of God. Thus the solitary will speak. Then the deliberation
154 will say to him: And I flee from thee for the sake of God.

Aba Arsenius, for the sake of God, did not open his mouth to speak, neither profitable nor gratuitous words. Another, however, for the sake of God, spoke the whole day and received all the strangers that visited that place. The former, in stead of this, chose silence and solitude.

Thus he voyaged with the spirit of God on the ocean of this world in the ship of solitude, in exalted peace, as is shown in revelation to the athletes who investigate this thing.

This is another denomination of solitude: rest from all

things [1]). If thou art full of trouble even in solitude, because thy body is troubled by manual service and various affairs, and because thy soul is troubled by the thought of others, what peace doest thou possess then to care for many things and to please God? Judge thyself. It appears to me ridiculous to talk about mastering the course of solitude without abandoning all things and the care of all things.

XIX

ON THE REVELATIONS AND POWERS WHICH HAPPEN TO THE SAINTS IN IMAGES

The degree of revelation is not the same as that a man deepen his emotions by the study of wisdom and by intellectual labour so as to arrive at some understanding and contemplation
155 of anything by mental investigation. For it is said: Revelation is silence of intellect. And by zealous efforts and human thoughts no one can imagine that he has found knowledge; this happens by spiritual power so that he to whom the revelation is imparted, at that time is not aware of any thought of his soul nor of those things which present themselves to his senses; neither does he use them nor is he acquainted with them.

This we do not assert on our own authority, but it can be proved sufficiently from the writings of the prophets, who, when revelations happened to them, did not perceive any of the usual things nor could they use their thoughts at will nor had they any sensual apperceptions, because they were in ecstasy. Their mind was wholly concentrated upon those things which appeared to them during the revelation. As it happened to the blessed Peter when he was hungry and ascended unto the roof in order to pray: when the revelation began, he did not perceive his hunger. Even the recollection of food was effaced from his mind, because he was in ecstasy, as scripture says [2]).

Concerning all these things one may be well instructed in particulars from the writings of the blessed bishop Theodore, the light of the whole world [3]). For he speaks about the kind

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1) ܠܐ ܡܢ ܪܚܝܩ ܐ

2) Acts 10, 10 3) Theodore bishop of Mopsuestia

and the rank of revelations, especially in the three volumes on
156 Genesis and in the two volumes on Job and in the last one about the Twelve Prophets, and in the commentaries on the Acts and the Gospel of Matthew.

Scripture mentions six kinds of revelations. The first: that by the senses. The second: by psychic sight. The third: by rapture [1]) of the spirit. The fourth: by the rank of prophecy. The fifth: in some intellectual way. The sixth: as it were by a dream.

Revelations by the senses are divided into two different kinds: those which take place by means of the elements and those which take place without matter. Examples of the former kind are the revelation in the thornbush, in the cloud, in the tables and so on, things which were also seen by the people; also those wondrous things which every day happen in the whole world and the causes and details of which are gained by the saints in revelations; and also the works and deeds and things which are hidden or far away, yet are revealed unto some at the time of their actual occurence.

Without matter: as for instance the men that appeared unto Abraham, the ladder of Jacob, the revelation about the tabernacle (try only to look at and to act with the likeness that appeared unto thee on the mountain, and so on), the divine light of exalted rays that shone for Paul on the way and blinded his eyes. It is well known that, though a revelation, it was visible and perceptible by the senses, so that also those who were with him saw and heard it; yet it was not a material revelation, nor a natural and elementary light, as the
157 blessed commentator denotes in his commentary on the story in the Acts: And those who went on the way with Paul, stood in amazement while they heard the voice, yet did not see anyone. He comments on the words, in amazement' thus: In silence without [uttering] a word, also seized with doubt, because they had caught the voice that had spoken to him and, as far as it was possible for them, had seen the light that appeared unto him. Lest it should be surmised later that Saul had invented what had happened and that which had been wrought unto him, while none of those who were with him had heard or seen it. But they did not see anyone. For

1) ܫܒܚܐ

they did not see Jesus, because, as I have said, that which appeared was even no sensible light, but an incomprehensible apperception which in an immaterial way was given him by divine action in the likeness of a vision of light, so that he thought that the heavens were opened and so on. — These are the revelations which have taken place through the medium of the bodily senses. They are exalted above any commixture with the elements or any of the sensible and human events.

But those who receive these revelations are not enveloped in ecstasy of mind, as in the case of the revelation that takes place through the eyes of the soul in the vision of the soul, as: I saw the Lord sitting on a high throne and Seraphs each with six wings round it [1]), and as in the revelation unto Ezekiel, in the revelation of the wheels and the amazing images, and the sound from the wheels resembling the sound of the
158 sea, and the glorifications heard from the Cherubs with many eyes, which say: Blessed is the majesty of the Lord in His place. How much subtler these revelations are than those of the first mentioned class, is known to the illuminated. [To the second class also belongs] for instance the vessel that appeared to Peter and the animals in it, with the other things described. And he who wishes, may recognize these things from the scriptures.

Rapture of the spirit, as for instance when he was taken up unto the third heaven, and whether this was in the body or without, I do not know. But he was taken to Paradise and heard unspeakable words, which it is not lawful for a man to utter [2]).

Prophecy, as for instance the things that happened unto the Prophets, who foretold future events, many ages before they took place, as it was also given unto Balaam the sorcerer to foretell many things through the spirit of prophecy, things even more numerous than what prophets had prophesied.

In some intellectual way. As for instance the blessed Paul says: I pray that you may be filled with the knowledge of God in all wisdom and spiritual understanding [3]). And: May the God of our Lord Jesus Christ, the Father of glory, give unto you the spirit of wisdom and revelation in the knowledge

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1) Isaiah 6, 1 2) 2 Cor. 12, 2—4
3) Colossians 1, 9

of Him: the eyes of your hearts being enlightened; that ye may know what is the hope of His calling, and the riches of His glory in the saints, and the exceeding greatness of His power in us who believe [1]) and the other things which were given to the Apostle in a revelation of knowledge concerning
159 the things of the world to be, and the order of resurrection and the alteration of human bodies and so on. And as for the degree of exalted understanding and the knowledge of the divine nature, as for instance that [man] is the likeness of the invisible God and that with His hand He has made the worlds, God has given us revelation by His spirit. Again we know in part and we understand in part [2]); and: In the beginning was the word [3]); and: Thou art the Christ, the son of the living God [4]) and so on. Again, unsearchable are His judgments, and His ways past finding out [5]); and: He who worketh all after the counsel of His own will [6]); and: God hath concluded them all in unbelief, that He might have mercy upon all [7]) and so on.

These are designations of the insight which was given unto them that they sought to know and understand through the Spirit the divine nature.

By dreams, as for instance happened to Abimelek and Joseph and Pharao and Nebukednesar; and when the angel of the Lord appeared in a dream to Joseph the husband of Mary, and so on.

Also this it is necessary to know: that all revelations, which God has granted for the sake of teaching mankind and instructing them concerning things, take place by means of images, especially revelations unto those who are of simple understanding and of small insight in the truth. But those which are destined to comfort and to instruct some person, and to console to
160 some extent and to instruct a single person, take place without images and by intelligible apperception. This is clearly proved by the blessed commentator [8]) in the second volume on Job. For how much greater, as compared with other revelations, are the things which are given in a revelation for the intellect and the understanding through an intellectual medium and how much higher are the mysteries which serve to instruct all concerning God. This is perfection of knowledge.

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1) Ephesians 1, 17—19
2) 1 Corinthians 13, 12
3) John 1, 1
4) Matthew 16, 16
5) Romans 11, 33
6) Ephesians 1, 11
7) Romans 11, 32
8) Theodore

And also this it is becoming to know: Revelation and [divine] action are different from truth and knowledge in so far as revelation is not the exact truth, but only shows indications and signs corresponding to human strength. Neither may the action and the wondrous things in those revelations be called knowledge and truth. They are called inspiration caused by [divine] action. So that it is impossible to gain from them instruction concerning God's foreknowledge or His incomprehensible nature or His different qualities or the understanding of the mysteries of His will concerning mankind and the other things which are to be attained by sound knowledge concerning Him. Therefore: the mysteries which are attained by the intellect through insight into the divine nature is different from the action by which the mind is inspired during a certain time. Therefore it is not absolutely necessary that every one to whom a revelation is imparted or who is influenced by a consoling action, must know the truth and the exact knowledge con-
161 cerning God. For many are those to whom such things were imparted, yet knew God as children only.

XX

ON VARIOUS INTELLIGIBLE FORCES OF THE MIND IN CONNECTION WITH THE ACTION OF REVELATIONS AND SPIRITUAL VISIONS

Divine sight is a non-apperceptible mental revelation. Divine revelation is an emotion of the mind by spiritual understanding, concerning the divine being. It is not even a faculty of the nature of the angels to be stirred into emotion at will, without a revelation granted by [divine] grace. Emotion by revelations concerning God's activity is different from emotion by revelations concerning the nature of His being. The former is of a nature to have analogy with apperceptible things. The latter has absolutely no analogy with the intellect or anything. It is threefold purity as to its parts and its nature, as it is said. And it is impossible that one of the thousand righteous should be deemed worthy of this high apperception. Also speculation concerning the incarnation of our Lord and His revelation in the flesh is said to belong to divine speculation.

The true sight of the angels is emotion by spiritual understanding concerning their domain. But it is impossible for us
162 to see the nature of spiritual forces without the mind.

When man is deemed worthy of seeing them in their nature and in their place and as they are in their spiritual creation, grace moves his mind by the revelation of spiritual insight concerning them. When the soul has been purified and is worthy of seeing its fellows, their sight is[1]) perceived with these eyes. They are not objects and they cannot be seen as they are, without alteration, but by psychic sight which is true contemplation. This means: without deterioration of their nature by sight. This sight cannot be acquired by any man without the second purification of the mind.

But the fact that the angels appear unto some men in images, is not due to true sight; but the angels minister unto the order of government by their mission. Or they show themselves for the consolation and encouragement of the simple, [in forms] perceptible by sight.

Such visions even happen to those who are not pure. But the first kind happens to illuminated and initiated people, who, by the glorious course of solitude, have been elevated unto the rank of purity.

XXI

ON THAT WHICH HAPPENS DURING PRAYER [UNTO THOSE WHO LIVE] IN SOLITUDE

Who is he that knows that delightful bending of the knees, when the tongue is silent and the heart silently utters some glorification, and its delightful emotion does not abate, the
163 body resting on the knees in silence? Blessed who eats from these things perpetually. But they do not happen at will, nor when one seeks them. This is in part the delight which is given for the consolation of him who walks without a blame before the Lord in the course of solitude.

If he continues this course in all simplicity, and seeks the purity of his service, and if his behaviour is worthy, after some time he will be deemed worthy of the things mentioned above.

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1) In some Mss.: not

As to those who are novices in this course and who have a fixed aim, Grace at first will make them apt for the taste of these and similar things by recitation and it will draw their thoughts towards its self, away from earthly thoughts. Then they will work and wake and pray without becoming fatigued. Unto those who are trained to some extent in the mysteries of solitude, apperceptive power during prayer and service will be imparted.

XXII

ON VARIOUS [EXPERIENCES] DURING PRAYER AND ON THE LIMITS OF THE POWER OF THE MIND. AND IN HOW FAR IT HAS POWER TO MOVE ITS ARBITRARY IMPULSES BY THE VARIOUS HABITS OF PRAYER. AND WHAT IS THE LIMIT PRESCRIBED TO NATURE DURING PRAYER, THE LIMIT WHICH PRAYER IS NOT ALLOWED TO SURPASS. AND HOW WHEN IT HAS PASSED IT AND HAS PROCEEDED FARTHER, IT IS NO LONGER PRAYER, EVEN THOUGH WHAT HAPPENS IS CALLED BY THE NAME OF PRAYER

Glory to Him whose gift has been poured out upon mankind, in that He has ordained that they, although of the flesh, should serve on the earth the class of immaterial beings and has deemed worthy the nature of mortals to speak about such
164 mysteries, especially sinners as we are, who are not even worthy of hearing speech concerning such things. In His bounty He has opened our blind heart to understand, by the contemplation of the scriptures and the instruction of the great Fathers even although I have not been deemed worthy of experiencing for personal zeal one thousandth of what I have written with my hands, especially in this tract, which we have ventured to write for the illumination and exhortation of our soul and of those who come across it, that perhaps, on account of its desire, it may be incited to approach unto practice.

How then? Delight during prayer is different from sight during prayer. The latter is more excellent than the former, as an adult man is superior to a little boy. It will happen

that the words become sweet in the mouth and that one word of prayer is repeated infinitely so that no feeling of satiety with it causes thee to proceed and to pass over to a second.

Sometimes from prayer a certain contemplation is born which also makes prayer vanish from the lips. And he to whom this contemplation happens becomes as a corpse without soul, in ecstasy. This we call sight during prayer and not an image or form forged by phantasy, as fools say. Also in this contemplation during prayer there are degrees and differences in gifts. But till this point there is still prayer. For thought has not yet passed into the state where there is no prayer, but a
165 state superior to it. For the motions of the tongue and the heart during prayer, are keys. What comes after them is the entering into the treasury. Here then all mouths and tongues are silent, and the heart, the treasurer of the thoughts, the mind, the governor of the senses, the daring spirit, that swift bird, and all their means and powers and the beseeching persuasions have to stand still there: for the master of the house has come.

For like as the whole force of the laws and the commandments which God has laid down for mankind, have their term in the purity of the heart, according to the word of the Fathers, so all kinds and habits of prayer with which mankind prays unto God, have their term in pure prayer. Lamentations and selfhumiliations and beseechings and inner supplications and sweet tears and all other habits which prayer possesses, — as I have haid: their boundary and the domain within which they are set into motion, is pure prayer.

As soon as the spirit has crossed the boundary of pure prayer and proceeded onwards, there is neither prayer, nor emotions, nor tears, nor authority, nor freedom, nor beseechings, nor desire, nor longing after any of those things which are hoped for in this world or in the world to be.

Therefore there is no prayer beyond pure prayer, and all its emotions and habits by their authority with freedom conduct
166 the spirit thus far and there is struggle in it; but beyond this limit it passes into ecstasy and is no longer prayer. From here onwards the spirit desists from prayer; there is sight, but the spirit does not pray.

Every kind of prayer which exists is set into motion by the impulses of the soul. But when the mind has entered the emotions of spirituality, then it can no longer pray.

Prayer is different from contemplation during prayer, though they are caused by each other. One is the seed; the other the load [of harvest] borne by the hands, while the reaper is astonished by the undescribable sight of how from the mean and bare grains of seed glorious ears suddenly grow up before him. And during sight he remains without motion.

Every prayer which exists, is demand and request, or praise or thanksgiving. But judge whether there exists any of these modes, or demand of anything, when the mind has passed into this domain and has entered this place.

I ask this of those who know the truth. It is not given to every one to enquire into these distinctions, but only to those who have been personally witness and ministers of this matter or have been brought up in the presence of the spiritual authors[1]) of such experiences and have received the truth from their mouth and have passed their days with such occupations, asking and answering concerning matters of truth. As among ten thousand men there is scarcely to be found a single one
167 who has fulfilled the commandments and the laws to any extent and who has been deemed worthy of serenity of soul, so there is rarely to be found one among many, who on account of strenuous vigilance has been deemed worthy of pure prayer and who has made his way into this domain and been deemed worthy of this mystery. Not many are deemed worthy of pure prayer, only a few. But as to that mystery which lies beyond, there is scarcely to be found a single man in every generation who has drawn near to this knowledge of God's grace.

Prayer is a beseeching for, a caring for, a longing for some thing, either liberation from the evil things here or [in the world] to come, or a desire for promised things, or a demand for something by which man wishes to be brought nearer unto God. In these emotions are included all habits of prayer. But its being pure or not depends upon the following circumstances. If, when the spirit is prepared to offer one of the emotions which we have enumerated, any foreign deliberation or distraction mingles itself with it, prayer is called non-pure, because it has brought upon the altar of the Lord an animal which it is not allowed [to offer], the altar which is an upright, intelligible heart.

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1) literally: the Fathers

But when the spirit gives itself with longing to one of these emotions, in accordance to the necessity of the case, at the time of beseeching, and when on account of its alacrity the gaze of the emotion is directed by the eye of faith beyond the curtain of the heart, the entrances of the soul are closed thereby against the foreign deliberations which are called
168 strangers [1]), whom the law does not allow to enter the tabernacle. This is called the accepted offering of the heart and pure prayer. Its boundaries are to this point. What lies beyond cannot be called prayer.

If any one should mention what by the Fathers is called spiritual prayer, without understanding the force of the words of the Fathers, saying: This belongs also to the domain of prayer, I think that, if he should reach true insight, it would prove a blasphemy if there should be found any of the creatures who should say that spiritual prayer can be prayed at all. For all prayer that can be prayed, lies on this side of spirituality. And all that is spiritual, is in kind free from emotion and prayer.

Now if man is hardly able to pray pure prayer what must be said of spiritual prayer? The holy Fathers are accustomed to designate all profitable emotions and all spiritual working by the name of prayer. And the blessed commentator [2]) even counts beautiful deeds as prayer; though it is clear that prayer is different from deeds which are things done. But sometimes they designate by spiritual prayer that which they sometimes call contemplation; and sometimes knowledge; and sometimes revelations of intelligible things. Doest thou see, how the Fathers
169 change their designations of spiritual things? This is because accurate designations can only be established concerning earthly things. The things of the world-to-be do not possess a true name, but only simple cognition, which is exalted above all names and signs and forms and colours and habits and composite denominations. When, therefore, the knowledge of the soul exalts itself above this circle of visible things, the Fathers use concerning this knowlegde any designations they like, though no one does know the real names in order that the psychic deliberations may be based on them. We use denominations and riddles, according to the word of the holy Dionysius [3]) who

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1) ܪܝܬܐ proselytes 2) Theodore of Mopsuestia 3) Areopagita

says: We use signs and syllables, conventional names and words in behalf of the senses. But when by spiritual working our soul is moved unto divine things, then the senses and their workings are superfluous to us, as also the spiritual forces of the soul are superfluous as soon as our soul becomes the image of the godhead through unification with the incomprehensible and radiant in the rays of the sublime, by those impulses which are not for the eyes.

Therefore, my brother, of this thou mayest be sure: that the power of the mind to use the emotions with discernment has its limit in purity during prayer. When the mind has reached this point, it will either turn backwards, or it will desist from prayer; so prayer is, as it were, a mediator between the psychic and the spiritual state. As long, however, as
170 it is in emotion, it is in the psychic state. But as soon as it has passed this limit, prayer ceases.

As the saints, in the world to come do not pray, when the mind has been engulfed by the [divine] spirit, but they dwell in ecstasy in that delightful glory, so the mind, when it has been made worthy of perceiving the future blessedness, will forget itself and all that is here, and it will not be moved any longer by the thought of anything [1]).

Man, therefore, may freely go so far as to say: all excellence whatever and all orders of prayer whatever, in body or in spirit, are in the realm of free will, as well as the mind that dominates the senses. But when the influence of the spirit reigns over the mind that regulates the senses and the deliberations, freedom is taken away from nature which no longer governs but is governed. And how could there be prayer at that time, when nature does not possess power over its self, but is conducted by an outward force without knowing whither. Nature then does not direct the emotions of the spirit according to its will, but captivity reigns over nature in that hour and conducts it there where sensual apperception ceases; because nature even has no will at that time, even to this extent that it does not know whether it is in or without the body, as scripture testifies. Has therefore such a one prayer who is a captive to this degree and who even does not know himself? So no one should say with blasphemy that there is anyone

1) Cf. Plotinus's description of the mind's delight when it has forgotten matter VI, 7 § 34.

who could venture to say that it is possible to pray spiritual
171 prayer. This audaciousness the Meṣalleyānē vindicate for themselves, those haughty ignorants who proclaim concerning themselves that they are able to pray spiritual prayer when they like. But those who are humble and have insight and are inclined to learn from the Fathers and know the limits of nature, do not abandon their deliberations to this audaciousness.

And therefore, when there is no prayer, can then this unspeakable gift be designated by the name of prayer? The cause, as we say, is therein, that at the time of prayer [this gift] is granted unto those who are worthy. And in prayer it has its starting-point, because this glorious gift cannot be granted excepted at this time, according to the testimony of the Fathers. Therefore it is called by the name of prayer, because from prayer the mind is conducted towards this blessed state, and because prayer is its starting-point and it does not occur on any other occasion, according to the testimony of Mar Euagrius and others. And we see also that the majority of the saints say that during prayer their mind was snatched [1]).

If any one asks: How is it that at this time only these great and unspeakable gifts are granted? we answer: Because at this time, more than in any other hour, man is concentrated and prepared to look unto God and to desire and to expect compassion from Him. In short: it is the time that the demand of him who is at the gate of the king and asks desi-
172 ringly and beseechingly, is likely to be heard. And what time is there when man is so cautious and fit and prepared, as the time when he prays? Or should it be becoming that he should be deemed worthy of this at the time when he sleeps or settles any affair or is distracted of mind? However, the saints do not even know a time of idleness, because at all times they are occupied by spiritual things, for when they are not standing in preparation for prayer, they often meditate upon some stories of the scriptures, or their mind meditates in contemplation of the created things, or [their mind is occupied] with other things meditation of which is profitable.

At the time of prayer the gaze of the spirit is exclusively fixed on God and the tendency of its emotion is wholly directed towards Him, and it offers to Him the beseechings of the

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heart with the necessary zeal, with fervour and ardour. Therefore it is becoming that at this time, when a single thought dominates the soul, divine mercy should well forth from Him. For we see also that when we offer the visible sacrifice, while every one is prepared and standing in prayer, supplicating and beseeching, the mind being concentrated upon God, the gift of the spirit descends upon the bread and wine which we lay on the altar. To Zechariah also the angel appeared at the time of prayer and announced to him the conception of John. And
173 to Peter appeared, while he was praying on the roof the prayer of the sixth hour, the revelation that made him acquainted with the accession of the gentiles, by the cloth that descended from heaven and by the animals that were on it. And to Cornelius appeared, when he prayed, that which is written concerning him. And God spoke with Joshua the son of Nun while he was prostrated in prayer. And over the ark was placed a plate, from which the priest was taught by divine revelation what was required, at the time when the high priest, once in a year, entered the inner sanctuary at the dreadful time of prayer while all the tribes of the children of Israel were gathered and stood in trembling and fear in the outer tabernacle in prayer. And while the high priest was prostrated the voice of God was heard from the plate over the ark, in a dreadful, unspeakable revelation. How dreadful was the mystery that was ministered in this ceremony! So all the revelations and visions that happened unto the saints, happened at the time of prayer.

What time is so holy and fit for sanctification and the receiving of gifts as the time of prayer, in which man speaks with God? At this time man utters his desires unto God, beseeching Him and speaking with Him and his whole emotion and thought are concentrated from all sides upon Him with
174 compulsion; of God alone he thinks and Him alone he supplicates; his whole thought is absorbed in discourse with Him and his heart is full of Him. It is in this state, therefore, that the Holy Ghost joins with the things which man prays, some unattainable insights, which it stirs in him in accordance with his aptitude of being moved so that by these insights the emotion of prayer ceases, the mind is absorbed in ecstasy and the desired object of prayer is forgotten. The impulses are drowned in a heavy drunkenness and man is no longer in this world. Then

there is no longer discrimination of body or of soul, nor recollection of anything, as Euagrius says.

Prayer namely is steadfastness of mind, which is terminated only by the light of the holy Trinity through ecstasy. Thou seest, how prayer is terminated when those insights which are born in the spirit from prayer, pass into ecstasy, as I have said in the beginning of this treatise and in several places further on.

Further he[1]) says: Steadfastness of mind is highness of intelligible apperceptions[2]), which resembles the colour of the sky over which rises, at the time of prayer, the light of the holy Trinity. When is a man deemed worthy of the whole of this grace such that during prayer he is exalted unto this height? He says: When the mind puts off the old man and puts on
175 the new one by grace, then it also sees its steadfastness at the time of prayer, resembling sapphire or the colour of heaven, as the place of God was called by the elders of Israel, to whom it appeared on the mountain[3]).

So, as I have said, this gift is not to be called spiritual prayer, but what then? The fruit of pure prayer, which is engulfed in the spirit. The mind has ascended here above prayer. And, having found what is more excellent, it desists from prayer. And further there is no longer prayer, but the gaze in ecstasy at the unattainable things which do not belong to the world of mortals, and peace without knowledge of any earthly thing. This is the well known ignorance[4]) concerning which Euagrius says: Blessed is he who has reached, during prayer, unconsciousness which is not to be surpassed.

XXIII

ON THE SPEECH OF TRUE KNOWLEDGE

Every apperceptible thing, be it action or word, is the revelation of what is hidden within, if its cause be not entirely accidental, but return constantly. The latter element only is

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1) evidently Euagrius 2) literally: things 3) Exodus 24, 9—11
4) Cf. Dionysius Areopagita p. 274 [10]

considered in connection with reward; the former is taken into consideration to a small extent only. For the strength or the weakness of will is evidenced in the doing of evil or of good things, not by anything that happens accidentally; but the proof of its freedom is the constant repetition.

To fate is given power; sometimes even so as to dominate
176 freedom of will. Good or bad accidents meet man be it in order to spur him on, or to test, or to train, or to reward him. That which serves to spur on, is good; that which serves to test, is considered as being bad; that which serves to train and to remunerate is indifferent.

There are no fortuitous accidents; for nothing fortuitous happens to man, good or evil. There is a governor who governs the things of this world. There is a guardian with each of us, whom nothing escapes and whose attention never fails. But all accidents are foreseen by this appointed guardian. And in these four kinds [of accidents] his providence is active.

Passionate prayer, the companion of a course [of life] in harmony with its passionate nature, alters the character of those [who are subject to accidents] and brings about amelioration. The good are strengthened and corroborated by it; to the bad it causes a change to the opposite direction. Therefore, doubt not what I have said: there is no accident fortuitous or without a governor. If indeed prayer combined with steadfestness is able to alter or to direct, we have to believe that there is a governor to every accident. Blessed is he who compares every accident which happens to him, with his hidden [state], who scrutinizes its cause and beholds its governor. He that is desirous to acquire experience with God, cannot but become a fool to the world and a hater of human glory.

Admirable is the man who conceals the greatness of his work by lowliness of soul. Such a one is admired by the angels.

As guardians of righteousness have to be reckonned by thee
177 involuntary defects, which sometimes are found with those who are watchful.

There is no prayer which is heard so soon as when a man asks to be reconciled with those who are angry with him. And when a man charges himself with the fault, this prayer is answered without delay. If thou fulfillest thy duty and art watchful in thy domain, yet art weak and despicable in thy

own eyes, hating human glory, then know that thou art surely in the way of God. But if thou perceivest that thou art not in this state and, when thou explorest thyself, thou seest that thoughts of blame cause thee pain, then know that thou art void of truth and in secret relation with falsehood.

XXIV

ON THE THINGS A BROTHER IS PROVIDED WITH IN HIS CELL

It occurs many times in a day, that a brother, even if thou shouldst give him the kingdom of the world, would not consent at that hour to leave his cell or to [allow] any one to visit him. For the time of commerce [1]) has presented itself, of a sudden. Such things happen on days such as are considered as days of relaxation. Often on such days and even on those wherein he has intercourse with others, grace of a sudden will visit him, in tears without measure, or a vivid affection moving
178 the heart, or a certain gladness without cause, or the delight of kneelings.

I know a brother who put the key in the door of his cell in order to shut it, for he was going out in order to be occupied with idle things as the scripture says [2]). And there grace visited him, so that he returned immediately. Nobody, therefore, shall blame a brother if, on the days on which he does not keep canonical solitude, he should happen to neglect the congregational service sometimes. Especially if he be not reputed base or given to inane occupations, and if he does not neglect it on account of bodily labour. You know, my brethren, that our work is not only that which is accomplished before the eyes of men; but we have also a service which is hidden from the eyes of men and which is not known to novices and lay people. For you are acquainted with the fact, that the solitary is under a rule and not his own master. Therefore if any of his brethren comes to visit him and he answers him not, he shall return immediately without blaming his brother. For he

1) Often the image of spiritual things
2) Eccles. 1, 14 etc.

does not know that with which his brother is occupied at that time. The cell of a solitary is the cave of the rock in which God spoke with Moses, as the Fathers say. Those solitaries who have not been put to the test by the service which consists in the true taste of solitude, do not know these things. They despise their brethren and judge, claiming for themselves equality with them in all things.

179 It also happens sometimes that a brother is suddenly set face to face with some necessary strife, and, with his hands laid on his heart, he is in danger of flying away. Being prostrated he beseeches God, not able to bear the voice of any one. These varying states are known to those who once have crossed this ocean and are acquainted with the winds blowing [there].

It may also happen that the thought of repentance may rise in a man and that his past may suddenly be united with the memory of his death and present itself before him. And this brilliant sun will be darkened before his eyes and every recollection of the world will be effaced from his heart.

It may also happen that suddenly billows may rise against him and his ship be engulfed in hidden abysses; things which are not known to every one, but which unexpectedly assail the solitary in his solitude owing to the violent struggles of Satan, so that the cell becomes a place of mourning.

Numerous are the varying states of this ocean and who knows its labours and its multifarious connections, the wonderful pearls in its depth and the animals rising from it? Blessed is he who sleeps not during the whole of his course until the port of death.

No one loves anything without multiplying his connections [with it].

No one is able to occupy himself with divine things without having cast away and despised temporal ones; becoming a stranger to worldly honour and delights, following the disdain of the cross, drinking every day vinegar and gall on account of the affections, men, demons and poverty.

Be alert, my brother, and be like a prudent merchant, bea-
180 ring thy pearl and wandering through the world, anxious that its excellent beauty be not besmirched. Be careful, lest it be stolen from thee on account of thy laxity and thou go to Hell in distress.

Persue the small consolation which is gained from labour in

its time, that thou may be deemed worthy of that great consolation which liberates those who have found it, from torment in this place of distresses. Do not reject small things, lest thou be bereaved of the great ones. No one has ever seen a child which sucks milk putting meat into its mouth. By means of small things the gate unto great ones is opened. Thou disdainest God, o my brother who desirest that God shall govern thee without His rule. No one has been entrusted with great things, without having been first tried in small ones. Think of this, o my brother, and remember me in due time: every station which on the morrow thou attainest to in this way of excellence and knowledge of the truth, will be found by thee more glorious and excellent than that in which thou hast spent the night before. Thou departest, wondering at the beauty of the station which thou has entered to-day. But its beauty vanishes by the beauty of that which thou wilt reach to-morrow. Who can perceive the mind's varying states, full of delight? Pray only, that the gate may be opened before thee.

Be on thy guard against dejectedness. Thou servest not under a tyrant; thy service is under a kind Lord, who has given thee all, without taking from thee anything and who, before thou didst exist at all, destined thee to ocupy thy present place. Who can do justice to His grace even as shown by His calling us into existence?

181 O, for His immeasurable grace! Who can sufficiently tell the glory of Him who has given us the knowledge of all things? Not only of those which are manifest, but also of those which are hidden, so that we know that, if there is anything that we know not, we must ask it of Him; who has taught thee, o mortal, to be moved by the desire of seeking that of which the knowledge is not in thy nature? Never seek a consolation that lies without the heart, which is the knowledge of discernment. Exalt thyself above all consolation administered by the senses, that thou may be worthy of that consolation which lies beyond. The solitary who has become alien to the consolation of the world, without expecting every day the consolation of Christ, is dead in his living state.

For God is compassionate and prone to give; but He desires that we give the opportunity. For He rejoices when man offers a wise prayer.

The mark of him who is recovering from illness is that he

is desirous of the hidden things. There is delay, however, if he beholds essential health. He who wearies of asking is the companion of him who wearies because of delay. Weariness declines to ask in prayer, viz. it is an impediment to asking. Dejectedness shortens prayer and bars its prolongation. Expectation gives patience and incites us to prolong prayer. Expectation makes light the weight of fatigue in the limbs. It also knows how to impart rest to the heart in its troubles. There is no load the weight of which is more agreeable than work with expectation; nor is there any comrade with whom
182 intercourse is more desired than with it. Prison is a pleasant habitation if it be there. Make it thy companion, o repentant brother, then thou wilt not perceive any of the labours of thy struggle. If thou art in thy cell, it will be with thee. If thou art found among men, fix thy mind on it. And if at any time thy heart errs after anything on the earth, this world and all that is in it will be found alien to thee. If thou sleep, make it thy bed-companion; and converse with it until thou art enfolded in sleep. Then no depraved deliberation will draw near thy heart, because thy occupation is of an immaterial kind and no object clad with matter, which by its appearance moves the spirit, is able to show itself there; and no demoniac deliberation knows how to show itself detached from material appearance.

The fruit of life sprouts from endurance in prayer. And expectation is a helper during prayer to those who possess it. When thou prayest, remember the husbandman who sows in hope. And He who causes to return twofold the seed of the husbandman who sows in faith, and who has estimated the seeking of His kingdom and His righteousness higher than the temporal things, He will incline himself to our prayer to our demands, as He has promised. Amen.

XXV

THE OPPORTUNITIES OF THE SOUL THAT SEEKS PROFOUND CONTEMPLATION TO IMMERSE ITSELF IN IT AND SO TO ESCAPE FROM BODILY DELIBERATIONS WHICH ARISE FROM THINGS RECOLLECTED

Every [1]) thing that is above another one is concealed from what is beneath it. And this is not caused by its being covered
183 by other bodies. For it possesses naturally the faculty to unveil its secrecy whenever it likes to do so. Thus all things which are essentially intelligible have no external distinctions of rank; these distinctions are confined to their emotions. This implies manifestly that they are more suited to receive, without any intermediary, the primeval light, than things of a lower [2]) rank, not materially nor locally, but in relation to the high degree of purity or moderation of the minds, with reference to the faculty that receives hints from above.

All things which are by their nature intelligible, are hidden from what is beneath them; not on account of natural divergences, but on account of excellence of impulses. This I say in respect of the members of [different] classes, viz. the classes of holy forces, the classes of souls, the classes of demons. The first have the middle place; the last the lowest in a natural and local respect and also with regard to their emotions.

Each of the classes is hidden from the other as to their intelligible character, whether they see or not; from the inferior ones they are also hidden by nature.

Now then, because incorporeal beings are not to be seen by other beings in the same way as corporeal beings, but their [power to] see one another is said to be dependent upon their emotions, namely the excellency and temperance of the emotions — therefore they see one another if they are equal

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1) With the ideas of this chapter compare Frothingham, *Stephen Bar Sudaili*, p. 92: "Every intelligent nature is determined, known and comprehended by the essence which is above it; and determines, knows and comprehends the essence which is below it; but to the pure mind alone belongs the vision above and below". This seems to be the opening sentence of the *Book of Hierotheos*.

2) literally: later

in this respect even at a distance and not as phantoms, but with real sight and in their true nature.

184 Only — the cause of all is exalted above these distinctions, He, who is alone to be adored.

The demons, though they are very impure, are not deprived of seeing the members of their own classes. But they do not see the two degrees that are above them because spiritual sight is serenity of emotions. These are their mirror and their eyes. And when the emotions have become darkened, they do not see the orders which are above them. [Only] one another they see, because they are more material than the order of spiritual things, in comparison with them. Such is the state of the demons.

The souls, in accordance with their being impure and obscure, have not the faculty to see even the members of their own classes. Being deprived of seeing one another, they are also deprived of seeing themselves. But if they are purified and return unto the original state in which they were created, they clearly gaze at the three classes, viz. at those which are beneath themselves, at those which are above themselves, and at one another. This does not mean that they see all these classes only when they are transformed into material similitudes: angels, demons or the cognate soul. But they see them in their nature, being in their spiritual state, angels, demons and souls.

If thou sayest, however, that it is impossible that demon or angel be seen in their spiritual state without being altered, then
185 it is not the soul that sees, but the body; or wherefore, then, is purification necessary? Demons are seen sometimes, and also angels, it is true, by those who are not pure. But they see them with their bodily eye when they see them, where no purification is needed. But the soul that has been purified sees not thus; it sees them in their spiritual state with its natural eye, viz. with its intellectual faculty.

That the souls see one another, even when they are in the body, is not surprising. Of this fact there is an evident proof which thou wilt acknowledge, because its witness is trustworthy. The blessed Athanasius, the confessor and Catholicus, gives witness to it in his book on the dealings of Mar Antonius. One time when Mar Antonius prayed, he saw a man's soul ascending with great honour. He uttered a blessing over him that had been

deemed worthy of all this grace. This was the blessed Ammon, the recluse. And the mountain the blessed Antonius inhabited was at a distance of thirteen days from Nitria. — Here is a proof of the three things we have maintained, viz. spiritual beings see one another even at a distance, without their being impeded by space and the presence of objects; souls see one another when they have been purified; when they see they do
186 not see in a bodily way but by spiritual faculty, for it is clear that bodily sight can see what is before it; but as for seeing at a distance a different sight is needed.

These highest classes possess an unlimited multiplicity of number. And distinctions and orders are noted among them. Some of them are called princes and magistrates, powers and lords. Perhaps those which are entrusted with magistracy and authority are smaller in number than those which are compelled to obey their commandment, says the master of teachers Diodorus Rhetor[1]). For they are in the possession of power and great if partial insight, in accordance with the highness of their orders, being gradated so that they ascend from degree to degree till they reach the one who is older and mightier and more glorious than any other and who is the head and the foundation of all creatures. The head, I say, not the creator of the primeval wonderful works of God.

The angels and the archangels are very far from attaining to the wisdom of God, their and our creator. They are as far from it, as those of the lower degree are from them, but also no farther. Far, I say, as to their being higher or lower in their mutual relations; not in a spatial sense, but in respect of power and insight. Thus we say that they are higher or lower in respect of natural power and insight; for in accordance with the measure they have reached, greater or lesser knowledge is inherent in them.

187 All heavenly beings are named by the divine instruction with nine designations. It divides these three classes each into three subdivisions. The first comprises thrones exalted, high and holy; and Cherubs with many eyes; and Seraphs with many wings. The [second] class [comprises] lords and powers and magistrates. The third: princes and archangels and angels.

According to the meaning of the Hebrew, these terms are

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1) Cf. Introduction, also for the provenience of the following classification of heavenly beings.

to be interpreted thus: Seraphs means those who cause heat and fire. Cherubs means magnitude of knowledge and effusion of wisdom. Thrones means divine acceptance and good pleasure.

This first class is called [that of] the Initiated, not because they see spiritually by the intermediary of the various apperceptible symbols, or because from spiritual writings they have acquired understanding concerning the Essence; but because they are full of the exalted light of the whole of immaterial knowledge and have been saturated with the essential contemplation of the threefold rays of the beauty that creates all beauties, so far as it has been permitted to them. And because they have been deemed worthy of communion with Jesus, not by means of images of holy formation, which with a certain exactness depict the divine likeness; but because they are in truth near to Him, stamped by Him with the mark of the primary acceptance of the knowledge of His divine illuminated. By the godhead they are filled with essential knowledge, as it is among the angels, and with primary insight into the godhead.

Another and clearer [description] of the designations of the highest orders.

188 Thrones are honoured [beings]. Lords are those who rule kingdoms. Princes the governors of the air. Magistrates are those who rule the peoples and human individuals. Forces are those whose sight is frightful, viz. who are powerful with strength. Seraphs are those who sanctify. Cherubs are bearers. Guards[1]) are those who watch. Angels are messengers.

On the first day eight kinds were created, seven in silence, one by voice, viz. light. On the second day the firmament. On the third the gathering of waters and the sprouting plants. On the fourth the different luminaries. On the fifth the fowls, the reptiles and the fishes. On the sixth the beasts and men.

The form of the whole world is length and breadth. The head is the East; the end is the west; the right part is the North; the left part is the South.

The earth is as a bed; and the highest heaven as a vault; the second heaven as a wheel adaptated to the higher one. And the borders of heaven and earth are joined one to the other. The Ocean surrounds them as a belt. Beyond it are high mountains ascending unto the sky. The sun goes its way

1) ܥܝܪ, also a usual term for angels in Syriac.

behind these mountains the whole night. The great sea is beyond them. And this encompasses four times the area of the dry land and one fourth is dry land.

XXVI

189 ## AGAINST THOSE WHO SAY: IF GOD IS GOOD WHEREFORE HAS HE MADE THESE THINGS?

Sin, hell and death do not at all exist with God. For they are facts, not persons. Sin is the fruit of will. There was a time, when it was not. And there will be a time, when it will not be. Hell is the fruit of sin; at some time or other it had beginning; but its end is not known. Death, however, is provided by the wisdom of the creator. It will rule a certain time only over nature; then it will vanish altogether. Satan is the name of the deviation of will from the truth, but it is not the designation of a natural being.

Although thou findest, o my brother, some of these things also in other books, still we may not be reckoned by thee as those who seek their own glory, because we pretend the work of others to be our own, but, on the contrary, as those who are humble, since we suck from the milk of our fore-fathers those things which we have collected and placed before ourselves as objects of contemplation, with the aim of enriching the intellect with their stores in which we may pasture and be fed.

For we have not forgotten that we are not above the rank of disciples so long as we dwell in the flesh. The faculty of discernment is the emotionality of the natural ideas. When these go the natural way in their emotions, they meet with the changing elements and worlds. But when [they go] a subsidiary way, another use will be found for the former ones. For when the natural [faculties] are twofold in their intellectual use, they will be understood in one of these only, and that the non-psychic state.

When thou catchest the delight of the words of the service, then the mind is eager to remain in it continuously. If thou desirest, however, to fulfill its wish, then haste towards the knowledge of its cause. If thou hast attained this quickly, as

one discerning and not blind, it is not difficult for thee to taste this [delight] constantly without impediment. And what then is the influence which is also called cause? By a file, which does not add anything to it, iron is brought to brilliancy and radiance; for these properties belong to its essence. But what happens? The file removes from it the rust, which has come upon it, although no one is responsible for that. The same theory holds true as to the nature of the mind. Bring it into contact with the file; then thou wilt find how it shines at the time of service, imitating the rays of the stars. For a thing is not able to go its way [without aid]; it delays, if no one cares for it. Therefore have I said that during the recitation of Psalms (not during the prayer of the heart and recitation) the heart can hardly be captivated. It is otherwise with those; with them only small care is needed. They are able to make [recitation of Psalms] profitable. But without them, care for recitation will
191 be found to be in vain. The latter will be promoted, even if there be no other increase to it, if the former be a stock already present [1]).

Hunger is able to procure food; but it is not inclined to abstain from eating.

Delicious for the husbandman is the bread won by his sweat. Without previous sweat, the bread of truth does not give saturation. The body which is the husbandman, sweats and feeds the rational mind. And this happens even when the mind is deprived of its customary, non-natural food.

Spiritual excellency is the daughter of excellency of will and this it is necessarily. For freedom is the natural force of reason, and not slavery. But on that side, towards which it inclines and where it abides, it gives birth to a different force, which is not natural. And when this is born, freedom becomes ruled and governed by compulsion. I dare to say: it becomes bound, without self-government. Before, compulsion was voluntary; now compulsion has mastered will.

And I say that this is to be seen on both sides, when a man subdues himself on the right side and when he gives an opportunity to the left one. But the mind that has learnt to see discriminately, is able to observe how compulsion on both sides dominates freedom, when the force which is not from nature, is born

1) I am not quite certain of the meaning of the last sentences.

from the submission of the will. I do not mean the usual force,
192 which is very difficult; but that which is called secondary.

Custom at any rate is subject to the will; though it strives to resist it. Apart from this we know two forces; one subdues the will; the other dominates nature. It has even power to alter nature. That influence dominates nature, is known to those who have been tested by it.

The varying states of the hearts and the deviating minds which are usually born from them (free and bound, living and dead) are promoted to a large extent by the disparity[1]) of contemplation which rises in human minds, concerning divine judgments. By the mediation of this disparity the world[2]) has been preserved for thousands of years. This disparity is largely helpful towards changing the course of mortal life, and what is greatest of all, towards the contemplation of judgments which engender trust in God.

Many hearts as soon as trust has entered them, resemble a man who has taken deadly poison.

Even to true and veracious sons, with ten parts of love five parts of fear are mixed together.

Nature liable to deviation is not able to receive here the perfection of divine truth, or to know the whole will of God regarding the class of rational beings; even Paul and his equals are not sufficient for this; till the liability to err has been taken

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1) Disparity (ܦܘܫܩܢܐ ܕܫܘܝܐ, cf. Register) is a term which, as well as its opposite, often occurs in cognate works, but of which it is not easy to give a clear definition. Dionysius the Areopagite is well acquainted with the idea (*ἰσότης* and *ἀνισότης*): *τὴν γὰρ ἀνισότητα εἴ τις ἐκλάβοι τὰς ἐν τῷ ὅλῳ τῶν ὅλων πρὸς ὅλα διαφοράς· καὶ ταύτης ἡ δικαιοσύνη φρουρητική, μὴ συγχωροῦσα συμμιγῆ τὰ ὅλα ἐν ὅλοις γενόμενα διαταραχθῆναι· φυλάττουσα δὲ τὰ ὄντα πάντα κατ' εἶδος ἕκαστον, ἐν ᾧ ἕκαστον εἶναι πέφυκε* (*De divinis nominibus*, Chapter VIII). On the other hand, in the ninth chapter, Dionysius argues that *ἰσότης* is a divine property, corresponding to some extent with justice; it means that God is not composed and pervades and reaches the Universe in an equal way.

Going back in literature, we find the terms in the Neo-Platonists. Of importance is the following passage in Plotinus (*Enneades* III II § XVII): *καὶ δὴ ὁ λόγος ὁ πᾶς εἷς· μεμέρισται δὲ οὐκ εἰς ἴσα· ὅθεν καὶ τοῦ παντὸς διάφοροι τόποι βελτίους καὶ χείρους καὶ ψυχαὶ οὐκ ἴσαι ἐναρμόττουσιν οὕτως τοῖς οὐκ ἴσοις* (cf. also § XVIII and III III § 3, 5 and Proclus, *Institutio Theologica*, ed. Creuzer § VII).

Going further back, we find that Philo was well acquainted with the ideas of *ἰσότης* and *ἀνισότης*. Ed. Mangey I 493 sqq. is very instructive. And in the fragments Mangey gives the following sentences from Philo (II 665): *ὥσπερ τῶν τελειοτάτων ἀγαθῶν τὸ ἰσόμετρον αἴτιον, οὕτω τῶν μεγίστων κακῶν ἡ ἀμετρία, τὸν ὠφελιμώτατον λύουσα δεσμὸν ἰσότητος.* And: *τὸ ἄνισον λυπηρὸν καὶ διαστατικὸν ὥσπερ καὶ τὸ ἴσον ἄλυπον καὶ συνδετικὸν εἰς ὠφέλειαν.* — *Τὸ ἔννομον καὶ τὸ ἴσον εἰρήνης σπέρμα, καὶ σωτηρίας αἴτιον, καὶ τῆς εἰς ἅπαντα δαιμονῆς. Ἀνισότης δὲ καὶ πλεονεξία ὁρμητήρια πολέμου, καὶ λυτικὰ τῶν ὄντων.*

2) Reading ܡܬܚܙܩ in stead of ܡܬܚܙܝ

193 away, so that nature no longer errs through being aware of this.

What is parity and disparity? Disparity of contemplation — differences and variations in one soul — is the eternal thought of God being unattainable. Parity is truth being revealed.

If a nature able to err should receive in this world the exact truth, it would die by the power of its liability to err. This is 'O, depth of the riches'[1]) and 'How unsearchable are His judgments' and 'Who has known the mind of God' and the like, which in an astonishing way and among sighs rise in the mind from time to time, which by some is called the Cloud. From this, disparity of contemplation and divergence of insight are born concerning the unattainable inquiry into God's judgments.

When, however, the perfection of nature will have come, in a world without deviation, nature will be no longer afraid to know divine truth, as if it would deviate to the left because of trust. Trust engenders contempt and profusion of spirit. Fear, on the other hand, is wonted to check aberration, so that it becomes bridled. This fear thou findest in thy soul by the contemplation of the different judgments and worlds and the disparity of behaviour and the non-correspondence between the retribution provided to men in this world and the righteousness which shows itself from time to time, and [God's] constant
194 patience, and the righteous and the sinners, and the contrary and incongruous meetings of repugnant persons, as ordered by Providence. When the intellect observes all this, emotion takes hold of the whole soul. And then is born in it examination of deliberations, of words and actions and of the outlines of the domain of divine righteousness.

Now when the intellect withdraws itself from this and is exalted unto the unique Essence, by the contemplation of the properties of that good Nature[2]) which possesses eternal knowledge, which is anterior to all existence, and of all His other properties, fear is expelled at once and the mind is supported by confidence.

When the intellect descends again from that place and returns again to the worlds and their distinctions, it will fly and give way to fear, because Providence does not allow it to be always in the presence of this contemplation of truth. Therefore from

1) Romans 11, 33 2) ܐܠܗܐ viz. God

time to time [fear] will take away from the heart the strength of trust which is inspired by true contemplation, and it will let the intellect be tortured by diverse opinions; lest [the intellect] should desist from judging constantly the veracity of its deliberations and actions and thus acquire cautiousness, for it does not know how it will meet the judgment of God. To whom be praise for ever and ever Amen.

XXVII

IN HOW MANY DIFFERENT WAYS THE SIGHT OF INCORPOREAL BEINGS IS RECEIVED BY HUMAN NATURE

195 All simple and subtle kinds of rational bodies can be attained to by the apperception of human nature in three ways: by personal density [which is a] non-essential way; by personal subtlety [which is a] non-essential way; by true contemplation which is essential sight.

The first way is dominated by the senses; the other by simple psychic sight; the third by the natural force of the spirit. Further one is dominated by will and reason; one by will and psychic light and all that strengthens the latter.

Will is in the first place cause; and these are the children of freedom, even if at the time of use freedom and will are silent, so long as influence is active and potent. And one only is dominated by the demonstrating [power], even without the will of the recipients and essential knowledge, even as the senses are the recipients of all accidents without the will.

These three ways are ministered by holy forces which mingle themselves with us for the sake of our instruction and in order that we may find life. Those who are impure have power to minister two of them, which they may use when they come
196 near unto us, for perdition, not for profit. To the third kind they do not approach with the purpose of using it, so as to acquire power over us to lead us astray.

For it is not possible for the children of darkness to approach light; the demons do not possess the power to set into motion the natural insights of the mind. The holy angels, however, possess this faculty of setting into motion and of

illuminating. The demons, however, possess the false insights, the children of darkness, as their power and government. From the illuminated the recipient takes light, from the dark, darkness. And what is the reason that this was given to those, and not to these? The insight which every one of these teachers shows and teaches, is first seen by him in his own person, and learnt and tasted; then he is able to transmit to us the truth of things on account of their true knowledge concerning them, which they have found first by the swift attaining power of the light and pure mind. The demons also possess swiftness, but no illumination. Swiftness is different from illumination. The former without the latter leads its possessors to destruction and insipidity; the latter teaches truth, the former sham truth; for light shows the veracity of things entirely and it becomes greater or less in accordance with behaviour.

From their knowledge the holy angels pour out into us, through the emotions caused by things, that which they taste
197 and acquire first and thus transmit to us. And these secondary teachers also set into motion in us, in correspondence with their knowledge, emotions caused by things. In the domain where they have no freedom, it is necessary [for them] to quicken in us right deliberations concerning these things. As I have said, therefore, this may be certain to thee, that even if we were able to receive it, they would not be able to teach us true contemplation, though they should be acquainted with it from of old. Every member of one party or the other — holy angels or those of the opposite group — teaches and incites us, the disciples, to behave according to his own behaviour.

To me this is true: that the mind of itself, even without the mediation of the holy angels, tends towards the good, even without instruction, but that it is unable to receive the knowledge of evil things without the mediation of the demons or the senses, [and is unable] to tend towards them of its own accord. In our nature good is implanted, evil not. And all that is foreign and is taught from without, needs an intermediary. What is planted within, however, unfolds itself naturally, even without instruction, even if dimly. But even though our nature tends of its own towards the good, it is unable, without the tutorship of the holy angels, to increase this and to be illuminated by it. We have them as teachers, as they have each
198 other, namely those who are lower [have for their teachers]

198 those who are more instructed and enlightened than themselves. So they have each other [for teachers] up to the one who has as a teacher the holy Trinity. And even he [does not receive instruction] of his own, but he has as a teacher the mediator Jesus, through whom he receives [instruction] and transmits it to those who are on the same plan and lower.

I think also this. As we naturally do not at all possess the force to be moved by divine contemplation, and we share in this deficiency with all heavenly beings, it is only by grace, without exercise or computation [on our part], that we are moved by something which naturally is foreign to the human and angelic mind. For contemplation concerning the godhead is not to be compared with other kinds of contemplation; for we possess contemplation as to their natures through our participation in the twofold nature that is theirs, because of that which is in us and also in them; but we do not participate in the nature of the Essence, nor do we possess contemplation concerning Him. As the faculty of being set into motion by this contemplation does not naturally belong to any of the rational beings of the first and middle class, it must be a gift of grace in all heavenly and earthly minds.

It is not like other faculties caused by nature, however illuminated and purified. But I think — and this is true — that the mind of us, children of man, is to be conducted [only] by revelations and insights so far as to reach this essential contemplation which is the same as true revelation; without their
199 mediation, however, our mind could not be conducted. And our mind does not possess a strengh like that of those high and exalted beings who receive all revelations and contemplation from the Essence, without an intermediary. But even they [receive these revelations] through an image of the Essence, not from the Essence itself. So that our mind also is in the same degree as the other classes, not able to receive revelations and contemplation of their own, without an intermediary, but only from Jesus who sways the sceptre of the Kingdom. The other classes, viz. other primary classes receive [revelations] by handing them down one to the other, concerning all matters of government and the understanding thereof (not concerning the Essence), from the first to the second and so on till the mystery has gone through all the classes.

But many are the mysteries which remain in that one primary

class without spreading through the other classes, because, apart from that one, they are not able to receive such a great mystery. There are other mysteries again which proceed from the primary class and are revealed only to the second, but are preserved there in silence; the other classes do not perceive them. Others again are revealed to the third and fourth classes. There are also [differences of] superiority and inferiority of revelation in the case of individual angels. Some of them
200 are rich in revelations and mysteries of a high order are revealed unto them, and they receive plentiful light. Some are lower and their impulses are too weak for these mysteries. And thus among the spiritual classes there is excellency and deficiency, superiority and inferiority concerning the receiving of revelations. Apart from that upper class which is the primary of all classes, the remainder without exception receive contemplation and hints concerning the entire divine government from their fellows. And if this is the case with them, how much less are we able, without them and without an intermediary, to receive such mysteries. But as often as an apperception falls in the minds of the saints, this revelation of whatsoever mystery it be, comes from these [heavenly beings]. When it is allowed by God, revelation is handed down by each higher class to that which is lower, unto the lowest; in the same way, when it is allowed by the godhead, the mystery is handed down by those who are worthy of it unto human beings.

By their intermediary, at any rate, the saints become receivers of the light of contemplation, by which they behold the praised Essence, which is a mystery which they do not learn from each other. Those [higher beings] are administering spirits, which are sent to those who are to inherit life through the apperception of such insights of the truths as are peculiar to them.

201 In the world to be, however, this kind of transmission will be annihilated. For then one will not receive the revelation of God's glory for the delight of his soul, from his comrade, but it will be given to every one himself in so far as is in accordance with the measure of his excellency, and as he is deemed worthy of by the Lord of the Universe; but he will not receive the gift through his comrade, as is the case in this world. For there are none who learn and none who teach and none who desire to receive from their comrades what fails themselves. For one giver reveals himself there without intermediary unto

all receivers. And those who receive all spiritual delight receive from Him. So that they do not perceive Him by means of single insights but by [direct] revelation of Himself, without the outward intermediary of impulses. There is abrogated the degree of the learner and the teacher and every one's swift love is fixed on one.

Also I say that even those who are scourged in Hell are tormented with the scourgings of love. Scourgings for love's sake, namely of those who perceive that they have sinned against love, are more hard and bitter than tortures through fear. The suffering which takes hold of the heart through the sinning against love is more acute than any other torture. It is evil for a man to think that the sinners in Hell are destitute of love for the Creator. For love is a child of true knowledge such as is professed to be given to all people. Love works with its force in a double way. It tortures those who have
202 sinned, as happens also in the world between friends. And it gives delight to those who have kept its decrees. Thus it is also in Hell. I say that the hard tortures are grief for love. The inhabitants of heaven, however, make drunk their soul with the delight of love.

Some one was asked when one could believe that he had been deemed worthy of forgiveness of sins. He answered: when he perceives that he inwardly hates them with a complete hate, and that his mode of life is the contrary of what it previously was. He who is in such a state, will trust that his sins have been forgiven by God, on account of the witness borne by the conscience of his soul, according to the word of the Apostle. The heart which does not blame is a witness concerning itself.

XXVIII

A SYMBOLICAL DEMONSTRATION CONCERNING THE THEORY OF SABBATH AND SUNDAY

Sunday is the symbol of true knowledge which is not received by flesh and blood, and which is elevation above [mere] opinion. In this world, however, there is no eighth day; but neither is there a true Sabbath. The fact that God rested on the seventh day is a symbol of the rest of our nature from the course of

this life. For the grave is also of a bodily nature; it belongs to this world. Six days are accomplished in the service of life; the seventh is accomplished in the grave; the eighth in departing from it. As those who are worthy receive in this world the mysteries of the Sunday in a symbol — they do not receive the day as long as they are in their bodily nature — so
203 those who are worthy receive in this world the mysteries of the Sabbath symbolically, not the true Sabbath which is perfect rest from wanton influences. God has given us to taste of a mysterious indication of all things, but He has not decreed that we should walk here in intercourse with the real truth. For the real, not the symbolical Sabbath, will happen in the grave, viz. rest which finishes the torments of the affections and the toil against them. The whole man gives rest there to the body together with the soul.

In six days God established the existence of this world and created the elements [1]) and connected their existence with the administration of never resting motion and [ordered] that they should not rest from their course before their dissolution. And from the force of these, viz. the primeval elements, He has composed our body. He did not give those rest from their motions; neither did He grant our body, their offspring, rest from service. As the term of our nature He fixed rest, when we shall follow our first relatives, rest consisting in the dissolution of life. Thus He said to Adam: In the sweat of thy face thou shalt eat bread [2]). Till when? Till thou returnest unto the dust, for out of it wast thou taken. Thou shalt work in the ground and it shall bring forth to thee thorns and thistles. This denotes symbolically that this world is a world of service as long as it exists.

Our Lord, since the night when He sweated, has changed this sweat caused by working in the earth which brings forth thorns and thistles, into the sweat which also rises during prayer and which man should produce in the service of righ-
204 teousness. For five thousand years He left man to work in his sweat, for the way of the saints had not yet been revealed, as the Apostle says. He appeared, however, with His grace in the latter days and ordered our free will to replace sweat by sweat. At any rate this change does not show that He

1) ܟܘܟܒܐ ܘܙܝܪ̈ܐ, also the planets and zodiacal signs 2) Gen. 3, 19

ordered rest. But He was merciful upon us for the sake of our long and weary work in the earth. If, however, we desist from sweating for this [spiritual service], we must necessarily reap thorns; for desisting from this, means the service of the material earth which brings forth thorns and thistles according to her nature. In reality the thorns are the affections which grow in us from bodily seed. As we bear the image of Adam so we necessarily bear his affections too. The earth is not free to desist from bearing; for it brings forth on account of its nature. The earth is our relative according to God's witness unto us 'the dust out of which thou wast taken'. The one [brings forth] thorns; the other, the rational [earth], affections.

If now our Lord has been a symbolical example for us in every respect, viz. in all his different dealings — for till the minth hour Friday He did not take rest from work, not even from the toilsome work which symbolically represents our whole life; the Sabbath He expected in the grave only — where then are those[1]) who pretend that there is a Sabbath in this world, viz. rest from affections? Concerning the Sunday, however, it is difficult to speak. Our Sabbath is the day of the grave. In reality our nature rests there. So every day it is
205 necessary to eradicate thorns from this earth as long as it exists. For constant service brings about decrease of weeds. But even thus the earth does not wholly become pure. If thou relaxest but a short time in this respect, the weeds will grow and cover the surface of the earth and choke thy seed and thy previous work as if it had not existed. Therefore, it is necessary to purify, every day; for a pause in this work produces a multitude of weeds.

XXIX

ON THE DIFFERENT EXCELLENT METHODS OF WISE PROVIDENCE IN EDUCATING PUPILS

All wisdom comes from the Lord, as hath been said[2]). And we exercise ourselves in our own things in order to become wise in the dealings of the Lord with us. The Father of truth

1) the Meṣalleyānē? 2) Jesus Sirach 1, 1

deals in different ways with his sons; He avoids uniformity which consists in showing always the same face, for the profit of his sons. On the contrary, for the sake of exercise He withdraws his love. Thus He displays in appearance an order such as exists not; but what is, He retains. A wise son recognizes in different attitudes his father's care for him and his discerning love.

The practice of love appears in two ways when rightly understood: in joyful events, but also in sorrowful ones. This proves that love is constantly tending towards the pleasure of
206 its object. But sometimes it makes its object suffer, because of its fulness; if it makes suffer, it suffers also itself. It resists the motions of natural compassion because of the fear of later harm. Love urges us to participate; knowledge gives strength to resist [these] feelings.

Parallel to the differences in its election are the varying forms of wise love regarding those who receive its sustenance. Let us not ask of a wise friend foolish love. He who kills his son by feeding him with honey, is not different from him that kills his son with a knife.

It is namely not worthy of the wisdom of love to sustain its object in a uniform way, the same in health as in illness. That is to say the variations which depend upon the will in the choice of the emotions, not bodily changes. If we are able to choose those [varying] times when we love some one, with discrimination, especially when such a one is under our command, is it not then but right that we attribute to God the faculty of performing the offices of his discriminating love unto us, even if we do consider them in the same way as the variations we are able to show to our friends? This is difficult to bear, as I know myself; but it is profitable nevertheless. Thy nature which is liable to deviation makes thee in need of this, if not as a retribution for what has passed, then to excite in thee fear of what will certainly happen.

Distressing accidents are to the inner education what wholesome medicines are to bodily disparity.

All that is simple among creatures, is without struggle in its
207 dealings; this is applicable to bodily as well as to non-bodily beings. Action is of such a nature that it is only possible in connection with disparity. Disparity exists only in composite beings, on account of a united duality. And though non-composite

and simple beings are also said to be liable to aberration, still this takes place wholly to the right side, and not in the way of action, because they have no experience of that which is on the opposite side. They are only affectable regarding the good. For their liability to deviation is checked by swift love; and where there is love, there is no struggle and no fear. Yet they are bound in nature; and from this being bound, their liability to aberration is said to originate.

Good and evil are the offspring of freedom. Where the latter is lacking, to practise the former is superfluous with respect to remuneration. For nature knows no remuneration. Reward is decreed for strife. There can be no mention of victory where there is no struggle. When opposition is removed, freedom vanishes at the same time. Then nature remains without strife. A time is reserved for the annihilation of freedom; then a limited rationality comes into existence, among men as well as among the angels. Rationality, not sensible emotionality. In conception [1]) rationality possesses two peculiarities, namely two forces, a rational and a conceiving force. The former is altogether limited. In the latter nature is complete, in so far as
208 it is conceiving. But again it is limited, not compulsorily, but rather delightfully, with a delightful bond. Sometimes this [delight] happens unto a few in this world in a symbolical way; but only in trance. Unto the primeval rational beings [this happened] without trance, as far as this was possible, though they were not perfect. What was it which happened without trance unto persons who were not perfect? There are mysteries that cannot be received before the time appointed. Those persons are imperfect therefore, who do not possess it at all, not those who possess what they do here possess, only in trance.

Therefore constancy [is necessary], rather than trance. If trance [at all], then it is for those things which are most excellent. So trance for those people was an excellent change; with us it is annihilation, because of the sickness of the flesh.

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XXX

ON THE POWER AND THE EVIL ACTION OF SIN AND CONCERNING THOSE IN WHOM IT MAINTAINS ITSELF AND THOSE IN WHOM IT IS ANNIHILATED

A man is not freed from the allurements of sin in his heart until he hates from [the depth of] his heart and sincerely the cause of sin. This causes the vehemence of the struggle which opposes man in the blood and in which his freedom is testified to through the purity of his love of virtues.

This is the power which is called seduction, by the scent of which the weak soul is defeated because of its mighty attraction. This is the strong power of sin by which it troubles the
209 serenity of the chaste and overpowers the pure emotions by things the knowledge of which they have never experienced. Here we have to show our endurance, my beloved.

This is the time of the unseen martyrdom in which the order of the solitaries is said to excel at all times. By the shock of this war the mind of the steadfast is troubled and upset, if it is not extremely watchful. Our Lord, who possessest almighty power, fountain of all help, support Thou in these times of martyrdom the souls who joyfully have betrothed themselves to thee, heavenly bridegroom, and who have given thee the promise of sanctity, in entire purity of emotions without an afterthought. Fill them with the force which subdues the resistance of fortresses and of heights that raise themselves against sanctity, lest they be driven away from their proposed aim by the unbearable compulsion of this time in which the struggle in the blood rages.

Not always does this severe strife take place in the struggle of chastity. Remittance may occur that a test may be applied. Woe to the weak who is put to the test in this decisive strife. It possesses great strength and maintains its customary force against those who have given themselves wholly, even though it be but once, to defeat, by submitting their deliberations to it.

Be on your guard against idleness, my beloved; intelligible death is hidden in it. Without it it is impossible that the solitary should fall into the hands of those who wish to captivate

him. Not that God will judge us on that day on the basis of
210 the Psalms we have recited or whether we have passed in idleness the times of service occasionally; but by our neglecting them, the demons win access. And when they have found an opportunity to enter and have shut our rooms, they accomplish in us tyrannically things which will necessarily bring their perpetrators under divine judgment in view of the severe punishment allotted for them. So we become enslaved through negligence in small matters which by the prudent are treated in a painstaking way, for the sake of Christ. As it has been said: Whosoever does not subject his will to God, he becomes a slave to his foe. We have, therefore, to consider as walls against those who desire to captivate us, those things which are reputed to be of a humble nature and which are accomplished in the cell, things which by those who maintain the strict institutes of the church have been laid down in prudence in a spirit of revelation, for the preservation of our life, the neglect of which is deemed insignificant by the imprudent, the harm of which, however, they do not consider. The beginning and the middle of their path is untrained freedom, which is the mother of wrongs. To trouble oneself with the care of small things is better than to give opportunity for sin by remissness regarding them. This is freedom at the wrong time; the end of which is grinding slavery.

As long as thy senses are alive to the shock of every accident, thy soul is to be deemed dead. For in that case the flames of sin will never be absent from thy limbs, whatever be thy states, and no peace will be able to settle in thy soul. If any of the solitaries promises in his heart to be watchful in
211 such a state, he does not desire to be conscious of punishment.

When a man deceives his companion he deserves the curse, such as is according to the law. When, however, a man deceives himself, he is not deserving those punishments; for while conscious he has made himself unconscious, because it is demanded from him that he shall eradicate the cause from his heart. But this is difficult in his eyes; and, for this reason, while conscious, he desires to be unconscious. O how sweet is the cause of affections. He will cut them off sometimes and be pleased to drive them away. Often he rejoices on account of their being apeased; to eradicate their cause he is, however, not able. Therefore we are put to the test, though it be against

our will, and are distressed by the affections although we like that their causes be strong in us.

Sins we desire not; their conductors, however, we receive with delight; so secondary reasons become a mighty cause of primary ones. For he who desires the causes of the affections, is subject to them, though not of his will.

Who hates his sins, abstains from them. He who confesses his faults, receives forgiveness. There is no abstaining from customary sins without acquiring hate, nor receiving of forgiveness without confession of faults. The latter is accompanied by true humility; the former by grief, through shame rising in the heart. So long as we have not advanced to the point of hating blameworthy things, it is not possible to perceive the foetid odour they spread when perpetrated, nor their stinking
212 smell, bearing them, as we do, in ourselves. So long as thou hast not cast evil away, thou knowest not what shame thou wilt foster nor what chastisement will rise from it. If thou seest in others that with which thou art charged, then thou knowest the shame with which thou art clad. Remove thyself from evil, then thou wilt know. For thou inhalest the foetid odour as a sweet scent, and [considerest] the nakedness of thy shame as a glorious cover.

Blessed is he that has removed himself from darkness and seen himself; so long as he is in it, sight and discernment are impossible. Blessed is he that has come forth from the dizziness of his wine and has seen in others the shamelessness of his drunkenness; then he will understand his own shame. As long as he himself is under the drunkenness of sins, all that he does is beautiful in his eyes. When nature has deviated from its order, it is all alike, to be drunk with wine or with desires; both [states] remove [a man] from what is becoming; both excite in their bearer, the body, the same heat; they are different as to their idea, but one in appearance; and one in madness. There is no equality in their causal ideas; but in their bearers there is no diversity.

All rest is followed by vexation; and all vexation by rest. If all in this world is liable to change, nevertheless man undergoes it in an attitude of opposition, either here or there or at the time of departure. This is especially the case with rest
213 from lasciviousness or vexation which precedes it, in the way of sanctity. This is administered by God with compassion, so

that man has to taste this torment either on his way or at its end; then he passes away. And on account of the richness of God's compassion He [uses] this as a means of remuneration, like a deposit; so that the wages of good do not diminish the capital; but the wages of evil do.

As has been said: He who is chastised here, diminishes [his torments in] Hell.

Beware of freedom preceding subjection, beware of consolation preceding strife. Beware of knowledge older than the shock of temptations; beware of it rather than of love preceding the accomplishment of repentance.

If all of us are sinners, and none is exalted above their experience, then none among the virtues precedes repentance. Recollect that all delight is secondary to aversion and bitterness.

Beware of joy also, to which is not joined variation without cause. Concerning all things provided from above thou wilt find the cause of their variation unattainable to knowledge. Fear that which is reputed to be joined with equality; it is said to lie besides the way which is trodden. He who knows to steer the ship of the world with prudence, has connected variation with all that belongs to Him. Different from this is likeness.

Distraction of the thoughts is connected with the rest of the limbs; dejection with immoderate labour; distraction with dejection. Distraction differs from distraction. The former is
214 accompanied by the strife of wantonness; the latter by the inclination to leave the cell and to [inhabit] various places. Moderate labour connected with constancy is priceless; where it fails, there is exuberant desire; where it prevails, there is room for trouble.

Bear the folly of nature prevailing in thy body, o brother, because thou art destined to possess that wisdom which possesses the everlasting crown of government. Be not troubled by the disturbance of the body, [the inheritance] of Adam, which is destined as soon as it is clad with that heavenly image which is the king of peace, to dwell in that delight of which the knowledge would overpower in this world the minds of those who are clad with flesh.

Be not troubled on account of the wild variations of nature. For the short duration of the labour caused by them is, to him who endures, as a delightful gift. They are hounds accustomed

to the butcher[1]); a sound from the mouth is sufficient to make them flee. But if thou shouldst condescend to have connections with them, thou wouldst make them strong lions.

Despise mean pleasures, lest thou become subjected to the force of their heat[2]). A little patience regarding small things repels the danger of the approach of large ones. It is not possible to overcome great evils without a small victory over trifling ones.

Recollect the kind of way thou wilt go, o brother; there is no longer life there sustained by chemicals driving mortality; nor warmth of temperament exciting the young nature by the allurement of its pleasure. Bear the labour of the struggle into which [He] has introduced thee in order to put thee to the
215 test; then thou wilt take the crown and pass; for after a little time thou wilt have rest from this world. Think of that rest without end, of that life without allurements, of that state of perfect manhood, of that course of life without shocks, of that compulsory force of divine love reigning over nature.

XXXI

THE STRUGGLE OR RATHER THE DANGER OF FALLING THAT EXCELLENT WORKS INCUR

It is not possible to vanquish the bad deliberations that accompany the bodily allurements; or rather it is hardly possible. They have been called by some a double weapon [directed] against us. There is no rest from them as long as there is satiety of bread, water and sleep, and access to the things that cause emotions by their accidental character. It is better to depart life than to bear shame in it. When we are anxious to fulfill our duties, the influence of the flesh will be extinguished from our limbs.

It is not possible to have care for apperceptible things and to correct our personal affections [at the same time]. For without affectionate beseechings and constant bending [of the knees] it is not possible to draw [divine] compassion towards

1) viz. the butcher's shop
2) when it has grown strong

us; and thus it is necessary to practise them constantly. Without painstaking in small things it is not possible to escape great evils.

XXXII

216 ON THE AIM OF GUARDING THE HEART AND ON SUBTLE SPECULATION THAT LOOKS INTO THE APARTMENT

Let there not be hidden to thy knowledge the power that lies in spiritual songs, when we use it with understanding. For it turns the deliberation away from the world. It also drives distraction from the mind, though it is reputed to be useful for children [only]. The unsteady mind profits by it at once. Spiritual allurements are more valuable against the affections than the force of knowledge. When thou art alone, guard thy heart by them if thou possessest not yet the force to be watchful in thy being, through contemplation which is familiar intercourse with the knowledge of discernment; or — if this is not [sufficient] — by the constant recollection of the departure from the body and by the recollection of things expected and hoped for; this must be accompanied by [the fulfilling of] the duties which cause delight, namely: the withdrawal from things which cause emotions, and the little observances within the cell. If, after long slavery, thou findest that thy harbour is to be reached with freedom, pursue it [in this way]. If thou seest that this is a foolish method, combine it with [the practice of] the law. For here it is easy to be rectified.

While with these and such variations thou advancest with insight, in a ship loaded with the treasures of the cell — a great festival full of the marchandise of the virtuous — then look with subtlety at the unequal children which are born to thee from apperceptible variations. Thou wilt namely see how every spiritual delight is preceded by the pains of the cross; 217 how the pleasure of sin, however, is born from bodily comfort; [and thou wilt see] why in the harbour of chastity, spiritual love is caused by spiritual contemplation, which heals the mind. There is nothing secondary without a preceding cause, nor a third virtue without a foregoing one. Thou wilt find growing

in the womb of chastity the wings with which the mind ascends unto divine love, in which one may venture to approach the cloud.

This insight will give a man a considerable force, so as to mingle watchfulness with his affairs, and incitement unto zealous efforts.

Behaviour without eyes will prove idle. For it quickly brings about dejectedness on account of distraction. Pray our Lord that He endow thy behaviour with eyes. Then joy will begin to sprout; then troubles will become sweet to thee as honey comb; then thou wilt think thy enclosure a festival chamber.

It is not possible to vanquish the affections without apperceptible virtues, nor fortuitous distraction without intercourse with spiritual knowledge. Our mind is an agile thing; if it is not bound to an object with discernment, it will not cease to be distracted. And if the antecedents have not been fulfilled, there is no room for such a process. For there is no peace without victory over the enemies. And if peace does not reign, [how is it possible] to find that which lies beyond peace?

Affections are the fence of hidden virtues. If they are not vanquished first by the manifest virtues, it is not possible to see
218 what lies within them. For it is not possible for one standing without a wall, to speak about what is within. It is not possible to see the sun in a cloud, nor the natural virtues of the soul among the trouble of perpetual affections.

Pray God that He may give thee to perceive spiritual allurements. If these take hold of thy soul the world will depart from thee and thou from the world. But they cannot be perceived without solitude and emaciation and attentive intercourse with recitation. Without the latter thou must not pray for the former. If thou prayest for the former without [these virtues], they will change quickly and become of a bodily nature. Who is able to understand, will understand. It has pleased the wise Lord that we should eat this bread with sweat; not for malignity, but lest we should be attacked by a malady of the stomach and die.

Every virtue which is the mother of a second, which is anterior to it, is a viper to the souls of those who find it, it they do not cast it from them quickly.

XXXIII

ON THE ACTION OF DIVINE LOVE

Now that we have written the above [1]) about spiritual allurements, it is time to explain [this idea]. It is a dim power which arises from love in the heart, at first without sensible causes, for it sets in motion the temperament, without personal vision or practical understanding or reasoning. And therefore it is thought to be without cause, because the mind is still vague.

219 This is its impression on the untrained. To the perfect the cause is revealed later, in connection with examination of it; and then the [impression] is still stronger, for delight is moving in the heart. A part of it is reserved in the body by the recipient; and another part is sent to the psychic forces. For the heart is in the middle between psychic and bodily apperceptions; to the former it belongs organically, to the latter naturally. And the recipient directs the taste of its action towards both sides. Therefore the world is compelled to depart from it as it itself departs from the things of the world. We must necessarily inquire into the cause [of this phenomenon]. Love is something hot by nature. And when it alights on any one without measure, it renders that soul as it were mad. Therefore the heart that perceives it, cannot contain and bear it without unusual excessive variations becoming manifest in it. And these signs it publishes in an apperceptible way, openly: at once the face becomes reddy and joyous, the body grows hot; fear and bashfulness are thrown away and it becomes as it were wanton; the power of concentration flees; impetuosity and disturbance reign. His own life forthwith is estimated as nothing in comparison with his Friend. Therefore even death, which was more dreadful to him than any thing, is the same to him as pleasure. And with all this, the gaze of the mind is not free from fantastic thoughts on Him. Afar, he speaks with Him as with one who is near. His knowledge inquires into the hidden state of Him who is concealed from sight. His

1) End of chapter XXXII

220 gaze is natural and hostile to sensual apperception. In his actions, as in his sight, he is enflamed. He dwells in solitude, and deliberation entertains itself as it were with a partner and is stupefied.

This passion has enebriated martyrs and, driven by it, apostles have travelled through the whole earth in trance, the saints have been tormented, have suffered derision and were erring in the wilderness. Composed, they have become deranged; wise, they have wilfully become foolish; bashful, they have become wanton with discernment; exempt from affections [they have walked] in the flesh. Constantly demanding, they have become quiet without compulsion. May we be worthy to reach their madness by the compassion of our adorable God. Amen [1]).

If thou considerest thyself as having peace from the assault of the affections, before thou hast entered the town of humility, do not trust this. There is some ambush prepared for thee. Expect, after this peace, great trouble from them. While passing along all the apartments of virtues, thou wilt not find rest
221 from thy tribulations nor relief from thy persecutors, till thy course will have reached the apartment of humility.

XXXIV

ON THE NATURAL CHILDREN OF VIRTUES AND THE LIKE

Asceticism is the mother of saintliness; from it is born the taste of the first apperception of the divine mysteries and it is called the first period of spiritual knowledge. That no one deceive himself and become a false prophet. For the impure soul does not ascend to the pure kingdom, neither in the symbolical nor in the common sense, and it cannot mingle with the holy spirits. But when the elements have mingled with their relatives, the distinction of the natural unity being

1) In the text there follows: "who has taken a mediator from our race and given us these things through his hand; who was in all points tempted like as we are, yet without sin (Hebrews 4, 15). On account of the equality of his natural flesh with ours, eternally without mixture, in the unity preserving the properties of the natures, He has made himself worthy of sitting to the right hand. Therefore praise and power and adoration to Him, now and in life without end for ever and ever". The passage is lacking in the Greek translation and looks like a Nestorian addition.

preserved, that miserable [soul] will be preserved for the great future judgment.

Keep pure, o brother, the beauties of thy chastity, by tears and fasting and sitting alone by thyself. When the right course of the natural sphere has been finished and [the soul] has reached that great luminary, which supports the spheres of the stars multitudinous in their personal distinctions, as Paul says in order to prove the future resurrection, and when it has mingled with its rays — I do not mean in the natural sense — then the vehicle of the will shall be bound with the bonds of unconsciousness and the two exuberant fountains will dry up in their basins. And then the priests will leave the sanctuary on
222 account of the cloud of God's majesty [1]). At that time the king of Israel will be Solomon, viz. that peace which is born from humility; he will build a house for the Lord and completely provide it with all the sacred vessels.

A little trouble for God's sake is more excellent in God's eyes than much service without suffering. Because trouble borne from free will is a manifestation of love. Service in comfort, however, rises from inward satiety. Therefore by troubles, not by service with satiety the saints were tested concerning the love of Christ. Service without labour is the righteousness of lay people who wish to be justified on account of what they possess, but do not acquire excellency in their person.

Thou, however, who art victorious, taste the suffering of Christ in thy person, that thou also mayest be deemed worthy of tasting His glory. For if we suffer with Him, we shall also be glorified with Him. The mind cannot be glorified with Jesus, if the body does not suffer for Jesus. He who despises glory will receive glory at the same time. He will be glorified in his body as well as in his soul. The glory of the body is humble subjection before God. The glory of the mind is true contemplation concerning God. Right subjection is twofold; it follows from labour and from disdain; so that when the body suffers, the heart also suffers with it.

If thou doest not know God, it is not possible that His love should be excited in thee. It is not possible for thee to love God, if thou hast not seen God. Thou seest Him as soon as
223 thou knowest Him. Sight is not prior to knowledge. Make me

1) Allusion to 1 Kings 8, 11

worthy of knowing Thee, my Lord, then I shall love Thee too. [I do not desire] that knowledge which arises amidst distractions of the mind, in the training of instruction. But make me worthy of that knowledge by which the mind, while gazing at Thee, will be glorifying thy nature; gazing with that gaze which banishes from the mind the apperception of the world. Make me worthy of becoming exalted above arbitrary sight from which come phantastic thoughts, so that I gaze at Thee by the compulsion of the bonds of the cross, the latter half of which is the crucifixion of the mind whose position of freedom is annihilated by the service of the impulses, with that gaze which nature gives not, but is constantly directed towards Thee. Place in me the pure metal of Thy love, so that, following Thee, I become alienated from the world. Move in me the understanding of Thy humility by which Thou hast lived in the world clad with the cover taken from our limbs, that by the constant and never weakening remembrance of it I may accept with delight the humiliation of my nature.

Two are the parts of the ascension on the cross. One is the crucifixion of the body. The second is the ascension unto contemplation; but the former is a matter of freedom; the latter of influence.

The mind will not be subjected, if the body is not subjected. The reign of the mind is the crucifixion of the body. The mind is not subjected unto God, if freedom has not been subjected to reason.

It is hard to trust an elevated matter to boyish rank. For woe to thee, O town, when thy king is a child [2]).

He who subjects himself, nearly all will be subjected unto him. He who knows himself, the knowledge of all things will
224 be given him. The word ‚know thyself' means the accomplishment of all knowledge. As all is encompassed in thy being, so in the knowledge of thy being all knowledge is encompassed, and in the subjection of thy being, the subjection of all the world. At the time when humility dominates thy behaviour, thy being will be subjected to thee, and with it everything, because in the heart a divine peace will be born. As this has not yet happened to thee, thou art perpetually persecuted not only by the affections, but also by accidents. Verily,

1) Ecclesiastes 10, 16.

O Lord, if we do not humble ourselves, thou ceasest not to humble us. True humility is the offspring of knowledge; right knowledge the offspring of temptations.

XXXV

A TREATISE IN QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS CONCERNING CONSTANT BEHAVIOUR AND EVERY KIND OF EXCELLENCE WHICH IS EMINENTLY USEFUL FOR THOSE WHO HAVE STRIPPED OFF THE WORLD AND DWELL IN THE WILDERNESS, FOR RECLUSES AND FOR THOSE WHO IN VOLUNTARY MORTIFICATION AT ALL TIMES EXPECT THE CROWN OF RIGHTEOUSNESS

The disciple says: Which are the bonds captivating the mind [and withholding it] from running after evil things?

The teacher says: The constant search after wisdom and desire for the teachings of life. For bonds stronger than these against the unruliness of mind do not exist.

The disciple says: Where is the limit of the course of
225 wisdom for those who seek it, and where does the course of teachings end?

The teacher says: The way of this course is foreign to any limit, to such an extent that even the holy angels do not reach perfection. The course of wisdom is without end. It ascends to such a height that it mingles with God him that follows it. And even this is a sign of its unlimitedness, that its distinctions are without end; wisdom is God.

The disciple: What is the first and principal way leading towards wisdom?

The teacher: That a man seeks God with all his might and that he is quick in seeking Him with his whole person, so that he even does not dislike to give up and throw down his life on account of his love.

The disciple. To whom is it becoming to be called a man of understanding?

The teacher. He that really understands that there is a limit to his earthly life, is also able to put a limit to his sins. What knowledge or understanding is greater than this, that a man has wisdom to depart this life without harm, while his limbs are

are not strained with the odour of desires, nor his soul with the filth of their sweetness? If a man subdues his impulses in order to penetrate into the mysteries of all classes of beings, and is filled with insight into all kinds of knowledge, so to say, yet his soul is defiled by the filth of sin so that he cannot hope on account of the witness of his soul that he shall safely reach the harbour of trust — then there is none more foolish among the creatures than such a man who, though being constantly occupied
226 by his works, is brought by them to the hope of this world only.

The disciple. Who is really strong?

The teacher. He that during the temporary troubles by which the glory of his victorious power is hidden, does not long after the comfort by which a shameful life is enveloped and which at all times compels those who find it, to drink the goblet of sighs.

The disciple. Is it harmful to his course towards God, if a man makes a pause is his labour?

The teacher. It is not possible for a man to come near to Christ without troubles, nor can his righteousness be preserved unchanged without them. When righteousness already acquired is bereft of labours which served to augment and at the same time to guard it, it resembles a treasure which of a sudden finds itself without guardians, or an athlete who is stripped of his arms while a host of enemies surrounds him; or a ship that is left in the ocean without the utensils of her equipment; or a garden rich in fruits from which is cut off the fountain that watered it.

The disciple. Who is the illuminated in his impulses?

The teacher. He who is able to understand the bitterness hidden in the sweetness of the world and who withholds his mouth from drinking its goblet. Who zealously enquires after the salvation of his life and who does not cease from running, up to the day on which he is freed from the world; who shuts the gates of his senses, lest the love of the world enter and dwell within him and bereave him of his hidden treasures.

The disciple. What is the world and how can we recog-
227 nize it and how can it do harm to those who love it?

The teacher. The world is a whore and by the desire of its beauty it attracts those who see it so that they love it. And he that during a short time has been entangled in its love is not able to escape from its hands, before it has stripped him even of his life and sends him from its house through

death, bereaved of all. But a man recognizes it as soon as he endeavours to leave its darkness. Then he is able to see the many cords of its nets. As long as he is in it, he cannot see its ensnarements. For it is not only its disciples and sons and captives which are within its fortress, but also the renunciators, ascetics and those who have once broken its bonds and were once above it — those also it now gradually begins to entangle in its service, making them litter for its feet.

The disciple. Now that thou hast convinced me of the fact that the world really suffocates those who dwell in it and of how difficult it is to understand its artificial bonds, I beg to learn first, what is the first impulse to the mind's doubt concerning the world, since its bonds are so very sweet and the schemes of its fetters are hidden?

The teacher. When the deliberation of the love of his soul awakens in him, this impulse of deliberation begins to make the world hated in his eyes and it throws into him doubt concerning it.

228 The disciple. Whence comes this emotionality which brings about that which appeared always praiseworthy and beautiful, now suddenly appears as ugly, so that he repents his life and his previous knowledge, thinking that he did not think rightly concerning the world?

The teacher. In the first place it is nature which beakoning to him in silence, awakens in him the critical impulse as to the unstable duration of the world and of the future and of its course; and as to the ephemere nature of those who enter into it, so that he considers this world as a place of transition for those who enter into it; as also for the many generations before him, the number of which is unlimited. They have entered it as an inn for a night and left it as travellers on a journey over the whole earth, without thinking of return. Some of them kings, some governors, some wise, some honoured. Some of them scribes, some orators, some judges, some commanders of armies. Some of them possessors of riches, some lords of goods. And now after their death there is neither the order of their degrees, nor the crowns of their government; nor their dreadful thrones, nor their lordly pleasures, nor the praise of those who honoured them, nor the love of their friends, nor the luxuriant pleasures of their bodies, nor the comely beauty of their grace, nor their proud majestic stature, nor their erudite

mind, nor their spirit rich in impulses, nor the rich effusions
229 of the Gihon of their learning which streamed from their mouth and captivated by its grace the heart of the hearers.

They have slept in Sheol for long years as if it were one night. And it is not known how many years they yet have of this long sleep, nor when the dawn of resurrection will rise for them and awaken them from their slumber. And to consider for what purpose they are left in this state, causes great suffering; and he will think of how many generations are cloistered under this earth, forgotten [now]. And I too will pass as any one of them. Cursed be riches and comfort. And under this deliberation, great confusion will arise in his heart and his spirit will be filled with suffering. And on account of the severity of suffering he will pour forth tears in great sorrow. Then he will despise the world and bewail his life and lament over his soul with various bitter lamentations. And with sighs he will say to himself: Where wilt thou be, my miserable soul and where wilt thou find thyself after my death? Perhaps even this deliberation will rise in him: Would I had not entered the world of creatures and I had not left the womb!

In this kind of lamentation he will shed sweet tears because of the sorrow of his heart, and moisten his garments with his tears. And forthwith this world will be in his eyes as a prison and its first sweetness will be more bitter than any bitter thing and the love of his life and its desirable beauty will seem the type of hell.

Then his mind will turn to scripture which will awake in
230 him faith in the resurrection and the end awaiting all the things of this world, and in the promises given to those who have lived well in the world and the divine judgments threatened against the transgressors of the law and against those who, during their short lifetime have lived in the broad way of sin. And then, as one who has discovered some light, he throws away the burden of sorrow, and great joy is awakened in him, because he has found a hope, excellent and true. These things and the like, nature is not able to prompt from his inward emotion: they are understood from the words of scripture by faith alone. Man is not able to acquire instruction concerning himself wholly from nature and from the critical impulses which are within him. Concerning the dealings of God in the Past and in the Future we are able to gain this in-

struction from the scriptures or from spiritual revelation. Then by the rays of faith and scripture the eye of the spirit will be enlightened and the natural critical faculty will radiate and man will be incited to care for his soul. And further he will think of means to make his life free from the world, so that, before departing the body, he will be able to prepare for himself provisions useful for the world to be.

The disciple. How can man wholly give up the world?

The teacher. By desire of the future good that is recollected, which divine scripture sows in his heart with the sweetness of its words full of hope. When the things that are thought to be glorious and delightful and in which man is entangled, are not contrasted with the desire of still more excellent things,
231 the spirit is not able to despise its former love.

The disciple. But nature is weak and not able to give up suddenly all its former customs and embrace a life of troubles.

The teacher. If the greatness of the future life does not cause a man's spirit in the greatness of wisdom to compare it with the miserable shortness of this temporal life, it is not possible for him to take heart to bear troubles in order to begin his course on the way of the new world. Pray, compute in thy mind the number of years of this our place and elevate thyself as much as possible, and compare it with the days of the future world, and say whether that which thou givest is equal to what thou wilt receive.

And, considering what thou leavest and what thou wilt receive in stead of it, say whether thy exchange is an equal one. Therefore the wise, while he wonders at the greatness of that world and its unlimited life over against the shortness of temporal life, will say: The number of man's days if he lives long, are a hundred years [1]); this is like filling a bucket from the sea or taking one corn of sand. A thousand years in this world is not as much as one day in the world of the righteous [2]).

The disciple. And what shall we do with the body? As soon as it is surrounded by distress, the desire of the will towards the good is relaxed as well as its former zeal.

232 The teacher. This will usually happen to those the half of whose being has sought God, whereas the other half has remained in the world. This means that their heart is not yet

1) Cf. Ps. 90, 10 2) Cf. Ps. 84, 11

free from earthly things, but they are in doubt, sometimes looking behind, sometimes forward; and I think that the sage admonishes those who approach the way of God in this state of indecision, saying: Do not approach it doublehearted, but approach it as one who sows or as one who reaps. And our Lord, seeing that among those who wish to renunciate completely, there are some in such a state of mind, that their will is ready but their thoughts are drawn backwards by fear of troubles, on account of their love of the body which they have not yet thrown away — He will take from them this lassitude of mind saying to them briefly: If any man will come after me, let him first deny himself[1]). What is the denial that is spoken of here? It is the denial of the flesh. And one who is destined to suffer crucifixion, he accepts the thought of death, and goes forth, as one who does not think that he has any further share in this life. This is [what is meant by] taking up the cross and following me. The cross denotes the will prepared for any trouble. And declaring why this is so, He says: Whoever will save his soul in this world, will lose it in the true
233 life[2]). And whoever will lose his individuality here for my sake, will find it there. This means: he that sets his steps on the way of crucifixion and yet still cares to think of this bodily life, bereaves his soul of the faith for which to suffer he is gone out. Because this thought does not allow him to approach trouble; but, being always with him, allures him gradually and makes him leave the centre of the struggle for blessed life. Such thoughts grow in him till they have overpowered him. But he whose mind has complied with the loss of his self for the sake of finding the love of Me, he will be preserved, without harm, for life everlasting. This is, he who gives up his life for my sake will find it'.

This means: make free thy soul as it were from thyself and prepare it for a complete loss of life. If the departure from this life finds thee in this state of mind, I will give thee life everlasting, according to my promise. And if thou perseverest in this life, I will show my promise in thee later as a confirmation of the future goods. Therefore, thou wilt find that immortal life when thou despisest temporal life. If thou enterest the strife with such a preparation, all that was most sorrowful and

1) Matthew 16, 24 2) Matthew 10, 39

difficult, will be contemptible in thy eyes. The preparation of such a will even is not a struggle for his life in his mind,
234 even when peril of death threatens him. In short: If a man does not hate his temporal life, because of love of the future life, he cannot bear troubles.

The disciple. In what way can a man cut off his former customs and accustom himself to a life of privation?

The teacher. The body is not to be persuaded to live in need, so long as it is surrounded by things of luxury and relaxation. For the sight of [worldly] things, their splendour and existence kindles in it a desire for them. Therefore justly our Saviour has commanded those who follow Him, in the first place to renunciate and to leave the world. First He frees them from the causes of relaxation; then He commands them to begin work. And our Lord himself, when He began His strife with the Devil, combated him in the dry and desert wilderness. And Paul also commands those who bear the cross of Christ to leave the town. So we will leave the town with Him, bearing his disdain, which He also suffered without the town.

By the abandonment of the world and what belongs to it, man easily forgets his former customs and his trouble will not last a long time. But the coming near to [worldly] things easily relaxes the fervour of the spirit. It is also becoming and very profitable in the strife, that a man's life be ordered with the utmost privation and indigence, free from all things that
235 excite [the desire of] comfort. When thus the causes leading towards relaxation are removed from man, he will not be tormented by the double strife, the outward and the inward one. Lo, how much easier is the strife if the things a man desires are afar off and not near, alluring the thoughts by their aspect.

Thus we see that there is a double strife. When a man's way of life is poor and his wants are small, he will not look with desire at these things even when indigent and he will content his body with little, because even the body is despised and contemptible in his eyes; and he does not approach unto it because of its beauty and the pleasure it gives, but only in order to sustain nature.

These ways easily lead man to asceticism, without harm and strife and deliberations. It is becoming for a man to refrain from the sight of those and to remain far from those things,

against contact with which he can be on his guard only with a great effort. This I do not say in view of things of the belly only, but also in view of those things which by their temptation put to the test the solitary's freedom and the avoiding of which he has promised in his bond with God. So I mean also the sight of a woman's face, the sight of superb things, superb persons and their luxury, splendid persons and their garments, all things belonging to worldliness also speaking and hearing concerning them. For the affections possess a strong power,
236 when [worldly] things are near, to weaken the strugglers and to turn aside their mind. If the sight of beautiful things spurs on the mind to follow their service with zeal, it is well known that also those which are the contrary of beautiful, have the power of captivating the mind. And if further harm does not happen than that the quiet mind is cast into strife, there is this loss at any rate, that a man by his own will is thrown from peace into perturbation.

If one of the saints, an industrious father, thought the sight of a man with a womanlike face a harm for the mind and an injury in the strife, when once he approached one of the convents, who then should neglect other [dangers]; for this blessed man was not to be persuaded even to enter and prostrate himself there. This wise father deliberated with insight thus: 'if it should come to my memory even only in the night I pass here, that there is here such a thing, this would be a great loss'. And therefore he did not enter the convent. 'I am not afraid, my brethren' [he said]. 'But wherefore useless strife'? This means, that even such recollections hinder the serenity of my service.

For all the things which belong to this body and against which a man must guard himself by a great effort, will cause him little strife as long as they are at a distance from him. Thus even when they are near, so long as a man uses the pleasant things [of this world] with fear, he desires their proximity only because of the use which is in them.

237 We see that many roots are buried and hidden under the earth, of which no one has any knowledge as to their existence while it is summer, because of the force of the sun and the strength of heat. But when the raindrops reach them and the influence of the fragrant air, then all of them suddenly begin to show themselves whereever they are buried. Doest thou not

see, that by the strong heat of asceticism and the rays of the grace of solitude, the affections leave thee in quiet; but if thou approachest the things [of the world], thou shalt see that all of them are quickened and thrust up their heads from their places, that is: if they smell just a little of the odour of comfort.

These things I have said in order to show that no one should have confidence before he dies and departs this life and how helpful in our strife flight and withdrawal from the world are. Those things which we are ashamed to recollect secretly, we must also fear to meet. And we may not tread down the heart and despise conscience. For in a lonely place without contact [with the world] we have to examine our body in order to acquire training in endurance.

There is also another thing, more important than the rest: namely as often as that which is a cause of strife, is afar from a man, even if he be vexed in mind he will not fear that, vanquished by desire, he might employ it on account of its being near.

238 The disciple. If a man has thrown away all impediments and has entered the arena, what is the beginning of his strife against sin, and where does he start fighting?

The teacher. This much is known to every one, that all strife against sin and its desires is to be preceded by the labour of fasting, especially if one is combating inward sin. And the token of hate against sin and its desires, visible in those who are engaged in this invisible strife, is this that they begin with fasting.

Afterwards comes standing during the night. He that during his whole life loves the use of fasting, is a friend of chastity. As at the root of all the boons of the world and of all its evils, is sexual pleasure and the relaxation of sleep which incites to impure cohabitation, so the beginning of the holy way of God and of all virtues, is founded upon fasting and strict punctuality in the service of God, with the crucifixion of the body during the whole night in the strife against the pleasure of sleep.

Fasting is a strengthening of all the virtues, the beginning of the struggle, the crown of the Naziraeans, the beauty of virginity and sanctity, the preservation of chastity, the beginning of the way of Christianity, the father of prayer, the fountain

of placidity, the teacher of quiet, and the forerunner of all good qualities. As the delight of light belongs to sound eyes,
239 so the desire of prayer follows fasting with discernment. For as soon as a man begins to fast, his mind forthwith will be desirous of intercourse with God. A fasting body cannot endure lying on its bed during the whole night. For fasting naturally excites vigilance unto God; not only by day, but also during the night. And the empty body of him that fasts does not grow fatigued in the struggle against sleep. And though his senses are weak, his mind is awake unto God in beseechings. It is better to neglect service for weakness caused by fasting, than on account of indolence caused by food.

To dwell at length upon the beauties of fasting is not necessary. Many of the teachers and fathers have spoken about the victories of fasting and the many beautiful things originating in it. And all books inform us concerning the importance of fasting and the victories it has given generation after generation, and concerning the mighty help afforded by it, and the high praise deserved by those who fast. And by experience it is known to every one, that it is the fountain of all good [qualities].

As long as the seals of fasting are on a man's mouth, his mind meditates on the soul's penitence, his heart sends forth prayers and his face is dark with sadness. Evil impulses are afar from him; neither is gladness seen on his brow at all. For he is an enemy of desires and idle occupations. There has never been seen a man who was fasting with discernment who was subjected to evil desire. For fasting is a storehouse of all virtues. And he that despises it, makes all virtues totter.

240 As the first commandment imposed upon our nature in the beginning was against the tasting of the food, and in this point the head of our race fell, therefore those who strive for the fear of God begin the building there where the first injury originated, when they begin the task of keeping His commandments. And also our Saviour, when He manifested Himself to the world at the Jordan, began from that point. For when He had been baptised, the spirit led Him into the wilderness, and then He fasted forty days and forty nights. And all those who follow His steps, base the beginning of their struggle upon this action. That weapon was polished by God, who should despise it without being blameworthy? If the lawgiver has fasted, to

which guardian of the law is it not necessary to do likewise?

Till then the human race had not known victory, and Satan had never experienced defeat on the part of our nature; through this weapon, however, he was vanquished for the first time and the first victory was won which set the crown on the head of our nature. — Thus it is that as soon as this weapon appears in the hand of a man, immediately fear falls upon the deliberations of Satan, that head of rebellion, and at once his mind is struck by the recollection of that defeat in the desert and that first defeat he had to suffer. His strength will be broken when he sees the weapon which our commander has placed in our hands. As soon as he sees this weapon worn by any man, he knows that this one is prepared for the strife. What weapon is stronger than this and which gives encoura-
241 gement to the heart in the struggle with evil spirits as hunger for Christ's sake does? To the degree in which a man's body is fatigued and kept down at the time when the hosts of Satan surround him, to the same degree his heart is supported by confidence. And he that is constantly in this state, will at all times be burning with zeal as it were with fire.

Constant fasting is a symptom of zeal and fervour in war. Even that zealot Eliyah took upon him this tribulation when he fought for the divine law. Forty days he restrained his mouth from food, during the long walk through the desert.

Fasting reminds those who practise it of the spiritual commandments; for it was a mediator in the ancient law and by the grace of our Lord Jesus we have received it. But what more shall I say concerning its merits which are known to every one? He that despises fasting, will also be weak and without vigour in the other good works, because he lacks the weapon by means of which the godlike athletes have been victorious. And he that from the beginning shows in himself a sign of relaxation, gives his adversary a chance of victory and enters battle in a state of deprivation. And it is certain that he will leave it, without the victory, because he has bereaved himself of the force which divine zeal had stirred in him. Thus he begins strife in a state of cold in stead of in a state of heat. For his limbs are not clad with the flame of hunger, namely of fasting during which the mind endures the strokes of all hard and unexpected events motionless.

It is said concerning many of the holy martyrs that, when

242 they were informed by a spiritual revelation or by one of their friends, regarding the day on which they would receive the crown, they did not taste anything the preceding night, nor did they take any food. But from the eve till morn they would stand in prayer, awake, praising God in songs and glorifications and hymns and spiritual melodies, being joyful and exalting and expecting that moment as people destined to enter a bridal house. They expected, while in a state of fasting, to receive the blow of the sword and to be crowned with the crown of the confessorship.

And we too have to keep this state of preparation perpetually, o my brethren, expecting invisible martyrdom and the winning of the crown of holiness, [being on our guard] lest in any of our limbs a sign of unbelief be given to our enemies. Thus our outward senses and our inward impulses being clad with all the weapons of God, we shall receive this crown deserving it and so we shall go in unto His glory with the holy martyrs, striking our enemies with amazement. For without labour nobody wins the crown, as the teacher, the great Diodorus [1]) says. For it is well known that it would be most unworthy that merchants may not bring home riches without labour and dangerous storms, and that yet the righteous should expect the remuneration of the crown, without injury and labour for the sake of righteousness.

243 The disciple. Many are those who perform these labours, yet do not perceive rest as to the affections, nor peace as to the deliberations.

The teacher. The affections hidden in the soul, o my brother, cannot be apeased by the works of solitaries which are performed with the body alone, nor do these hinder the deliberations from being constantly stirred by the senses. These labours guard man against being vanquished by desires and against harm caused by the demons. But they do not give peace and rest unto the soul too. Labours cause apathy and mortify our limbs on the earth and give rest on the part of deliberations, only if they are combined with solitude, when also the outward senses rest from turbulance and have become addicted during some time, to the service of wisdom. Until a man refrains from meeting his fellow-man and until he checks

1) One of the London Mss. has: Basil

his limbs from mingling with many things, and concentrates his self, — he will not be acquainted with his affections. For solitude, the blessed Basilius, the shining torch of the whole world, says — is the beginning of the purification of the soul. For when the outward senses have rest from outward turbulence, then the mind will return from distraction unto its place and the heart will be stirred to examine the inner impulses of the soul; and if it perseveres well it will reach in its course even the purification of the soul.

The disciple. Is it not possible for the soul, if it be strong, to be purified while having connections with the outward world?

The teacher. If a tree is watered every day, when will
244 its roots become dried up? A vessel whose contents increase daily, when will it be empty? If purity be nothing else than to forget the dealings belonging to non-freedom and to have peace from their recollection, and if a man, either personally and practically, or through others, renews in his soul by the medium of the senses this recollection, viz. the knowledge of evil things, when shall he be purified from them? Or when shall he be liberated from the strife with outward things, so that it will be possible to see inward things and gain peace? When the heart is defiled every day, when can it be purified from filth?

Perhaps it cannot even dominate practice, not to speak of purifying the root. For it stands in the centre of the camp and every day its ears are struck by the rumour of battles, how then can it venture to proclaim peace to itself? But if it be far from these, then it will be able to grant peace to the inward things gradually. Before the stream from above has been shut off, the nether waters will not dry up.

But when a man has found solitude, the soul is able to expel the affections and to test its own wisdom. Then the inward man will be stirred unto spiritual service and day by day he will perceive the hidden wisdom moving in his soul.

The disciple. What are the true marks and the undubitable signs that from a man's labour the hidden fruits are beginning to show themselves in the soul?

The teacher. When he is deemed worthy of the gift of
245 tears, flowing abundantly and without compulsion. Tears are to the mind the sure distinction between the bodily and the spiritual state, between the state of apperception and that of purity. As long as one has not yet received this gift, the

labour of his service is still in the outward man, and this to such an extent that he does not even perceive anything of the hidden service of the spiritual man. When he begins to leave the bodiliness of this world and moves in that territory which lies beyond this visible nature, then at once he will reach the grace of tears. And from the first apartment of that hidden behaviour these tears will begin and they will conduct him to the complete love of God. When he has reached this point, tears will be so copious that he drinks them with his food and his drink, so constant and abundant are they. This is a true token of the mind's leaving this world and its apperceiving the spiritual world. And the more the mind approaches unto this world, the more these tears will diminish. And when the mind is wholly in the worldly things, it will also be completely without tears, and this is the sign of its being enveloped by the affections.

Some tears cause a burning heat, others render fat. All tears which flow for grief and distress of heart caused by sins, make the body lean and burning with heat. And often when these tears are shed, one will even feel that his marrow is injured. Man will necessarily enter this order of tears first.
246 Then by them the gate leading to the second order will be opened for him, an order which is by far superior, because it contains the sign of the receiving of mercy. What is this? Those tears which have their origin in insight, make the body fat; they flow spontaneously and compulsion has no share in them. They also anoint the body and the aspect of the face is changed. For a joyful heart renders the body beautiful. These tears moisten the whole face when the mind lives in solitude. The body acquires by them as it were some sustenance and joy is diffused over the face. Whosoever has experienced these two varying states, will understand.

The disciple. What is the resurrection of the soul, namely if ye be risen with Christ? [1])

The teacher. This is what is said by the apostle in another place: For God who commanded the light to shine out of darkness, hath shined in our hearts [2]). Resurrection he calls leaving the old state, which in the likeness of Hell hindered him from seeing the light of the Gospel rise, so to say, which

1) Coloss. 3, 1 2) 2 Cor. 4, 6

is the breath of life in the hope of the resurrection by which the dawn of divine wisdom rises in the heart, so that he now is a new man in whom is nothing of this world. As it has been said: A new heart also will I give you; and a new spirit will I put within you[1]). Then in truth Christ is imprinted on them, by the spirit of wisdom and revelation, in knowledge concerning Him.

The disciple. What is, in short terms, the power of the practice of solitude?

247 The teacher. It mortifies the outward senses and quickens the inward impulses. Intercourse, however, works in the inverse way.

The disciple. What is the cause of the visions and revelations granted unto some? To others however, who have laboured more than the former, such things are not granted.

The teacher. The causes of revelations and visions are many, not one. The first cause of revelations and visions is God's will to give a token of His mercy; in this case God provided men with them in order to help them. Some take place on account of divine providence. These are the common cases. The rest take place in order to strengthen and to encourage the weak, and to console and instruct them.

[An instance of those revelations which take place by] providence are the angels which were seen at the side of the grave, and those which at the Assumption appeared unto the Apostles who were both distressed and stupefied and in confusion on account of the Lord's departure from them. And at once two angels appeared who stood by them in white apparel, and those which appeared in the prison and in any place where [the apostles] fell into the hands of men. Unto single persons and unto the other saints after them they appeared, and even to this day. For these three classes of men such visitations are usually provided: for those who are simple and irreproachable above measure; or for holy and perfect persons; or for those who on account of fervent zeal have fled from

248 the world; abandoning it entirely in despair and retiring from any part inhabited by men, following God, naked, without hope or help from anything visible, assailed by the fear of desolation or surrounded by the peril of death from hunger or illness or

1) Ez. 36, 26

any evil whatever and near to dejection. That such consolations happen to some people, whereas others who are their superiors in works remain without anything of that kind, is in the first place founded on purity or non-purity of the heart, I mean. A second cause is certainly this, that as long as a man receives consolation from his fellow-man or from any of these visible things, such [heavenly] consolations do not happen to him, safe only by providential decree and this bears a common character.

But our discourse is for solitaries. A witness to this is one of the saints who has announced that there came a voice unto him saying: Enough of consolation from and intercourse with men! Another witness [1]) to this is he who led a solitary life in reclusion, and often tasted from consolations granted by grace, and divine care often became visible to him in manifest apperception; but when he came near the inhabited world and sought these things as usual, he did not find them. He besought God that the truth concerning this matter might become
249 known to him, saying: Perhaps, my Lord, grace has been withdrawn from me on account of my episcopal rank? It was said to him: No. But then, there was the desert, there were no men, but God provided for thee. Now, there is the inhabited world and men provide for thee. — So we say that it is impossible for a man to share in visible as well as in spiritual consolation.

The disciple. Are vision and revelation one, or are they different in fact as they are different in names?

The teacher. There is a difference between vision and revelation. The name of revelation covers the two, because it denotes the revealing of a thing that hitherto was hidden and now becomes manifest in any way. But not all that is revelation is at the same time vision. But what is vision is also called revelation, because it is a hidden thing which is revealed. But not all that comes to be revealed and known, is vision.

Revelation is usually connected with what is intelligible and tasted with the intellect. Vision, however, always happens in similitudes; as those things which were ministered unto the ancients, be it in the depth of sleep, or in the state of waking; sometimes clearly, at other times dimly, while he to whom the

1) See Introduction

vision was given often did not know whether he saw awake or in sleep. Even after he had regained consciousness, he did not know whether the thing had in reality happened to him, or as in a dream. Sometimes a voice of help was heard;
250 sometimes a symbolical representation was seen; sometimes there was a clear apparition, face to face, and sight and speech, questions and intercourse; and those holy hosts appeared to those who were worthy. It is clear that in the desert and the wilderness and in lonely places and in places of retreat from the world, such things happen; where man decidedly needs them, because he has no help from any side.

Revelation of those things which are apperceived intellectually, is received through purity. And the latter only belongs to the initiated and perfect.

The disciple. When any one has reached purity of heart, what is the token thereof? And when shall he know himself whether his heart has come to purity?

The teacher. When he sees all men in a good light, without any one appearing to him unclean or defiled. Such a man has really reached purity. If this were not true, how could it be possible to fulfill the word of the Apostle: When a man possesses all excellence, he reckons every one superior to himself in heart and truth [1]).

But when he has reached the point mentioned, he whose eyes are pure, does not see evil.

The disciple. What is purity and where is its limit?

The teacher. I think that purity is oblivion of those kinds of knowledge which do not belong to nature, those namely which nature has found in the world. Its limit consists therein that we are freed from that knowledge to such a degree that we reach the original simplicity and integrity of nature in the
251 way of a child, apart from small exceptions only.

The disciple. It is possible for a man to reach this order?

The teacher. Ay. One of the Fathers was come so far, that he repeatedly asked his pupil whether he had eaten bread or not. And one of the saints who was then an old ascetic, had become so pure and simple and had reached such a perfection and serenity, that he was nearly as a babe, having forgotten all wordly things. And perhaps many will not

1) Cf. Philippians 2, 3

believe us what we say (for it is a real wonder) that even at the oblation of the Eucharist he could not observe [the fast] so as to receive the Eucharist; he did not even know whether he had observed [the fast] or not, till his disciples kept watch on him in his cell and brought him to the sanctuary, as a little boy. So very serene and pure was this blessed man. And being thus in worldly things, in his soul he was perfect with God.

The disciple. Which meditation and occupation should a man have in his reclusion and solitude, lest his intellect should be found to be occupied with accidental deliberations?

The teacher. Thou askest what shall be the meditation of him that is dead to the world in his cell. Should a man who is zealous and whose soul is awake, need to ask what his work should be in his solitude? What is the meditation of the solitary in his cell but weeping? Should he be able to turn his gaze from weeping towards a different deliberation? Which
252 meditation would be more profitable? For his dwellingplace, lonely like the grave and deprived of all worldly pleasures, teaches him that his service consists in weeping. And even his name turns him into this direction; for he is called abila, which means: bitter in heart. All the righteous have departed this world with weeping. If the saints would weep and their mouths at all times were filled with their tears and they thus departed this world, who should not weep then? The consolation of the recluse is born from weeping. If those who were victorious have shed tears in this world, how then should he that is covered with wounds dare to abstain from weeping? If before the housefather his beloved is laid dead, should he need instruction concerning the thought which should move him to tears? Thy soul which is dead in sins is laid before thee, thy soul which is of greater value to thee than the whole world. If we come to solitude, we can also get accustomed to weeping. Therefore we should steadily beseech our Lord to give us this. If we receive this gift, excellent above any other, through weeping we shall reach purity. And when we have reached it, it will not be taken from us again, to the day on which we shall depart the world.

Blessed therefore are the pure in heart who at all times enjoy this delight of tears and through it constantly see our Lord. While tears are in their eyes, they are deemed worthy
253 of seeing His revelation at the height of prayer; for they even

know of no prayer without tears. And this is what has been said by our Lord: Blessed are they that mourn: for they shall be comforted [1]). For by mournfulness a man reaches purity of soul. When therefore our Saviour says: Blessed are they that mourn: for they shall be comforted, He does not explain what comfort is. When the solitary is deemed worthy on account of his mournfulness to pass beyond this place of affections and to reach the plain of purity of soul, where he will find a consolation that will not leave those who have found it — then it is clear that the consolation which at the completion of mournfulness is received through purity, is promised by our Lord to the mournful. For if any one weeps constantly, the affections will not approach his heart; for weeping lies beyond affectibility. If tears are able to efface from the mind of him that mourns and weeps for but a short time, the recollection of the affections, what shall we say about him who has imposed upon himself a definite service during day and night? Who knows the profits of weeping, save those who have given themselves to it? All the saints desire this [means of] introduction; and by weeping, a gate is opened before them through which they enter that place of consolation, in which the footsteps of God's love are impressed by revelations.

The disciple. But because man is not able to adhere to this practice, on account of the body's weak nature, it is necessary for him to have some other thing serving to captivate his mind, lest the affections should assail him through the idleness of the intellect. 254

The teacher. The affections are not able to assail the soul and to trouble the solitary whose heart is cut off from the world by dwelling lonely in the complete solitude of the desert, separated from all the sounds and voices of the commotion of mankind — unless he neglect his duties, especially that of being occupied with the scriptures and the profitable deliberations with which he is occupied, by the excellent understanding of which paltry thoughts are driven away from him and his mind is not able to free itself from them, but [in this state] he gazes upon the whole world, because of the great delight of that occupation by which the intellect is completely satisfied in that extreme loneliness of the desert. So he looses

1) Matthew 5, 4

consciousness of himself and forgets his nature and he becomes as one who is mad without any recollection of the world; especially when he thinks of God's greatness, the glory of His nature and His wondrous works and when he recollects how high his own despicable being has been elevated. To think about Him and to dare foster such thoughts for the sake of delight and to get drunk at all times by ecstatic impulses as in the life after resurrection, are things greatly promoted by solitude, because the intellect has the opportunity of being with itself, in the peace that has its origin in solitude. At the same time it will adapt its recollections to the aim of its course, and it will direct itself towards the glory of the world to be, the hope preserved for the righteous, life in spiritual emotion
255 wholly originating in God. This is the new way of life, without recollection and without emotion concerning anything in this world. And when he is satisfied with these things his contemplation turns from them towards the things of this world in which he is still abiding, saying with amazement: O the depth of the riches both of the wisdom and knowledge and unsearchable mind of God! How unsearchable are His judgments and His ways past finding out [1]). Since He has prepared a different world which is so amazing, into which He shall introduce all rational beings and keep them without variance in life without end. What then is the reason why He has made this world first, which He has made large and has provided with a great many species, and has made a place of a multitude of affections? And He has set us first in this world and implanted in our nature a strong love of its own life; then He expels us from it, gradually, by death and prescribes to us a long interval in a state without sensual apperception, like stones and wood, a state during which He destroys our image and pours out our mettle and mixes it up with the earth. And He permits our building to be demolished and ruined, till it has lost all likeness with [its previous] composition. Then, at the time appointed by His wisdom, working according to His free will, He resurrects us in a different likeness which He knows and introduces us into that new order; and not only us, but also the holy angels, who do not need the use of this world
256 on account of their amazing nature. For all of them are nearly

1) Romans 11, 33

perfect, awaiting the resurrection and the elevation of our fallen state, when the human race shall rise from the dust, and its fallen state be quickened unto new life. For on account of us they are hindered from entering, till once the gate of that new world will be opened, which they expect. For even the class of the angels sighs with us in that it sees us loaded with the weight of the body while it hopes and expects the revelation of the children of God, so that it itself may be freed from slavery that perishes, in the freedom of the glory of the children of God [1]).

First he will free this whole [world] from its state so that it is reduced to nothing, analogous to the first state of the body. Then he will elevate himself intellectually beyond the beginnings of the creation of the world, when there was no creation nor anything, no heaven, no earth, no angels, nor any of the created things. Then of a sudden he will bring all things into existence, his will being sufficient to effect that all is before him in a state of perfection. Then he will descend in his mind and visit all God's creatures. And in his high and wondrous works the wisdom of his creating power will show itself. His power subdues all minds, the amazing and powerful strength of his creating force brings into existence out of nothing a creation with innumerable different kinds.

Then he will think of how He again will destroy this, so that perishes the wondrous order, the ornament of kinds, the
257 prescribed course of the creatures, the times and occasions, the harmony of night and day, the useful seasons of the year, the embellished earth, the different kinds sprouting from it; the fine buildings of the cities and the beautiful palaces in them; the continual course of mankind, nature submitted and tormented from man's entering it until he leaves it.

And how suddenly this wonderful order will be destroyed and how a new world will begin in which no recollection whatever of the first creation will occur to any man's mind, in which there will be a different mode of life, different deliberations and different thoughts. Then human nature will no longer recollect this world nor the former way of life in it. For the gaze of their mind will be captivated by the sight of that [new] order, and it will not be able to turn in its memory

1) Cf. Rom. 8, 21. On the following passage cf. the Introduction.

towards the races of flesh and blood; for as soon as this world is destroyed, the new one will begin [1]).

O mother that suddenly has been forgotten by the sons which she has borne and educated and instructed — and in the twinkling of an eye they are gathered unto another bosom, and have become real sons of the barren one that which has never borne. Rejoice, o barren, thou that didst not bear, at the sons which the earth has borne to thee. And the mind thinks in amazement, of how a new world will take the place of this, and of when its beginning will be; and of how long these bodies will lie in that state, body and dust mingled together; and what like that mode of life will be; and in what likeness this nature will rise and in what way it will come to the second creation.

By such thoughts rest will spread over the mind. And the
258 apperception of its bodily state will vanish; and it will remain a long time in silence, wondering at the incomprehensible deeds of God. At that moment the solitary will kneel down and render thanks with many tears to God who is wise in His works, and whose deeds are incomprehensible, as are also the secrets of His exalted mind, concerning what He has done and what He will do. What heart of stone would not become unconscious under such impulses, struck with silence and stupor, and turned away from the emotions of senses and impulses? Blessed is he who has been deemed worthy of these things. Blessed is he who has thought of this, day and night. Blessed is he who has been occupied with these things during his whole life. To every man this thought is useful, but especially to him that lives in solitude. And it is becoming that these recollections should always be with him. These indications a man should take to mind and, having finished prayer, he should think of them and meditate upon them.

When he is occupied with these thoughts, there will be no room for foreign recollections in his spirit, which could hinder him from the constant recollection of God. And if at first he does not perceive the profitable influence of these things, on account of his being distracted, he should not be dejected. When the husbandman casts seed on the earth, it is not pos-

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1) The two sentences which follow could be an interpolation; the sentence "And the mind thinks" etc. is the direct continuation of the present one.

sible that he should see the oars at the same time. Dejection and despondency are connected with sowing. It is sweet to the peasant to eat of his bread; but his sweat is still sweater.

259 This thought, in solitude, will pour endless delight into the heart and will quickly draw the mind towards unspeakable ecstasy. Blessed is he to whom this fountain has been opened and who drinks from it at all hours of the day and the night.

The disciple. What is the acme of all the labours of asceticism, which a man, when he has reached it, recognises as the summit of his course?

The teacher. When he is deemed worthy of constant prayer. When he has reached this, he has touched the end of all virtues and forthwith he has a spiritual dwelling-place. If a man has not received in truth the gift of the Comforter, it is not possible for him to accomplish constant prayer in quiet. When the spirit takes its dwelling-place in a man he does not cease to pray, because the spirit will constantly pray in him [1]). Then, neither when he sleeps, nor when he is awake, will prayer be cut off from his soul; but when he eats and when he drinks, when he lies down or when he does any work, even when he is immersed in sleep, the perfumes of prayer will breathe in his soul spontaneously. And henceforth he will not possess prayer at limited times, but always; and when he has outward rest, even then prayer is ministered unto him secretly. For the silence of the serene is prayer, says a man clad with Christ. For their deliberations are divine impulses. The motions of the pure mind are quiet voices with which they secretly chant psalms to the Invisible One.

260 The disciple. What is spiritual prayer, and how are we made worthy of it?

The teacher. It is the psychic impulses which partake of the influence of the Holy Spirit, on account of veracious purity. One man in ten thousand is found worthy of this. It is a symbol of the future way of existence, for nature is elevated and exempt from all the impulses from the recollection of things in this world. It does not pray, but the soul perceives the spiritual things of the world beyond (which is something greater than the mind of man); the understanding of these is kindled by spiritual force. — It is inner sight, and

1) This is apparently the meaning of the sentence, which in the original is not quite clear.

not the impulse and the beseeching of prayer. It has its starting point in prayer. Because such men have reached the summit of purity and because at all times their inner emotions are stirring in prayer — as I have said before — the Spirit, whenever it looks at them, will find them in prayer; and from there it will conduct them by contemplation, which is interpreted spiritual sight. They do not want prolonged prayer nor the defined order of frequent service.

For the recollection of God alone will be sufficient for them, and at once they will be governed by love, as if captives. But because of this state they are not absolutely negligent, but attribute honour to prayer by standing on their feet at fixed times; but they do not practise continual prayer.

For we see that the holy Antonius, when standing on his feet
261 in the prayer of the ninth hour, perceived that his mind was taken up. And another saint found himself in ecstasy for four days, while he stood in prayer with outspread hands. And, on examination, it will be seen in the stories of many others that they were found in the well known attitude of prayer, when granted this gift. A man is deemed worthy of this, when he puts off outward and inward sin, by observing the commandments of our Lord, which are anterior to this state. If one will practise these in his own degree, it is inevitably necessary for him to forsake all human things. This means: he shall put off the body and be outside it, so to speak; not its nature, but the use of it. There is nobody who has practised these things in the sense of the lawgiver, and with whom sin has persevered to dwell.

Therefore our Lord has promised in the Gospel, that He shall make His dwellingplace the man who observes these things.

The disciple. And what is the perfection of all spiritual fruits?

The teacher. This is when man is deemed worthy of the complete love of God.

The disciple. And how can he that has reached this point, acquire certainty?

The teacher. Every time when the thought of God is stirred in his spirit, the heart will become hot with love at once, the eyes will shed multitudinous tears; for love is accustomed to shed tears at the recollection of the beloved. He

that is in this state will never be found destitute of tears, be-
262 cause he is never without abundant recollection of God, so that even during sleep he speaks with Him. Love is accustomed to practise these things and this is the accomplishment of man in this life.

The disciple. He that after many labours and fatigues and victories fought and won, is assailed by the thought of haughtiness that is based upon the beauty of his excellence, when he recalls the many labours he has borne — how can he restrain his thoughts and regain watchfulness so as not to give way?

The teacher. When he knows that he falls from God as a withered leaf falls from the tree, then he will also know his own strength and recognise whether he has acquired these virtues by his strength and whether he could have withstood all the struggles face-to-face if God had withdrawn from him His help and had left him alone in his strife with Satan without being accompanied by that force that usually accompanies the victorious combatants in their struggles. For here their strength, or better their weakness, comes to light. So that it is God's care for man which at all times guards and strengthens him and through which he overcomes all classes of men, be it in the struggle of chastity, or in the sufferings of martyrdom or in the other hardships while he suffers for the sake of divine things.

This is well known and no doubt concerning it is possible. For how else could nature vanquish this mighty force of never resting allurements which have their seat in man's members
263 and torment him and yet he does withstand them? How is it that others which love and long after the same purity, are not able to reach it, though they strive after it, nay daily they are cast back, tormented and sad and weeping over themselves, whereas thou bearest easily the difficulties of nature, which are so hard, and yet thou art not oppressed by them? Or how were it possible that another should endure in his sensitive flesh the cutting iron and the combs in all his members without being vanquished by suffering under all kinds of tortures, whereas else he could not endure a little thorn inserted under his nail? But these totally diverse tortures he bears without suffering in the natural way. How should this be possible unless some force, apart from that of nature, were sent to him and

from another direction and unless this force restrained and mitigated the force of the tortures?

There is nothing that withholds us from mentioning here a story that is really amazing to one who hears it. Because we have pointed to God's care for man which makes him victorious in all battles for the sake of excellence, it would not be becoming to omit this story. Socrates, in his work on the history of the church, when mentioning the Roman emperors, relates in a succinct way the evil which the members of the church had to suffer under Julianus; then passing on to par-
264 ticulars he tells a story of that which happened in the city of Antioch.

A certain adolescent, Theodore by name, was brought by the heathens before Sallustius, to whom the jurisdiction in these matters had been entrusted. He gave him up to suffering and torture, commanding that his whole body should be combed. Then he set him free from torture, thinking that he was dead. But God was the saviour of that blessed man, who lived for a long time after his testimony. For Rufinus, who has written about ecclesiastical things in Greek, says that a long time after he had conversation with this blessed Theodore. He asked him whether he had felt the pain keenly when being tortured. The latter answered that he had been conscious of pain to a very trifling extent only. For a young man had been standing near him, wiping off the sweat of the struggle and strengthening his soul and making the time of the struggle of the tortures a delight to him. O, for God's compassion, how near is His bounty to those who begin the warfare for His sake in order to bear sufferings for Him gladly. Do not injure God's bounty to thee, o man.

If it is manifest, that thou art not the victor but that thou art as an instrument and that the Lord wins the victory for thee whereas thou obtainest the name of victor as a present, what then hinders thee from beseeching at all times the same power, that thou mayest always obtain the same victory as a
265 witness? Hast thou not heard, o man, from of old and from the beginnings of time, how many champions have fallen from the height of their victories because they have injured grace?

On the same subject. The gifts of God unto the human race being many and various, there is also a difference in their smallness or greatness in relation to those who receive them.

Though all of them are wonderful and glorious, one is more than the other in glory and honour. One degree is higher than the previous one, according to the word of scripture.

And further, that a man be elected to practise good works and a steady behaviour, this is one of the principal gifts of Christ. But many forget this grace, namely those whom God has distinguished above others so that they belong to the receivers of His gifts, even to the degree that they are elected to the service of the Lord; then, in contrast to the gratitude which was always on their lips, they turn aside to presumption and become haughty in mind. And though they have been made worthy to serve God with pure behaviour and spiritual labours, yet they do not deem themselves receivers of grace but as those who deserve this through God, forgetting that they have been elected from the rest of mankind unto familiarity with Him and knowledge of His mysteries. Nor do they tremble in their whole soul when they think of how their comrades, who fostered the same thoughts, were suddenly de-
266 prived of that strength with which they had been entrusted, and of how in the twinkling of an eye they lost the great honour they had possessed and declined quickly unto lasciviousness and turned towards the base behaviour of the irrational animals. And because they know not the strength of their soul, nor perpetually recollect Him that made them worthy of the great boon of serving Him and of abiding in the honour of His kingdom and that made them comrades of the spiritual beings and brought them near unto the behaviour of the angels, He rejects them from their service. Thus He shows to them by the sudden variations of their behaviour, that it was not by their own [strength] that they adhered to a steady behaviour under all the assaults of nature and the demons and the other impediments, but that this strength was a gift from Him.

What other men cannot even endure to listen to, on account of its difficulty, this they have endured a long time without being vanquished, because the strength that accompanied them was able to help them under all circumstances and to guard them at all times. Accordingly, since they have forgotten this, the word has been fulfilled in them. Namely as they have not willed concerning themselves that they should know God, viz. their Lord who has made the service of the spiritual beings descend to earth, God has delivered them up to vain know-

ledge and so they have received in person the retribution which their forgetfulness had deserved.

The disciple. Is it possible that a man should so to speak daringly leave the dwellingplaces of men suddenly and
267 go naked into the uninhabited desert and the terrible wilderness in beautiful zeal and that he should die there from hunger or from the absence of shelter or the like?

The teacher. He that has prepared a dwellingplace for the beasts before He created them and who provides their wants, will not neglect those who fear them, especially when they follow Him simply, without forethought. He whose will accords with God in all things will never, for fear of bodily evils and dangers, consent to adhere to a filthy behaviour and to endure a life of humiliation because he fears troubles. But he will count it an exquisite and delicious thing to become estranged to the whole world in purity of behaviour, and to lead a life of deprivation among hills and mountains and to wander in the haunts of beasts and not to lead a life of filth, in bodily comfort, delivering up his soul so that it be for ever destitute of a pious and pure behaviour unto God, to whom belongeth the glory and the honour and who preserves us in His goodness and sanctifies us by His spirit to the honour of His name, that we may praise Him worthily all the days of our life, Amen.

For one of the saints says[1]): The body becomes a comrade of sin; for it is afraid of troubles, thinking it may receive an injury and have to give up its life. For the spirit of God oppresses the body so that it dies; it is well known that it cannot vanquish sin unless it die. Who desires that our Lord should dwell in him, will oppress his body and minister unto his Lord those spiritual fruits which the apostle describes; and he will guard his soul against the works of the flesh which
268 Paul describes. For the body that is mingled with sin takes pleasure in the works of the flesh. And the spirit of God takes pleasure in its own fruits. When the body is weak by fasting and mortification, the soul is spiritually strong through prayer. When the body is vehemently oppressed by solitude and penury and its life is near its term, it will beseech thee: Leave me a while to behave with moderation. Now I give directions because

1) Introduction p. 32

I know by experience that evils are of this nature. And when thou releasest the body somewhat from oppression, giving it some comfort by sparing it so that it can take breath again, then it will whisper to thee quietly again and again: Let us leave even the wilderness. For its allurements are very strong; [it says]: from now onward we shall be able to behave well, even in the neighbourhood of the inhabited world. For we have been put to the test in many things and we shall be able to continue this [behaviour] even there. Put me to the test and if I do not comply with thy will, we can begin anew for the desert lies before us. — But do not believe [the body] even if it beseeches and promises greatly, for it will not keep its promises. When thou hast granted it some of its wishes, it will drive thee on towards greater concessions from which thou canst not retract thy steps. When thou art dejected on account of thy being filled with troubles, say to thyself: Doest thou desire this filth and this sordid life? And if the body says to thee: It is a great sin that thou killest thyself, — say to it: I kill myself because I cannot live purely. I will die now and not further see my soul's essential die away from God. It is
269 better for me to die now for the sake of purity than to live a shameful life in the world[1]). This death I willingly choose on account of my sins. I kill myself because I have sinned before God and will not further rouse His anger. What to me is life afar from God? I will bear these evils and through them I will not be a stranger to heavenly hope. Why have I been created in the world, if I simply enter and leave it? And what should God profit by my life in the world, if I lived badly in it? On the contrary, I would but rouse His anger.

XXXVI

ON THE VARIOUS WAYS IN WHICH SATAN WARS AGAINST THOSE WHO TREAD THE NARROW WAY WHICH IS ABOVE THE WORLD

Our enemy Satan has also other methods, when he cunningly proposes to attack those who engage themselves in this strife. His way of warfare varies according to their character and in relation to their personal tendencies.

1) See p. 31, 97

As to those whom he sees to be of a weak will and of feeble thought he combates them vehemently from the beginning by submitting them to heavy and terrible temptations, in order to make them taste the nature of his evil from the very beginning of the way. In this way he intends to instill into them a horror of the first battle so that this way shall appear to them difficult to walk. And if the beginning is very
270 difficult, who could endure to the end, facing all the battles which are ranged in the middle? Thus they will not again venture to withstand him or to look for other help, on account of their being totally occupied with the thought of his attacks. And when he has pressed them a little vehemently they take to flight. Or better: God lets him oppress them, without helping them in any way because they have engaged in the battle of the Lord, with a cold heart and hesitatingly. Cursed is every one who performs the work of the Lord without diligence, retaining his hand from bloodshed. But also: His help is near those who fear Him [1]; and He commands that we should not meet the foe with a cold and fearful heart. Begin to destroy him and to wage war with him and I will begin to put the dread of thee and the fear of thee upon the nations that are under the whole heaven [2].

If thou doest not voluntarily die to the senses for the sake of the love of God, thou wilt die intellectually away from God, against thy will. That which belongs to thy lot thou shalt not refuse to take upon thee willingly, though it is connected with temporary suffering; afterwards thou shalt enter the glory of God. If thou perishest bodily in the strife of the Lord, the Lord will even crown thee; and to thy thriumphant limbs He will attribute the honour of the martyrs.

So, as I have said above, if they have not girded themselves up from the beginning and strengthened themselves and vowed themselves to death, then they will appear to be inferior in all battles, especially because God overlooks their relaxation [3] in that they trie to accomplish the work of the Lord in
271 a frivolous and tentative way. And even Satan knows them from the beginning, examining what their thoughts are: pusillanimous, loving themselves, even sparing their body. So he persecutes them like a hurrycane, because he does not find in

1) Ps. 145, 19 2) Deut. 2, 25 3) ܐܪܡܝܬܐ as the London Mss. have

them the intelligible power which he usually finds in the triumphant. As a man's will tends towards God, for whose sake he loves labours, so God will send him His help and show him His care. For it is not possible for Satan to approach unto anyone or to bring forward his temptations, except by permission of the godhead; or else that his will has become relaxed and he has given himself to impure thoughts and to distraction; or because doubt has taken hold of him. Concerning such persons Satan does not ask [permission] to try them as in the case of those who are perfect and great; as to the latter he knows that they are not given over into his hand. For he knows that it is not possible that the power of God's care be withdrawn from them. Except because of one of the causes mentioned.

This is one way in which the foe makes war. As to those whose will he sees to be vigorous and who reckon death as nothing and who have begun with keen zeal giving themselves over to every temptation and to death, and who trample upon life and the world and the body with its temptations — thees
272 he does not meet at the outset, nor does he usually show himself to them. But he withdraws himself and gives way to them. He neither encounters them with his principal force nor does he enter into battle with them. For he knows that the beginning of battles is usually hot and the antagonist is zealous and zealous champions are seldom vanquished.

This method he follows, not because he is afraid of them, but of that divine power which sets them ablaze through the forces working in them till they begin to emit it through their own will in full confidence. But he leaves them for some time till their zeal is abating and their attention is withdrawn from the exercise of the weapon for which they had trained themselves and with which they had armed their mind, viz. different divine words and profitable and strengthening recollections; and thus awaits the time of negligence. And when the first thoughts have abated somewhat, how often will they find within themselves occasions of defeat on account of allurements that have their origin in the mind. They dig a ditch in themselves through the distraction of thoughts that arise in their mind through tediousness, through which a chill overpowers them.

It is not spontaneous when Satan acts thus, delaying the time of battle; for neither when he spares them nor when he

withdraws himself from them, does he account them nothing. But I think that a certain power surrounds those who are blazing with fervour unto God and who have begun in a youthful way, without forethought, confiding in Him on account
273 of their faith, without knowing however against whom they have to fight. Therefore he conceals his evil nature from them, approaching not near. For his nature is checked by the guardian which he sees with them continually. Now if they do not cast away the causes of profit: beseeching, labours and humbleness, the helper will never withdraw Himself from them. The love of comfort is a cause of [God's] withdrawal. But if they adhere to these [works] sedulously, they will never be destitute of help and the foe will not be allowed to approach them. And if [God] witdraws himself from time to time, this is for the sake of training. For while the holy force governs and accompanies them, they do not fear seducers; the mind is full of courage and therefore it despises them. But He trains them as a man who teaches swimming to a little boy; as soon as he begins to sink, the teacher lifts him up, for the boy swims upon the hands of his teacher. And when the courage of the boy begins to diminish, from fear that he will be drowned, the man who supports him with his hands, cries: be not afraid, I support thee. Or, as a mother who teaches her little child to walk, places him at a distance from her and calls him; but when the boy will go to his mother on those little tottering feet of his, they tremble on account of their weakness. Then when the boy is about to fall, the mother will run and take him
274 in her arms. So God's grace will bear up and train the children of man, namely those who trust themselves clearly and simply to the hands of Him that created them and who with their whole heart turn from the world and follow Him.

And thou, O man, who hast begun to follow God, recollect perpetually during thy whole struggle the beginning and that first zeal at the outset of the way and the fervent thoughts with which thou didst leave thy former life and range thyself in the order of battle. And examine thyself every day [in order to state] whether the fervour of thy soul has abated in comparison with the zeal with which thou wert blazing. Or whether thou lackest any weapon with which thou wert girded at the beginning of thy struggle. And elevate constantly thy voice in the camp and encourage those of the right hand with familiar

thoughts. And show the opposite party that thou art awake. And if thou meetest impetuosity in the beginning, because the temptator will frighten thee, do not then relax. Perhaps this will be profitable to thee.

It is not without reason that thy saviour permits anything unto thee but only when He has foreseen it and ordered it to thy profit. Show thou no relaxation from the beginning; for if thou shouldst show relaxation here, thou wouldst not be able to withstand what follows: hunger, sickness, fearful sights and so on. Do not turn into its opposite the intention of Him that commands thee to fight, which serves to thy profit, lest
275 thy foe find thee as he hopes to find thee. But cry unto God unceasingly and weep before His grace and weary thyself out with beseeching, till He sends thee a helper. And if thou once seest the saviour who is with thee, thou wilt no more be vanquished by thy foe who is standing before thee.

Thus far these two kinds of strife.

Another way in which Satan makes war against those who are girded.

When after all this Satan is still opposed by a man without being able to overpower him in battle, or rather his helper, for whose sake man resists him, and who helps and strengthens him to such an extent that he who is compact flesh and body vanquishes him that is spiritual and unbodily — when Satan sees all the help which that man receives from God so that his outward senses are not vanquished by sights and sounds nor his thoughts weakened by excitations and allurements, nay he even despises the blows they give him, then he seeks for a means to separate that man from the angel that helps him, or rather he purposes to blind the mind of him that is helped so that he is left without support.

So he stirs that man's thoughts of presumption namely those of [imaginary] strength, so that he thinks his mind the cause of all this vigour and of the glorious wealth which he possesses in his soul. His preservation from all these obstacles, sad, un-
276 speakable, and bloodthirsty, he sometimes ascribes to accident, sometimes to their being weak. I do not mention other things the bare recollection of which makes the soul shiver on account of their blasphemous nature.

It also happens that he advances his betrayal insidiously under the appearance of divine revelations. During sleep he

imparts information and in the state of waking he assumes the likeness of an angel of light. And all this [is of such a nature] that, should a man surrender to it even to a small extent, he will become its victim. But if a man be wise and keep his thoughts under control, or rather if God helps him and he fixes the gaze of his heart on heaven in order to turn away from incantators, then the foe plans another kind of war. This is the only one left to him now; and because it has some affinity to nature he expects the more that man will be entangled in it. What is it? He contrives in all manner of ways to set man in contact with those things through which he usually becomes guilty on account of his nature. The mind of the warrior namely becomes blinded by sight of and contact with [worldly] things, and it is easily vanquished in battle when it is near them, especially when they are ranged before his eyes. The clever one knows this cunning thoroughly on account of his experience with many valiant champions who were van-
277 quished through it. Therefore he prepares this means cunningly. And when it is not of a nature to be practised because of the [warrior's] utter solitude and his dwelling far from things that cause [sin], then he contrives to bring it near him through phantasy. So he shows him fallacious images in the habit of reality, in order that by these visions he be rendered desirous and incited to conceive impure thoughts and become guilty and to alienate Him that helps him. For Satan knows that the solitary's victory and defeat, his treasure and his help and all that belongs to him, depends upon deliberation, and that, if deliberation be moved from its place, one short moment is able to throw him down from the nest of life on to the earth, if his will be pointed in this direction for even a moment only. Thus it has happened to many of the saints that he showed them the image of a beautiful woman.

Those who dwelt at a distance of one or two or even ten parasangs from the inhabited world he did indeed contrive to bring in contact with a woman. But to those, to whom he could not do this on account of their distant dwellingplace being too far off, he showed the images of womanly beauty by appearing to them, now in splendid dress and finery and in a seducing aspect, now even in the form of a naked woman. Some of the solitaries he overpowered by these means and the like, some by real seduction, some by things of the ima-

gination which brought about their fall[1]) through the relaxation of their deliberations; so they fell down into the abyss of despondency and turned unto the world, cutting themselves off from heavenly hope.

Others however who were steadfast and illuminated by grace,
278 have vanquished him and his fantastic representations and trampled upon bodily pleasures; and they have been found to be elected by the love of God.

Often also he represents to them images of gold and precious things as treasures that were hidden somewhere. It even happens that he shows them these things in reality, expecting that by one of these various [artifices] it will be possible to impede some one of the solitaries so as to bar his course through his being entangled in one of the snares of his nets. Lead me not, o Lord, into these temptations; for even the strong and the elect scarcely pass this gate victorious.

The seducer is allowed to make war upon the saints in all these ways of temptation, in order that the love of God which is in them may be proved under these circumstances; namely, whether they are friends of God and whether they adhere to His love because [worldly] things are at a distance, far off and absent; or whether they love God really, so as to make war on and to despise these things even when present, without being vanquished and without giving up their love of God through the allurements of those temptations. This does not happen that they may be known to God through these [temptations], but to the Devil, who is very desirous of recognizing them, if possible. As he also said concerning Job, asking God about him: Doth Job fear God for nought[2])? If then a little negligence creeps in, the temptator approaches with authority in accordance with the power he has over them. Then the unjust appears in the desire which these things excite in him.
279 And through these things those are proved who are strong in their love of Him, those who despise all these things, which in their eyes are counted as nothing in comparison with the love of God. In this they are humble, ascribing merits only to Him who strengthens all and who is the cause of their victory and into His hands they entrust the battle. For Thou art the

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1) litt. derision
2) Job 1, 9

powerful, and the battle is Thine. Fight, o Lord, and be victorious on our behalf.

Then they are tested by these things as gold in the furnace. But those who are untrustworthy are recognized there through those trials, and thrown out as refuse. They give way to their foe and have to leave the battle, defeated through the relaxation of their mind, or perhaps through their haughtiness which has made them unworthy of that strong power which is always ready to help the saints.

For never to be defeated is the power of Him that helps us, the omnipotent, the almighty, the victorious at all times whenever He descends into the body of mortals to fight for them. But it is manifest that those who are defeated, are defeated without Him. They are those whose will is stripped of Him because of their injustrice, who are not worthy of that power which is the support of the victorious. They also perceive at the time of battle that they lack the usual strength, which they found in themselves in all hot and difficult battles. How do they perceive this? They see in themselves that their defeat gives them comfort and that the hardships of strife are
280 difficult for them to bear, hardships under which at all times they were wonted to win a clear victory. And the emotions of zeal which at such times used to stir nature vigorously and which were strengthened by a fiery heat — they do not find them in themselves.

Now those who are shaken from their foundation are terrified not only by these and the like struggles, but even by the sound of the leaves of the trees[1]), and give way and renounce and turn their back under light trouble, for hunger or slight illness. The true and elect, however, do not even satisfy their hunger with herbs and vegetables. But, feeding upon drugs and dry stubble, even then they are not to be persuaded to open their mouth for food, before the fixed time. Lying on the earth, with an emaciated body and eyes blinded[2]) on account of bodily weakness, their soul near their mouth[3]) through tribulation, even then they do not give way so as to be vanquished and give up their firm will. For it is more delightful for them to be troubled for the sake of love, with

1) Cf. Lev. 26, 36
2) Isaac himself is said to have become blinded
3) i. e. on the point of leaving the body

labours for excellency, than to possess temporal life and all its comforts. So, when adversities approach them, they rejoice; for they know that these will lead them to perfection. And not only have they no doubt of the love of Christ in spite of the bodily tortures they have to suffer, but it would be delightful
281 even to bear for His sake loss of life; even then they would not separate themselves from Him.

XXXVII

ON THE THINGS THE EXACT USE OF WHICH I HAVE LEARNT BY THE KNOWLEDGE OF DISCERNMENT

Having been tested many times by things of the right and by things of the left, and examined myself in these two states many times, and received innumerable blows from the opposition, and been deemed worthy of important, hidden support, and having continued the examination of myself during a range of years, I have learnt by experience that the principles of all good things and the regaining of the soul from the captivity of the enemies, and the way towards life and light, consist in two things: abiding in one and the same place, and constant fasting. This means: that a man, being wise, shall lay down a fair law for his belly, by untroubled, constant sitting [alone]. Proceeding from here he will reach the subduing of the senses; further: watchfulness of mind; further: tranquillizing of brutish passions stirring in the body. Further: quiet thoughts. Further: enlightened impulses of the spirit. Further: application to excellent works. Further: high and subtle insights. Further: immeasurable tears at all times. Further: watchful chastity, without any connection with the experience of the image in the spirit.
282 Further: a quick and far gaze. Further: a deep intelligence, penetrating and attaining to the hidden things in all depths, the power of words and the hidden motions in the soul; and the distinctions of spirits and holy powers; of true sight and deceitful images. Further: fear of the [many] ways and tracks in the sea of the spirit — fear that cuts off negligence; and blazing zeal which tramples upon all dangers and sets its foot upon all things feared; and fervour despising all desires and effacing from the mind the recollection of all transitory things;

and many other things. In brief: the liberation of true man and the renewal of the soul and the resurrection with Christ in the kingdom, away from here.

He that neglects these two[1]), should know that he not only bereaves himself of these, but that he shakes the foundation of all virtues by despising these two. And as the beginning of all other virtues in the soul is formed by these principles of all divine service, which are the gate and the way unto Christ, for him that takes hold of them and sticks to them, so the deviation and the departure from them towards those which are their opposite, I mean distraction of the body and a lawless belly, constitute in the soul a place for the beginning of all things contrary to those mentioned above. And also this attitude takes its source in one action, viz. in the fact that the submissive senses are first freed from the bonds of lonely dwelling. And what are the consequences? Unexpected, impure
283 contact; threatening danger of falling; agitation and heavy billows stirred by sensible sight; almighty flames kindled in the body; small spiritual shortcomings; uncontrollable deliberations, prone to falling; lack of love of service; gradual forgetting of the distinctions of solitude; complete negligence of the canons of behaviour; renewal of former things which had become effaced, and instruction concerning other new things, unknown before and caused by audition on various and perpetually recurring occasions and by a multitude of unintentional cases of sight, presenting themselves on account of perpetual travelling from country to country and from place to place. All this has the effect that those affections which by God's grace were already slumbering in the soul on account of the oblivion into which obliterated recollections had passed, begin to be stirred into motion anew, forcing the soul to work. And there are yet other [injuries] which I will not mention all of them; taking their origin in that first one, they are let loose against the miserable one, and he has to bear them.

And what is the second fault? This, that he begins to resemble the swines in his deeds. What is it that the swines do? They do not check their belly, filling it at all times without having an hour fixed for food, as rational beings have.

And what further? From this comes heavy sleep, great

1) solitude and fasting

284 bodily heaviness and a slackening of the shoulders; the compulsion to desist from services, aversion to the inclinations [1]) connected with them; contempt of the usual prostrations, darkness and coldness of spirit; a dull mind that does not distinguish, confusedness and great darkness of deliberations; thick clouds and obscurity spread over the whole soul; great dejection concerning every godly work, also concerning recitation [of the scriptures], originating therein that the sweetness of the sense of the words is not tasted; frequent neglect of necessary things; an uncontrolled mind, made blunt by wandering through the whole world, many humours gathered in the limbs; impure phantasies during the whole night, consisting in sordid representations and unclean voluptuous images, which cling to the soul and act in it according to their impure pleasure; and a cover and a body wholly defiled by the large stream of shameful things flowing from [the body] as from a fountain. And this does not happen at night only, but also by day the body sends forth [this stream constantly], defiling the mind thereby.

And on account of these things, [the solitary] disavows his chastity. Sweet allurements working in the whole body with unbearable and incessant heat; exciting deliberations full of beautiful faces representing them before him lasciviously and perpetually and thereby seducing him; a mind delivering itself unhesitatingly to intercourse with them, joining itself with them in longing and meditation, because its distinctive faculty has
285 been blinded; all this is what has been said by one of the great philosophers: he that provides his body with many things, exposes his soul to penury. And though he recollects his soul now and then, trying to compel himself, yet it is impossible for him to keep his soul under control because of the hot emotions in the body which by the power of their allurements, forcibly captivate the soul, according to their pleasure. As the clever and acute Mar Diodorus of Tarsus says: to support the body in softness and luxury, quickly imparts to the soul a sensation of suffering, so that death becomes to it something deplorable and God's judgment is thought of with fear. The soul, however, that constantly thinks of becoming things, is quiet in its being; it has small solicitude, as it feels no grief.

Care for excellence is the driver of the affections, the guardian

1) ܟܘܦܐ

of excellence, a secure education, joy without solicitude, a good life and a safe port. Bodily luxury strengthens the affections and makes them dominant upon the soul, nay they even totally eradicate it. And apart from all this, it inflames the belly on account of wantonness and lack of rules as to hours. Yet [the solitary] does not wish that gradually the passion of hunger should gain power over his soul which in a compulsory way could be brought by it under the dominion of the affections.

These are the fruits that come forth from the shameful [passions] of the belly; and these are the fruits produced by
286 the lack of power to cling to one spot in peace. As now our foe, who follows us constantly, knows that on these two occasions nature is usually capable of being troubled and affected with passion to a higher degree and also the mind easier to be perflexed through sensible vision and the comfort of the belly, therefore he contrives to surpass nature, and at these times casts into the mind different haughty deliberations in order to strengthen the power of passion over nature, if possible, by a more intense flame, and so ruin a man utterly.

Just as our foe knows these times, it is, therefore, necessary for us to know them also as well as our own weakness and the [want of] strength of our nature which is not able to withstand the vehement emotions of those times nor the deliberations subtle as the dust of the earth which are before our eyes so that we cannot see ourselves nor remain upright before fate.

By such experiences on many occasions we have miserably learnt from our foe to be prudent henceforth and not to allow ourselves to relax so that we indulge in the desire of consolation or to be defeated by hunger however we may be incited by it; or to be removed from the place of our solitude unto a place safe against such accidents, thinking out reasons and devising means for turning our back to the desert. Such thoughts are manifest machinations of Satan. But if thou remainest in the desert, thou wilt not be tested. For thou seest no woman
287 in the desert nor anything that does harm to thy behaviour, nor [doest thou hear] evil sounds. What hast thou to do with the ways of Egypt and with drinking water from the Nile? Understand what I say. Show thy foe thy training by enduring small things; then he will not demand great things from thee. Constantly thou shalt have to keep the laws of these small things, thereby throwing before his feet a bait, namely, in the

struggle concerning them. So he will not have rest from them, so as to have occasion to set up dangerous snares for thee in secret.

How is it possible that he should persuade a man, who is not to be persuaded to go five steps outside the door of his hut, to leave the desert or to approach unto the town? And he that can not be induced to look through his window from the place of his reclusion, how should he persuade him to leave it? He who is not to be persuaded to take food in the late evening being desirous of vigils, how is it possible that his deliberations should be excited so as to begin [his meals] before the appointed time? And how is it possible that he should induce as to important matters him who was even ashamed to satisfy [his hunger] by contemptible food? And how can he allure towards foreign beauty him, that even refused to look at his own body? First man is vanquished by small things when he despises them and then he causes himself to be driven towards serious ones. But how can he deter from troubles that lead to death him who loves [death], and does not care in the least to continue temporary life? Thus is the war carried on with understanding: the wise do not allow
288 their foe to invite them to great struggles. But the endurance which they show in small things, preserves them from falling while they perform large works. First the [solitary] desists from constant prayer consisting in beseechings of the spirit, and then he persuades him to despise canonical prayer [performed] by the body at fixed times.

Firstly deliberation is relaxed, so that, within a short time, it gives way in insignificant and small things. And when it has given up its endurance, it will trespass in a wanton way.

Firstly the solitary will be vanquished, or rather: it will be a trifling thing in his eyes to look at his naked body or to contemplate the beauty of each of his limbs, without clothes; or he will loose control over his senses in a vile way when he goes to fulfill a bodily want; or he will daringly and unblushingly introduce his hand within his clothes and touch his body; and then one thing and another will happen to him. As soon as the watchfulness of his spirit relaxes, showing negligence in any of these things, the gate towards serious offences will be open for him.

Our deliberations are as water, as is well known. As long

as they are confined on all sides, they proceed in their [right] order. If they once find a small outlet, however, they escape through it, causing breaches and ruins. For the subtle one who is spying us and waiting, sitting night and day before our
289 nostrils and looking which gate will be opened for him in any of our senses or in which of the things enumerated there will appear any foulness — he will of a sudden direct against us his weapons. Sometimes it will be our own nature which loves consolation and evil intercourse, and frivolity and pleasure and relaxation, which is a fountain of affections and a sea of agitation. Sometimes it will be our foe. Let us therefore vary great labours and circumstances perilous with ruin, with slight labours, that we may show in these small ones which are nothing, that they may give rise to important struggles if they are neglected, and to labours whose accomplishment is difficult, and to intricate battles and to large ulcers. Who would not like to have a quiet sleep at a small expense?

O wisdom, how admirable art thou! And how thou doest foresee all things from afar! Blessed is every one who has found thee, who has been liberated from the torpidity of youth that buys great detriment with a slight negligence. One of the sages says beautifully, that once he was suddenly struck by emotion so that thereupon he straightway sat down, for a mere fortuitous thing, which was not of a nature to cause fear. For this, some one in a light mood laughed at him. He answered and said: Not of this am I afraid. I am afraid of the expe-
290 rienced fact that often negligence as to small things causes danger of great ones. So, by my emotion and my sitting straightway down, I have proved concerning myself that I am awake; and also that further on I will not neglect those things which are not to be feared.

For philosophy is this that a man gather great consolation for his soul by the attention he bestows on trifling things; that he will not slumber ere fate come and reach him; but that he will take in hand the previous things and will buy that which is of importance, in exchange for a thing which will cause injury, a little before [this happens]. Fools attach a greater value to a little consolation which is near, than to a kingdom which is far. It is better to bear tortures in probity, than to relax on a comfortable royal bed in shameful baseness. For the sages prefer death to disdain on account of neglect in

affairs. Wake for thy life, says a philosopher; for drowsiness of mind is cognate to real death. The divine philosopher Basilius says: he that is weak in small things, do not believe that he will be trustworthy in great ones. Do not shrink from dying for the sake of those things for which thou wilt live.

XXXVIII

SHORT SENTENCES CONCERNING THE DISTINCTION OF THE MIND'S IMPULSES

291 Pusillanimity is a sign of despondency; the mother of both is negligence.

A timorous man shows that he suffers from two illnesses: from love of the body and from want of faith. Love of the body is a sign of unbelief. But he that despises it, shows concerning himself that he trusts God and expects the future things.

If there is anyone who has approached God without being troubled, try then on thy part to resemble him.

Courage of the heart and contempt for danger arise from one of two causes: either from hardness of heart, or from a deep belief in God. The former is accompanied by haughtiness, the latter by humbleness of heart.

It is impossible for a man to acquire confidence in God, if he has not before fulfilled His will in part. Confidence in God and manliness of heart rise from the testimony of conscience. For on account of the true testimony of our mind we acquire confidence in God. The testimony of the mind has its origin therein that a man is not despised by his soul for neglect of his duty, as far as this is possible.

If our heart does not despise us, then we are frank with God. Frankness has its origin in a firm behaviour and in an unstained mind.

It is hard to serve as a slave to the body. He that is aware of his hope, though to a small extent, will refuse to
292 serve again the stern will of this hard master.

Endurance in perfect silence and preservation of solitude arise from one of three causes: from the [love of] glory among fellow-men; or the fervent zeal for excellence; or a certain

inward working of God towards which the mind is attracted. He that is destitute of the two latter causes, will suffer from the first as it were by necessity.

Excellence does not consist in many manifest distinctions of bodily performances, but in a heart prudent in its hope, accompanying the works with a right intention. For often these performances do not favour service, and the mind will be able to gain profit even without them. But without the prudence of the heart the body cannot profit even when it performs service. For if there is an opportunity to perform beautiful works, a godly man cannot refrain from showing his love, in the performance of manifest deeds. The former kind is always successful; the latter sometimes, and sometimes not.

Do not reckon it a small thing when the causes of the affections are afar off and removed from a man. The stirring of the inferior limbs which comes quickly into existence, without deliberations, that is to say impure pleasure which springs from under a wall with fervour and captivates the soul with madness,
293 the will being of no use — undoubtedly arises in the body from a repleted belly.

As a strong weapon in this strife reckon this, that a man be far from seeing women. What nature works by its power, even the foe cannot work it. Do not think that nature will forget till death that which God has sown and hidden in its roots, serving for the carrying on of our race and for testing us by strife. So every desire, whatever it be, is lulled to sleep in our limbs by keeping things at a distance; and its memory is given over to absorption and oblivion.

Thoughts of far off things which make a simple passage through the mind, are different from the dark and cold impulses that arise from the soul itself. Those thoughts also which arise from living contact which immerses the mind in a sight not to be forgotten and which excites passion near-at-hand, feeding it as oil feeds the flame of the lamp which was already flickering and nearly extinguished, are different from the stirring of the sea of the body through the impulses which agitate it against the ship of the mind.

The emotionability which exclusively rises from nature and which by God the creator has been deposited in us in order to educate the world of the body, is not able, without an increase from without, to bereave the will of its clearness, to

confuse it so that it lose its chastity. For God does not impart strength to nature so that it overcome the virtuous will.

294 But when a man is defeated by anger and by desire, it is not that which lies in nature which compels him to leave nature's domain and to cut the bonds of duty, but it is something which we add to nature by the intermediary of the will. All that God has made, He has made beautiful and in due proportions. And as long as the measure of natural things is rightly preserved in us they do not cause us to be swept from the way of God's law as it were by a deluge; only peaceful impulses stir in a body provided with the faculty of emotions, so long as we only know that passion exists, but not so when we also experience that it allures, or that it troubles the course of chastity and that it causes confusion or that it changes the state of peace into anger. If, however, we sometimes crave for things of the senses which are usually the source of unnatural anger, or for copious food and drink, or for constantly having the opportunity of seeing a woman near us, or of hearing tales about her which use to enflame in the body the fire of desires — then we cause the natural state of peace to be changed into that of bestiality, be it on account of the many humours in the arteries, or by various sights of [worldly] things.

It occurs also on account of that abandonment that arises from presumption. But this does not really belong to this category. The former cases we call strife for freedom and they belong to the common way of nature. Strife through abandonment arising from presumption we experience when we are occupied by labours and watchfulness for a long time and
295 then, in spite of them, the force of desire rushes in upon us with unnatural vehemence. But in other cases such events take place on account of our relaxation.

When nature is augmented in force by the senses or by the belly, it is not to be persuaded to keep henceforth the original measure of its stamp. He that rejects troubles and loneliness is involuntarily compelled to love sins. Without these we are not able to remain far from spiritual allurements. The latter diminish in accordance with the growth of the former. For troubles dissipate the pleasure of the affections; consolation, on the other hand, strengthens and induces them.

So it is clear that God and His angels rejoice at troubles;

Satan and his servants, however, at consolation. For if God's commandments are performed under bodily tortures and we reject these, it is clear that we contrive to reject Him that is the giver of the commandments. As by the affections, which are the offspring of consolation, we annihilate that which is the cause of excellence, namely hardship, so we make room for the affections to the same extent as we admit consolation. For in a tortured body deliberations cannot be distracted by idle things. When a man bears tortures with gladness, he has also strength enough to check the deliberations; because even the deliberations do not abhor labours.

Thus, when a man flogs himself with troubles, on account of the recollection of his previous sins, God, on His side, will
296 care for his peace; because He rejoices when He sees that the sinner himself has executed a judgment against himself because of his deviation from His way — a sign of repentance. And as he greatly troubles himself, so to the same extent the signs of honour granted to him by God, will increase. Every joy which is not caused by excellence will at once stir emotions of desire in him that has found it. This is to be understood of all desires connected with the affections, not of the natural ones only.

XXXIX

HELPFUL ADVICE BASED ON LOVE

Hardships for the sake of the good are loved as the good itself. Nobody can acquire real renunciation save him that is determined in his mind to bear troubles with pleasure. Nobody can bear trouble save him that believes that there is something more excellent than bodily consolation which he shall acquire in reward for trouble. Every one that has devoted himself to renunciation, will first perceive the love of trouble stir within himself; thereupon the thought of renunciating all worldly things will take shape in him. Every one who comes near unto trouble will at first be confirmed in faith; then he will come near unto trouble. He that renunciates [worldly] things without renunciating the senses, sight and hearing, he prepares twofold trouble for himself and he will find tribulation

in a twofold measure. Or rather: while he refrains from the use of things, he delights in them through the senses; and by the affections which they cause he experiences the same from
297 them that he had to endure in reality before; because the recollection of their customs is not effaced from the mind. If then imaginary representations existing in the mind alone can torture man, apart from the things corresponding to them in reality, what shall we say when the real things are close at hand?

Beautiful therefore is solitary life and very helpful, because it silences the deliberations with force and gives us strength to train ourselves in endurance; and teaches a man patience by the exercise given by cruel troubles, which accompany the life of the solitary necessarily.

Do not seek the advice of him that is not thy fellow in behaviour, though he be very prudent. A layman who has experienced things is more to be trusted than a sage who speaks on the basis of theoretical knowledge but without experience.

What is experience? Experience is not this that a man goes and touches things, without acquiring knowledge concerning their advantages and their defects and without remaining with them during a certain time. How often the faces of things give the impression of defect, whereas within them is found matter full of advantages. In the same way are to be judged things of the opposite aspect.

Many are those who from profitable things gather defects. Neither is the testimony of these concerning their knowledge to be trusted. This is only the case with him that has learned to examine things with patient distinction. Not all man's advice, therefore, is to be trusted; but [only] that of him who has behaved well before, who has knowledge founded upon experience in all things, who does not love himself, or who does not shun disdain.

298 As often as thou findest thy course in peace, without variations, then be suspicious. For thou art deviating from the divine ways trodden by the weary footsteps of the saints. The more thou proceedest on the way towards the city of the kingdom and approachest its neighbourhood, this will be the sign: that thou meetest hard temptations. And the more thou approachest, the more thou wilt find difficulties.

So, as often as thy soul on its way perceives varying states which cause difficulty thou must know that thy soul has secretly been advanced to a higher state and that it has acquired a gift of increase in comparison with the degree it occupied before.

The hard temptations into which God brings the soul are in accordance with the greatness of His gifts. If there is a weak soul which is not able to bear a very hard temptation and God deals meakly with it, then know with certainty that, as it is not capable of bearing a hard temptation, so it is not worthy of a large gift. As great temptations have been withdrawn from it, so large gifts are also withdrawn from it. God never gives a large gift and small temptations. So temptations are to be classed in accordance with gifts. Thus from the hardships to which thou hast been subjected thou mayest understand the measure of the greatness which thy soul has reached. In accordance with affection is consolation.

What then? Temptation, then gifts; or gifts and afterwards temptation? Temptation does not come if the soul has not received secretly greatness above its previous rank, as well as
299 the spirit of adoption as sons [1]). We have a proof of it in the temptation of our Lord and of the Apostles; for they were not allowed to be tempted before they had received the Comforter. Those who partake of good have also to bear temptations. Along with good are the oppressions [in behalf of it]. So it has pleased God, who is wise in all things.

Thus is the state of things; and accordingly, the apperception of temptations is anterior to the apperception of gifts, in order to test freedom. Grace never reaches a man before he has tasted temptations. In reality it is anterior; to the apperception it is posterior.

It is true therefore, that there are with thee at those times two opposite feelings, not resembling one another. What are they? Joy and fear. Joy, because thou findest thyself as appears from the sign of the temptations going the way that has been trodden by the saints, nay even by the saviour of the world. Fear, lest thou be tempted by these temptations through haughtiness. But the humble are gifted with prudence by grace, so as to be able to recognize the distinctions of these things, namely [to distinguish] between the temptations that arise from

1) Cf. Rom. 8, 15

haughtiness, and cheeks that burn from love. For the temptations that serve to improve behaviour are to be distinguished from those temptations which are permitted [by God] with the purpose of overcoming the presumption of the heart.

The temptations which take place under paternal control and serve to educate the soul, to train and to try it, so that it becomes illustrious, are: dejection, bodily weariness, relaxation
300 of the limbs, despondency, confusion of mind, bodily pains, temporary despair, darkness of deliberations, deprivation of human help [1]), want of bodily provisions and so on. For by these man acquires a solitary soul and humbleness and a mortified heart; and these things try him by the love of the creator; and the governor administers them to those to whom they are sent, in accordance with the force necessary to bear them. In them are mingled consolations and distress, light and darkness, struggles and help. In short: they make narrow and they enlarge, which is the sign of the increase of help. The temptations which happen by permission unto those who venture to puff themselves up in their mind before the bounty of the author of our boons so as to become injuriously haughty regarding His boons — are the following: the manifest temptations of demons which lie without the domain of the psychic forces, so that [those who are tempted] are destitute of the force which imparts to them prudence; a vivid sensation of the impulses of fornication which are let loose in order to suppress their presumption; a being led easily to anger; the setting up of the will; love of victory in dispute; rashness; a heart inclined towards contempt; complete aberration of the mind; abuse of Him whose honour be blessed; foolish thoughts full of jest, or rather weeping; contempt as to men; [endangering] personal honour by impudence; ridiculousness through many contrivances of the demons, secretly and manifestly; love of mingling and intercourse with the world; frequent evasions
301 of foolish words; novel individual inventions and false prophecies; frequent promises above one's power; in the bodily sphere a continually hard involved fate most difficult of solution; perpetual meetings with evil and ungodly persons; falling into the hands of evil persons; perpetual emotions of the heart, caused by sudden fear without reason; repeated heavy falls

1) This enumeration has been taken over by Bar Hebraeus, *Book of the Dove*, p. 528

from rocks and high places and the like, such as destroys the body; the inability of the heart to lean on God's care and to confide as is becoming to faith; in short: all unbearable forces which it is above one's power to withstand, such as are let loose against the solitary and his surroundings.

All that I have expounded belongs to the temptations of haughtiness; the beginning of them shows itself in a man as soon as he becomes wise in his own eyes. He gets into all these evils according as he gives way to this deliberation [1]). So by distinguishing between thy temptations thou wilt gain insight into the narrow paths of thy mind. If thou lookest on and observest some [of these temptations] on thy mind's paths, thou must know that the quantity of temptation is in accordance with the defiling working of presumption.

Hear also another consideration. All hardships and troubles which are not borne with patience, cause twofold torture. A man's patience throws off his distress. Want of courage is the source of tortures. Patience is the source of consolations, a
302 certain strength born from courage of the heart. It is difficult for a man to find in his own soul in troubles, if it be not given him by God, that which is found through supplication and the pouring out of tears.

If God decrees that a man shall be troubled in a larger measure, He gives him into the hand of faintheartedness. And this will give birth to great despondency which gives the feeling of psychic suffocation; all these things taste after Hell. Thereupon the spirit of confusion is let loose against [the solitary], and from it rise innumerable temptations: perturbance, anger, abuse, vituperation, oscillating deliberations, moving from place to place, and the like. If thou sayest: Who is the cause of all these? I say: thou; because thou didst not care to find out the means to heal them. There is one remedy for all these and by it a man will at once find consolation within himself. What is this then? Humility of heart. Without it, it is not possible for a man to demolish the fence of these evil things, for he would find them far too strong. Be not angry with me for telling thee the truth: thou never hast sought this within thy soul. If thou wilt, follow it, then thou shalt see how it causes the destruction of thy evils.

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1) viz. the deliberation of haughtiness

In accordance with thy humility will be given thee endurance in thy distress; and in accordance with thy endurance its weight will be lightened from thy soul which will be con-
303 soled in its troubles; and in accordance with the consolation of thy soul, thy love in God will increase; and in accordance with thy love thy spiritual joy will increase. When our compassionate Father is of the will to relieve those who are real sons in their temptations, He does not take them away from them, but He imparts to them endurance under temptations, and all that good which they receive through it, to the perfection of their souls. May Christ in His grace make us worthy of bearing evils for the sake of His love, with thanksgivings of the heart. Amen.

XL

EXPOSITION CONCERNING THE DEGREES OF THE PATH, NAMELY CONCERNING THE POWER OF MINISTRATION OF EACH OF THEM

Bodily discipline in solitude purifies the body from the material elements in it. Mental discipline makes the soul humble and purifies it from the material impulses that tend towards decaying things, by changing their affectible nature into motions of contemplation. And this will bring the soul near to the nakedness of the mind that is called immaterial contemplation; this is spiritual discipline. It elevates the intellect above earthly things and brings it near to primordial spiritual contemplation; it directs the intellect towards God by the sight of unspeakable glory and it delights spiritually in the hope of future things, [thinking of] what and how each of them will be [1]).

Bodily labours are called bodily discipline unto God. For
304 they serve for the purification of the body through the service of excellence which is manifest personal works, by which man is purified from the pus of the flesh. Mental discipline is labour of the heart. It is the thinking, without cessation, of the great coming judgment, in constant prayer of the heart, and of God's providence and care for this world in its individuals and in its

1) The Greek translation has the right division of the text here

species. This is also the regarding of the domain of the inner affections, lest any of them pass into the hidden and spiritual place. This is the labour of the heart which is called mental discipline.

By this labour of discipline, which is called psychic service, the heart is subtilized and torn away from participation in decay, viz. in the praeternatural affections; from here onwards the heart begins to be often set in emotion by insight into the things of the senses which were created to the purpose of the education of the body and which administer strength to the four elements which are in the body.

Spiritual discipline is service without the senses; this is what has been written by the Fathers, that when the mind of the saints was gifted with personal contemplation, then the heaviness of body was taken away. And further on sight will be spiritual sight.

Personal contemplation he uses in the sense of contemplation concerning the primordial creation of nature. From there one is easily moved onwards toward what is called solitary knowledge which is, according to a clear interpretation, ecstasy in God, this is the order of that high future state which will be given in freedom that lives in immortality, in that way of life
305 which will be after the resurrection. It will consist therein, that from that point onwards human nature will not be cut off from constant ecstasy in God, to mingle itself with any created being. If there were any other thing equal to Him, nature would sometimes follow Him, sometimes His equals. When, however, the beauty of all which exists in that future order of things, is inferior to His beauties, how should it be possible for the mind not to fix its gaze exclusively on Him? What then? Should mortality trouble it, or the heaviness of the flesh, or the remembrance of kindred, or natural wants, or the adversities which overtake it; or the distraction of ignorance, or the deficiency of nature, or the distraction caused by the elements, or intercourse with one another, or the influence of dejection, or the weariness of the flesh? If now in this world — while all these things are thus — the veil of the affections is sometimes withdrawn from before the eyes of the spirit so that it gazes at the glory, and the mind is drawn away in ecstasy — then, without doubt, if God had not limited the duration of these moments in this life, man would not come back from that

state [1]) his whole life, if he were allowed. Now when all these [earthly] things exist no longer and that endless order [has been established], and when we personally and practically abide in the habitations of the kingdom — if our behaviour be worthy — how then should the spirit find a way to remove itself from the wondrous sight of God and to dwell with any other? Woe
306 to us, who do not know for what state we are destined, reckoning as something this life of sickness and this animal state, and the world with its troubles and evils and pleasures.

O Christ, who art the only strong one, blessed is the man whom thou supportest and in whose heart are the steps towards thee. Turn thou, o Lord, our face away from the world by desire of Thee, so that we see it as it is, without taking shadows for truth. Throw, o Lord, zeal into our heart before death comes, that at the time of our departure we may know for what purpose our entrance in and our departure from this world have served. Then, fulfilling the work to which we were called in accordance with thy aim in placing us in this life first, we shall hope, with a mind full of confidence, to receive the great things which, according to the promises of the scriptures, in the second creation are prepared by Thy love, things the recollection of which we preserve with mystic faith.

Bodily purity is to be clean from filth. Psychic purity is to be free from hidden affections in the spirit. Purity of mind is to be purified by revelations from any emotion unto things which, in view of their material nature, lie in the domain of the senses. Children are pure in body and as to their soul they can be without affections. Yet no one will call them pure in mind. Purity of mind is perfection through training in
307 heavenly contemplation, so that the mind without the senses receives impulses from the spiritual powers of those worlds above, powers which are amazing, surpassing number, distinguished in demeanour, mingled in invisible service, subject to many variations at all times, on account of the motion of the divine revelations.

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1) Litt. from there. Cf. Plotinus, *Enneades*, VI, 9 § 9

XLI

A LETTER WHICH HE WROTE TO ONE OF THE BRETHREN WHO LOVED SOLITUDE CONCERNING HOW SATAN CONTRIVES TO DIVERT THE ZEALOUS FROM CONSTANT SOLITUDE UNDER THE PRETEXT OF THE LOVE OF RELATIVES AND HONOURED MEN; AND THAT IT IS BECOMING THAT ALL SHOULD BE DESPISED IN THE EYES [OF THE SOLITARY] COMPARED WITH THE KNOWLEDGE OF GOD WHICH IS FOUND IN SOLITUDE AS MAY BE SEEN IN THE EXAMPLE OF OUR ANCESTORS

Because I know that thou lovest solitude and that Satan, knowing the intention of thy mind, impedes thee in many respects under the pretext of excellence, in order to divert thee from this comprehensive and manifold excellence, o virtuous brother, I was anxious to help thy good will as one limb helps its partner, with an excellent word, which I have received from prudent men and from the writings of the Fathers and from experience. For if a man does not despise honour and dishonour and bear for the sake of solitude abuse and derision and loss, nay even blows, and become an object of laughter and be reckoned mad and foolish by those who see him, he
308 cannot master the advantages of solitude. For if a man once open the door to [worldly] things, Satan will not cease to bring unto him men under every pretext, a continual, innumerable series of associations. Therefore, my brother, if thou lovest the veracious discipline of solitude without distraction and shocks and sudden pauses, as it has been eminently practised by the ancients, thou wilt be able to carry out this laudable desire by trying to resemble thy Fathers and by retaining in thy mind, as if it were written down, the memory of their histories [ascertaining] that those of them who loved complete solitude, did not care to practise love of their fellows at the cost of distracting themselves, neither were they ashamed of avoiding such persons as were reputed to be in honour.

And though they were thus, devoted to complete solitude, yet they were not deemed by those who know and are wise,

to despise their brethren, nor were they thought of as scorners or destitute of distinctions, as it was pretended by some in the way of apology against those who honour quiet and reclusion more than meeting their fellows. For the man that has experienced the quiet of his cell does not avoid meetings because he despises his fellow, but because of the fruits he gathers from solitude.

How did they practise reclusion? Aba Arsenius would not meet with any one. Aba Theodore, when meeting anyone, was like a sharp sword; he did not greet anyone when he happened
309 to be outside his cell. But the holy Arsenius did not even greet him that came to greet him. Once one of the Fathers went to see Aba Arsenius who opened, thinking that it was his servant. When, however, he saw who it was he prostrated himself. And when the visitor sought to persuade him, saying: Rise, o father, that I may greet thee, were it only in the doorway, then I will go, the saint protested saying: I will not rise until thou goest; and he did not rise until the other had left him and was gone. Thus the blessed one acted, lest they should come again if he once gave way to them.

‚One of the Fathers' — pay careful attention to this phrase lest thou think perhaps that Aba Arsenius despised his visitor on account of his mean estate; but it was one of the Fathers who spoke to him.

But we have also a strong proof from another side, lest thou say that he despised one, but received another favourably on account of his high position and conversed with him. No, in his reclusion he avoided alike all kinds of association; and in his eyes to despise the association with high or low for the sake of solitude, and to bear the reproaches of all in view of the honour of solitude and silence, was one and the same thing. We know namely that once the blessed Theophilus, the archbishop of Alexandria, visited him accompanied by the judge of that place, because they longed for the honour of seeing the saints. As he sat with them he did not comfort them even with a single word such as would have been fitting their high position, although they were very eager to hear his speech.
310 And when the archbishop tried to bring him to speech, the solitary was silent for a short time, and answered, saying: If I speak to you, will you remember what I say? They promised to do so. Then the solitary said to them: Wherever you hear that Arsenius is, do not come near to that place.

Doest thou see the wonderful way of the man? Doest thou see how he despised the honour of men? The blessed one knew how to gather the fruits of solitude without a thought to the fact that he was in the presence of the katholikos, the head of the whole church. But he thought thus: I am now dead to the world; what profit will a dead man give the living? He was vituperated for this in a loving way by the blessed Macarius who said to him: Why doest thou flee from us? The holy solitary made a wonderful praiseworthy apology: God knows that I love you; but I cannot be with God and with men.

Another time the archbishop sent him a message concerning this subject. The solitary answered, saying: ‚If thou comest I shall open the door to thee. But if I open to thee, I shall open to every one. And if I open to every one, I shall not remain here'. This wonderful doctrine he had heard from none other than from a divine voice, saying: ‚Arsenius, flee from men and thou shalt live'. None of the idle men who seek an occupation, will venture to refute this message by his objections or to speak against it, as if to seek peace proceeded
311 from human invention. For this is a doctrine from heaven.

The opinion that this was said to him with a view to reclusion and retreat from the world only, not with the intention that he should also avoid the brethren, is refuted thereby that, when he had retreated from the world and was abiding in the monastery, he again prayed to our Lord in order that he should know to live well. ‚O Lord', he said, ‚teach me to live', thinking that now he would hear another message. The divine voice proclaimed the same words again, adding as in explanation: ‚Flee and be silent and keep in solitude. Though the sight of and intercourse with the brethren be very profitable to thee, still intercourse with them is not as profitable as withdrawal from them'.

When the blessed Arsenius, while he was still in the world, had heard by divine revelation the order to withdraw from it, and when the same had been said to him while he was with the brethren, he knew certainly that in order to acquire a steadfast life, not only withdrawal from lay people was necessary but from every human being. Lest any one should venture to speak against the divine voice, it was also said to Aba Antonius in a revelation: ‚If thou desirest to be in solitude,

do not only go to the Thebaïs, but to the heart of the desert. If now God in this way commands us to witdraw from all, and wishes that His friends dwell in solitude, who should then, for other reasons, cling to intercourse and the vicinity of men?
312 If watchfulness was profitable and withdrawal helpful to Antonius and Arsenius, how much more then to the weak? And if the solitude of those whose words and the help that is inspired by the sight of them the whole world needs, is estimated by God higher than their usefulness to mankind in its entirety, how much more will this be the case with him that is not able to guard even his own person properly.

We know another of the saints whose natural brother was ill. He lived as a recluse in a different cell. During the whole period of his brother's sickness he restrained his mercy, so that he did not go out to visit him. When the sick man was on the point of departing from this world, he sent his brother a message to this effect: Come that I may see thee before I depart the world, even if it be in the night. Then I will take leave from thee and go to rest. The blessed one, however, was not to be persuaded even at this time, when natural mercy usually is stirred, to transgress the voluntary borders, saying: ‚If I go out, my heart will not be pure before God, for I despise visiting spiritual brethren, should I then honour nature above Christ? So his brother died without his having seen him.

No one, therefore, should consider the weakness of feelings as an insuperable and invincible reason, nor as a providential institution, implying the denial of solitude. If the saints subdue nature which is so strong, and Christ, though despised in His children, loves to be where solitude is honoured, what other necessity should then exist which could not de despised when it presents itself? The commandment: Love the Lord thy God
313 with thy whole soul and with thy whole heart [1]) and more than the whole world and nature and what belongs to nature — is accomplished when thou abidest in solitude. And also the commandment ordering the love of our fellow men, is included in it. Wilt thou acquire the love of thy fellow-man, according to the commandment of the Gospel, within thyself, then withdraw from him. Then the flame of his love will burn in thee and

1) Deuteronomy 6, 5

thou wilt run to see him as if thou wouldst see the angel of light. Doest thou further desire that thy beloved ones long after thee? See their faces at fixed days only. Verily, experience is the teacher of all. Be in health.

XLII

THE ANSWER HE SENT HIS NATURAL AND SPIRITUAL BROTHER WHO HAD TRIED TO PERSUADE HIM IN LETTERS THAT HE SHOULD VISIT HIM IN THE INHABITED WORLD BECAUSE HE LONGED TO SEE HIM

We are not strong, as thou supposest, o blessed one. Perhaps thou art acquainted with my weakness, but thou makest not much of my destruction. Constantly thou askest me this, placing nature above the thought which once burned in thee, showing thereby that thou doest not consider it even as a matter to be treated carefully, though to us it seems to be a matter of care. Do not ask from me, o my brother, what gives consolation to body and mind, but let me seek the salvation of my soul. Yet a short time and we shall have passed away from this world. It is not unknown to thee how many persons I should meet, if I went to thy dwelling-place; how many sorts of people and of places, before I should have
314 returned unto my place; and by meeting them, what cause for thought my soul would receive — my soul, that would be disturbed by the affections which would be awakened in it, after it has been left in peace by them a little. That the sight of lay people injures the solitary, is a fact with which thou art acquainted; not just the sight of women, but also of men.

Behold how many varying states pass through the mind of him that has for a long time been alone with his soul and then suddenly comes in contact with these things, hearing and seeing what he is not wont to see and to hear. If meeting his fellow brethren injures him that is engaged in the struggle and still wrestles with his foe, if the brethren are not in concordance with his aim, into what pit would we fall, that have to be freed from the sting of our foe? Especially those [among

us] that know these things by long experience. Therefore I am not to be persuaded to do this without necessity. Our heart does not err after those who say that hearing and seeing will not harm us and that, in the desert or in the inhabited world, within our cell or without it, we are alike in our deliberations on account of our being at rest against perturbation as long as we do not experience evil varying states and as long as we do not perceive the meeting with persons and things by the shock of affections. Those who say this, do not even know it when they receive a blow. But as to us, we have not yet reached this psychic health. We suffer from rotting abscesses; which, if they be left without bandages but for one day, so that they appeared from under the plasters and the bonds, would abound with worms.

XLIII

315 PROFITABLE WORDS FULL OF SPIRITUAL WISDOM

Faith is the gate of the mysteries. What the bodily eye is for the things of the senses, the same is faith in connection with the treasures hidden to the eyes of the mind.

We possess two psychic eyes, as the Fathers say, just as we possess two bodily eyes. But both have not the same purpose as to sight.

With one we see the hidden glory of God which is concealed in the things of nature, His power and His wisdom, and His eternal care for us which by His peculiar providence is directed unto us. With the same eye we also see the spiritual classes of our fellow-beings.

With the other we see the glory of His holy nature. When our Lord desires to give us initiation to the spiritual mysteries, He opens in our mind the ocean of faith.

As a grace beyond a grace has repentance been given to man. Repentance is being born anew in God. That of which we have received the pledge by baptism, we receive as a gift by repentance. Repentance is the gate of mercy which is opened to all who seek it. Through this gate we go in to divine mercy. Apart from this entrance it is not possible to find

mercy. Because all have sinned, according to the words of scripture, and are justified freely by grace [1]). Repentance is a second grace; it is born in the heart from faith and fear. Fear is the paternal rod which guides us up to the spiritual Eden.
316 When we have arrived there, it leaves us and returns. Eden is the divine love wherein is the paradise of all goods, where the blessed Paul was sustained by supernatural food. When he had eaten from the tree of life which is there, he exclaimed: eye has not seen, nor ear heard neither have entered into the heart of man the things which God hath prepared for them that love him [2]). Adam was bereft of this tree by the promise of the Devil. The tree of life is the divine love which Adam lost by his fall, after which he worked and wearied himself. Those who are bereft of divine love are still eating the bread that is won by the sweat of their labour, even though they work righteousness, as was commanded to the head of our race when he lost it by his fall. Until we find love, we work in the earth with her thorns. Among thorns we sow and reap, even if we sow the seed of righteousness. Perpetually we are pricked by them, even if we are justified, and live with sweat on our faces.

When, however, we have found love, we eat the heavenly bread and we are sustained without labour and without weariness. Heavenly bread is that which has descended from heaven and which gives the world life; this is the food of angels. He that has found love eats Christ at all times and becomes immortal from thence onwards. For whoever eats of this bread shall not taste death in eternity. Blessed is he that
317 has eaten from the bread of love which is Jesus. Whoever is fed with love is fed with Christ, who is the allgoverning God. Witness is John who says: God is Love [3]). Thus he smells life from God, that lives with love in this creation. He breathes here of the air of resurrection. In this air the righteous will delight at resurrection. Love is the kingdom of which our Lord spoke when He symbolically promised the disciples that they would eat in His kingdom: ‚you shall eat and drink at the table of my kingdom'. What should they eat, if not love? Love is sufficient to feed man in stead of food and drink. This is the wine that gladdens the heart of man. Blessed is he

1) Cf. Rom. 3, 23 sq. 2) 1 Cor. 2, 9 3) 1 John 4, 16

who has drunk from this wine. This is the wine from which the lascivious have drunk and they became chaste, the sinners and they forgot the ways of offence, the drunkards and they became fasters; the rich and they became desirous of poverty, the poor and they became rich in hope; the sick and they became valiant; the fools and they became wise.

As it is not possible to cross the ocean without a boat or a ship, so no one can cross towards love, without fear. This foetid sea, which lies between us and the intelligible paradise, we cross in the boat of repentance, which has fear for a rudder. If the rudder of fear does not govern this ship of repentance, in which we cross the sea of this world towards God, we shall be drowned in the foetid sea. Repentance is the ship, fear is her governor, love is the divine port.

318 Fear places us in the ship of repentance and makes us cross the foetid sea of the world and brings us in the divine port which is love, towards which look all those who are weary and crushed by repentance.

When we have reached love, we have reached God and our way is ended and we have passed unto the island which lieth beyond the world, where is the Father and the Son and the Holy Ghost; to whom be glory and dominion. That He make us worthy to fear Him and to love Him. Amen.

XLIV

CONCERNING HOW MANY DEGREES KNOWLEDGE HAS AND CONCERNING THE DEGREES OF FAITH

There is a knowledge which is anterior to faith and there is a knowledge which is born from faith. The knowledge anterior to faith, is natural knowledge; that which is born from faith, is spiritual knowledge.

What is natural knowledge? Knowledge which distinguisheth good from evil and which is also called natural distinction. God has implanted in rational nature to know good from evil, naturally, without instruction, yet this knowledge increases through instruction. There is no one in whom this [knowledge] is not active; and this is the force of the knowledge of the rational

soul by nature, namely the distinction between good and evil is stirring in it naturally, without ceasing. Those who are defective in this respect are beneath the rank of reason. Those in whom this is found, stand upright in psychic nature, and
319 there has not been destroyed in them that which was given by God unto psychic nature, to the honour of His reason.

Those who have destroyed this knowledge which distinguishes between good and evil, are scorned by the prophet: man has no insight in his own honour [1]). The honour of rational nature is the faculty to distinguish between good and evil. Rightly the prophet compares those who have destroyed this faculty with the brutes who possess no distinguishing and rational soul. On account of this faculty we are naturally able to find the way of God, and this is the natural knowledge which is anterior to faith and this is the way unto God. On account of the fact that a man knows how to distinguish between good and evil, he receives faith. Witness is the force of nature to the fact that it is beautiful for a man to believe in Him that has created all these things and that he acknowledge the words of His commandments and performs them.

From the fact that he believes this, is born the fear of God. When man clings to the service of the fear of God, and by service proceeds to some extent in it, the spiritual knowledge is born of which we have said that it is born from faith. Not that it is simply born from faith. From simple faith only spiritual knowledge is not born, but from faith fear of God is born. And when we begin with the service of the fear of God, from the service of the fear of God spiritual knowledge is born, according to the word of the blessed commentator [2]): When a man possesses the will to cling to the fear of God and an upright mind he will easily receive the revelation of hidden
320 things. The revelation of hidden things he calls spiritual knowledge. Not that the fear of God brings this forth, it is not possible to bring forth that which is not implied in nature. But knowledge is to given gratuitously for the service of the fear of God.

When [3]) thou inquirest well thou wilt find that the service of the fear of God is repentance. And spiritual knowledge is, as we have said, that of which we have received the pledge

1) Cf. Psalms 49, 12, 20 2) Theodore of Mopsuestia 3) Cf. Introduction

in baptism and which we receive really by repentance. The gift of which we have said[1]) that we receive it by repentance, is spiritual knowledge, which is given gratuitously for the service of the fear of God. Spiritual knowledge is apperception of the things which are hidden. When a man perceives the things which are unseen but most profitable, after which spiritual knowledge is called, by this apperception is born a different faith. Not that it is contrary to the old faith, nay it even corroborates it. It is called the faith of sight. Hitherto there was hearing; now there is sight. Sight is more true than hearing.

All these things are born from that knowledge which distinguishes between good and evil and which is stirring in nature. And this is the seed of excellence, as it has been called. But when we conceal this by our will which loves desire, we lose all this good.

With this knowledge are connected a perpetual stabbing of the heart; distress and grief; fear of God; shame before nature; grief at the transitory things which [occupied the mind] before;
321 zeal for that which is becoming; perpetual remembrance of death, torturing thoughts of that transition and care for its provisions; passionate beseeching of God that we enter well that gate through which all nature has to pass; contempt of the world and noble strife for the sake of excellence. All these things are found in this natural knowledge. Man has to examine his discipline in view of these and when he is in accord with them, he goes in the way of nature. When he climbs higher and reaches love, he leaves the domain of nature and strife, fear and fatigue leave him alone.

In accordance with what has been said man has to measure his things [in order to know] in which way he is walking; in that which is beneath nature, in nature, or above nature. Through these distinctions which have been clearly expounded, a man may easily understand what the discipline of his whole life has to be. When thou art not in the things of nature which have been described here, nor in the things above nature it is clear that thou dwellest beneath nature.

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1) p. 315

XLV

PROFITABLE ADVICE

There is no good impulse which does not fall in the heart as a gift from on high. There is no evil deliberation which does not approach the heart in the way of a temptation. A man that has attained the knowledge of his weakness has attained the summit of humility.

The conductor of the signs of God's goodness unto man is
322 a heart which is moved by perpetual gratefulness. The conductor of temptations unto the soul is the impulse of rebellion which is constantly stirring in the heart. God suffers every weakness of man; but He does not suffer a man who is constantly murmuring, without chastising him. The soul which is far from any splendour of knowledge, finds itself in these impulses.

The mouth which constantly praises, receives a blessing from God; the heart which is constantly grateful, is inhabited by grace.

Grace is preceded by humility; chastisement is preceded by presumption.

He that is uplifted in his heart on account of knowledge, is tempted by abuse; he that is uplifted on account of his excellent service, is surrounded by fornication. And he that extols himself on account of wisdom becomes entangled in dark traps.

The man that is far from any remembrance of God, yet bears in his heart care for his fellow, will be of evil remembrance. He that honours all men by his remembrance of God will find all men his helpers by the hidden decree of God.

He that gives an apology in behalf of the oppressed will find an advocate in his creator. He that gives his arm to the help of his fellow, will receive God's arm in stead of it. He that accuses his brother on account of his evil deeds will find God as his accuser. He that directs his brother in his inner apartment, cures his evil; he that accuses him before an assembly makes worse his wounds. He that cures his brother privately gives a proof of the strength of his love, but he who

exposes him in the presence of his comrades betrays the force of his envy.

A friend that vituperates in secret is a wise physician; but
323 he that cures in the presence of the public, is really a derider.

The token of compassion is forgiveness regarding all sins. The token of an evil mind are varying utterances unto the sinner.

He that combines with healing chastisement, chastises with love. He whose demand bears the character of revenge, is destitute of love. God chastises with love, not for the sake of revenge, this is far from Him. He demands that His image [1]) be healed; His anger does not endure until guidance is no longer possible; for He does not seek personal revenge. This is the intention of love; the chastisement of love aims at guidance; it does not aim at retribution.

The righteous who is wise resembles God. He never chastises man in retaliation for his sin, but either in order that he may be guided aright, or that others may be deterred. Other than this is no chastisement. But this [2]) is regarded as its image by the Spirit, the thought that was with God from eternity.

He that is pleased to think of God as the revenger, thinking that he acknowledges His justice, denounces Him as destitute of bounty. It is far from the fountain of love, the ocean full of bounty, that the idea of retribution should be found with Him. His aim is the guidance of men; and if it were not that we would be bereft of the honour of freedom, perhaps He would even not heal us by vituperation [3]). The domain of freedom regarding our deeds is the power with which frankness supplies reason. And also the latter adores the greatness of His bounty, because it is not His will that we rejoice at what is His, but as it were at the merits of our own deeds. And
324 though all is His, it is not His pleasure that we should think that we delight in what is His, but rather in what is ours.

In accordance with a man's goodness is he illuminated concerning God. According as he stretches himself towards the knowledge of God, does he approach unto freedom of soul.

He that tries to excel in beautiful things with a view to future reward, will be easily led to deviation. He that admires

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1) man
2) chastisement on account of love
3) but by stronger methods

the power of his knowledge, when looking at the love which is in God will not be puffed up in mind even if his flesh should be cut off, nor will he deviate from excellence. He whose mind is illuminated concerning the rents for which we are indebted to God, descends unto the depth of humility, body and soul.

Before a man approaches unto knowledge, he will go up and down in his discipline. When, however, he has come near to knowledge he will wholly be raised up. Yet, however he be raised up, his advance in knowledge will not be complete, until the world of glory has come and he has received the whole of his treasure.

According as a man becomes perfect in his relation to God, will he follow Him closely. In the world of truth, He will show him His face, not however the face of His essence. The more the righteous advance to the vision of Him, the more they see an enigmatic sight, as an image shown in a mirror. There, however, they will see the revelation of truth.

Fire feeding upon dead wood is not easily extinguished. If the divine blaze falls in a heart cut off from the world, its flame is not to be extinguished and it will be even quicker than fire. When the power of the wine penetrates into the veins, the mind forgets the particulars of all things; when the
325 remembrance of God has taken hold of the soul, the recollection of visible things vanishes from the heart.

The mind that has found spiritual wisdom is like a man that has found on the ocean an equipped ship which, when he has got aboard, brings him from the ocean of this world to the island of the world to be. Just so the apperception of the future things in this world, is like a small island in the ocean. And he that has approached unto it, he will no more be vexed by the storms of temporal phantasies.

When the merchant has accomplished his business, he hastens to reach his home. As long as the monk still lives in the period of his service, he has anguish [by the thought] that he shall have to depart the body. As soon however as he is aware that he has redeemed his time [1]) and that he has taken his pledge, he longs for the world to be. As long as the merchant is on the sea, motion dominates his limbs; a storm may rise and the hope of his labour may sink. As long as the

1) Cf. Eph. 5, 16; Col. 4, 5

monk is in this world, fear dominates his service, lest a hurry-
cane be stirred against him destroying the labour which he has
wrought from his youth till his old age. The merchant looks
towards land, the monk towards the time of his death. The
sailor gazes at the stars as long as he is sailing on the ocean,
and he directs his ship by them, that they may show him the
harbour. The monk gazes at prayer, which directs his way
[showing him] towards which harbour he has to direct his
course. At prayer the monk gazes at all times, that it may
show him the island where he may anchor his ship free from
fear and where he may take on board provisions in order to
326 direct himself towards another island. Such is the course of
the solitary as long as he is in this life. He departs from is-
land to island, and from knowledge to knowledge. And as
various islands he meets the various [kinds of] knowledge, till
he goes ashore and directs his course towards the city of
truth the inhabitants of which do no longer traffic, but every
one is content with his goods. Blessed he whose course is not
disturbed, on this wide ocean. Blessed is whose ship is not
wrecked and who reaches that harbour with joy.

Naked the swimmer dives into the sea in order to find a
pearl. Naked the wise monk will go through the creation in
order to find the pearl Jesus Christ Himself. When he has
found it, he will not seek to acquire any other thing. A pearl
is preserved in a treasury; the solitary's delight is in solitude.
A virgin is robbed in a crowd; the mind of a monk in inter-
course. The bird flies to her nest from any place in order to
produce young ones, and the discerning monk hastens to his
cell in order to produce in it the fruits of life.

When the body of the serpent is crushed, it guards its head
cautiously; the wise solitary guards his faith amidst all evils,
cautiously, because it is the head of his life.

A cloud covers the sun: so much talk covers the soul which
has begun to be illuminated by contemplative prayer.

The bird which is called ḥurba[1]) is glad and delights — so
327 the sages say — when she leaves the inhabited places and
takes up her abode in the desert. And the soul of the solitary
receives heavenly joy when it removes itself from men and
takes up its abode in quiet places where it awaits the time

1) In Syriac ḥureba means at the same time desert and stork

of departure. It is told concerning the bird which is called the siren that whosoever hears her singing is allured by her in his course in the desert, and that by the sweetness of her melodies he forgets his life and falls down dead. This resembles what happens with the soul; when that heavenly sweetness falls into it which comes from the melodies of the words of God [and which is transmitted] by mental apperception, it follows [these sounds] so that it forgets its bodily life and leaves the body on account of its delight and is lifted up from this life unto God.

The life of this world is sweet to him that lives in a material way; not, however, so sweet as is departure from life unto him that departs from it by perception in God. A tree will not produce new buds until it has put off the old leaves; and the solitary will not produce new buds, through Jesus Christ, until he has shaken from his heart the memory of his past.

The wind makes the fruits ripe; and the spirit [1]) of God makes ripe the fruits in the soul. The shell in which the pearl is formed receives its full form from the air, as then saying has it still then, it is only mere flesh. And until the heart of the monk receives its heavenly fullness by understanding, its
328 service is still simple and it has no consolation within its shell.

The fruits of the trees are sour and disagreeable to the taste and are not apt to be eaten till they have become sweet by the sun; and the first labours of repentance are bitter and very unpleasant and without consolation to the solitary, until they are made sweet by the contemplation which withdraws the heart from earthly things so that it forgets itself.

The dog which licks the file drinks from his own blood; he does not recognize his hurt on account of the sweet taste; and the solitary who condescends to drink vain glory, sucks from his own life without being aware of his hurt, because of the momentary sweetness.

Glory on the part of worldly folk is like a rock hidden in the sea; it is not known to the sailor before his ship is split on it so that its bottom is pierced and it is filled with water. It is said therefore by the Fathers, that by glory all the affections return unto the soul, that once had been vanquished and had departed from it.

A small cloud covers the sphere; but the sun which is

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1) wind and spirit are expressed by the same word in Syriac

behind it, is nevertheless real; and a little dejection covers the soul; yet the gladness which follows it is the more exhilarating.

The musician who plays the flute is not fed by the sound of its melodies. And when he ceases his music his stomach is the more hungry. And the sweetness of words without ritual performances does not satisfy; when a man no longer hears them he is the more confused.

As it is not possible for a man to drink wine without breathing forth its odour from his mouth, so it is not possible
329 that a man becomes worthy of spiritual rest in his discipline without the sage's perceiving a change in his state. The heart that has received the heavenly seed is changed in its speech, changed in its mind, changed in its discipline, changed in its senses; and in all that belongs to it, it is different from the other simple men, as a man that was asleep and has awakened from his sleep.

Do not approach the mysterious words in the scriptures without prayer and without asking help from God, saying: Lord, grant me to perceive the power that is in them. Deem prayer as the key to the insight of truth in scripture.

When thou desirest to approach unto God in thy heart, first show Him love in bodily things. Here is the beginning of discipline. For the heart greatly draws near to God by renunciating some special necessary thing and by application to labours. Even our Lord has laid here the foundation of perfection.

Account idleness the beginning of psychic darkness; oral intercourse as darkness beyond darkness; and the latter as the cause of the former. Even profitable words without measure cause darkness. The soul is shaken by frequent intercourse even if it is inclined and in a way near to the fear of God. Deem darkness of the soul as being an agent unto confusion. Darkness in the soul comes from disordered behaviour.

330 Measure and time in discipline illuminate the mind and keep confusion afar. When the mind is upset by disorder, it becomes dark. And when it has become dark, the soul is troubled. Peace comes from order; light is born from peace in the soul; from peace, joyous air in the mind. According as the heart approaches to wisdom, it receives the gladness which is in God. The difference between spiritual wisdom and worldly

wisdom thou perceivest in thy soul. In the former, silence reigns over thy soul; in the latter, it will be a fountain of distraction. When the former is present, thou wilt be greatly filled with humility, and quiet and peace will reign over all thy deliberations, thy limbs being quiet and at peace from turbulence and trouble. When the latter is present, thou wilt possess presumption in thy mind and varying unspeakable thoughts and mental bluntness and thy senses will be turbulent and impudent.

XLVI

OTHER CONSIDERATIONS

Do not think that a man who is tied to bodily things will approach to freedom of speech in prayer before God.

An avaricious soul is destitute of wisdom; and the one which is compassionate, is made wise by the spirit.

As oil feeds the flame of the torch, so compassion feeds knowledge in the soul.

The key of divine gifts unto the heart is given through love of the neighbour.

331 According as the heart is freed from the bonds of the body, to the same extent is opened before it the gate unto knowledge.

Deem the transition of the soul from world to world to happen by the reception of insight.

Laudable and excellent is the love of the neighbour, but only if the thought of it does not turn us from the love of God.

Delightful is intercourse with our spiritual brethren, but only if it be possible that we preserve along with it intercourse with our Lord. Beautiful, therefore, it is to trouble one self with these, in so far as it is ordered by duty, namely in so far as through it we do not fall short of the hidden service and constant intercourse with God. To disturb divine intercourse, means to erect human intercourse. The mind is not capacious enough for both kinds of intercourse.

The sight of worldly people troubles the soul that once has renunciated what is theirs, for the sake of the service of God. To these belongs constant intercourse, to this even the avoidance of sight.

Bodily labours are not impeded by impressions of the senses. He that on the ground of mental peace wishes to embrace gladness in hidden service will be disturbed in the quiet of his heart, even by voices without sight.

Inner deadness cannot exist except by the annihilation of the senses. Bodily discipline requires keenness of the senses; psychic discipline keenness of the heart. As the soul is more excellent in its nature than the body, so the service of the soul is more excellent than the discipline of the body. And as the body is anterior in existence to the soul, so are bodily duties anterior to the service of the soul.

Great is the power of a little discipline, if it is combined
332 with constancy. The soft drop on account of its constancy makes a hole even in hard rocks. When the spiritual man is near to being quickened in thee, death to all things will come to thee, and thy soul will become hot with gladness which has no equal amongst created beings, and thy deliberations will be concentrated within thee, on account of the sweetness in thy heart. But when the world is quickened in thee, distraction of mind will increase in thee, and lack of courage without constancy.

World I call the affections conceived by distraction. When they are born and have become fullgrown they become sin and kill man. As men are not born without a mother, so affections are not born without distraction of mind, nor does sin become fullgrown without intercourse with the affections. When patience increases in our soul, this is a sign thereof that it has secretly received the gift of consolation. Stronger is the power of patience than the emotions of gladness which stir in the heart.

Life in God is the fall of the senses. When the heart lives, the senses fall. The resurrection of the senses is the death of the heart. When the senses are quickened this is a sign thereof that the heart is dead regarding God.

The heart does not derive guidance from the virtues which are performed among men. Virtues which a man shows unto others, cannot purify the soul. Still they are taken into account with God, in view of wages and reward. But that excellence which a man performs unto himself, accomplishes the two: it is taken into account for reward, and it causes purification. Therefore desist from the former and cling to the latter. Without

application to the latter, to desist from the former means to
333 forsake God openly. The latter, however, fills also the place of the former without its being performed.

Be dead in life in order that thou mayest be free through thy being dead. Be dead to the world in order that thou mayest be free from laws. For none of those who walk in them can perfectly fulfill them in this life. Who is dead in his life, is free while alive, and alive while dead.

Painstaking regarding graceful words is understood by simplicity of heart coming from God.

The soul that perceives a life above bodily life, does not adorn itself for the world. If man has not found the former, he is scarcely able to despise the latter; to despise it utterly is absolutely impossible to him. And he that would try to do so compulsorily, would stir up in himself a great struggle. But if he has found the former kind of life, he can renunciate the latter without a struggle.

Comfort and laziness are the destruction of souls. They are able to harm even more than the demons. Where the soul dwelling in light resides, in laudable labours of virtue, there the demons are not able to work. But the soul which is dark becomes thereby a guide even for the demons, so that they can accomplish all kinds of evil things.

When a weak body is forced to accomplish too many labours, it will accumulate darkness upon darkness in the soul and conduct it more and more unto perturbation and obscurity. If the dense body, namely that of sound constitution, comes to laziness and takes its place in comfort, it accomplishes all kinds of evil in the soul which dwells in it. Even if the soul greatly rejoices in good, still, after a short time the body will bereave it of thoughts that rejoice in the good.

334 When, however, the soul is drunk with gladness because of its hope, and with the joy in God, the body will be without apperception of troubles, even if it be brought low. For it will bear a double load without becoming weary as is the case with the body that has become heavy; and the body will share in the delight of the soul, even though it be brought low, when the soul enters into spiritual gladness.

If thou guardest thy tongue, my brother, a gift will be given to thee from God, affectibility of the heart so as to see thyself in it; and thereby thou wilt enter into spiritual gladness.

If, however, thy tongue vanquish thee, believe what I say: thou wilt never save thyself from darkness.

If thou possessest not a pure heart, have at least a pure mouth. As the blessed John says: When thou wilt admonish a man unto beautiful things, first draw him near to bodily rest and honour him by a word full of love. There is nothing which makes a man so modest and persuades him to interchange evil things with good ones, as bodily comfort and honour which is shown to him by some one. The second means of persuasion is a man's effort to be a laudable example. He that has gained possession of his self by prayer and watchfulness will easily draw his neighbour unto life, even without wearying words and apperceptible admonition. Baseness, on the contrary, and relaxation do not only harm those who possess them, but also those who see them. As to the fact that a man by bestowing care upon himself can spur his fellows on to beautiful things and by the mere sight of him make those who are relaxed ashamed, no words are sufficient to tell
335 how blessed such a man is. The silent deed has a greater power to direct others than careful words which are contradicted by laxity of behaviour. When however thou directest thyself, thy neighbour will gain no small help.

The more a man enters into the struggle for the sake of God, the more he will approach unto the heart's freedom of speech in its prayer. And according as he is distracted by many people is he bereaved of help.

The soul that has rest from the stings of the body, will have peace in its emotions.

Be a free man as to the body, in order that thou mayest be deemed worthy of spiritual freedom. Walk in the yoke of thy freedom, lest thou be tied to the yoke of bondage to thy enemies.

If once thou hast shown in thy person an example of dissolution from temporal life, then through abandonment of the affairs of life thou wilt become wholly dead, as an example of the future dissolution, as the care of all things will be taken from thee by death. Be not angry at the blows of the body, which death will wholly take from thee. Be not afraid of death, for God will elevate thee above it.

XLVII

ON THE ANGELIC EMOTIONS STIRRING IN US BY DIVINE PROVIDENCE FOR THE EDUCATION OF THE SOUL IN SPIRITUAL THINGS

The first emotion that befalls a man by divine grace and draws the soul towards life, strikes the heart [with thought]
336 concerning the transitory character of this[1]) nature. This thought is naturally connected with contempt of the world. And then begin all the beautiful emotions which educate unto life. That divine power which accompanies man makes as it were a foundation in him, which desires to reveal life in him. As to this emotion which I mentioned, if a man does not extinguish it by clinging to the things of this world and to idle intercourse, and if he makes this emotion increase in his soul by perpetual concentration and by gazing at himself, he will bring himself near to that which no tongue is able to tell.

This thought is greatly hated by Satan and he strives with all his power to eradicate it from man. And if he were able to give him the kingdom of the whole earth in order to efface by thought of it from his mind this deliberation, he would not do otherwise. For Satan knows that if this recollection remains with him, his mind will no longer stay in this world of error, and his means will not reach man.

This sight is clad with fiery emotions and he that has caught it will no longer contemplate the world nor remain with the body.

Verily, my beloved, if God should grant this veracious sight unto the children of man for a short time, the course of the world would stand still. It is a bond before which nature cannot stand upright. And he unto whim this intercourse with his soul is given — verily, it is a gift from God, stronger than all
37 partial workings, which in this middle state are presented unto those who with an upright heart desire repentance. It is especially given to him of whom God knows that he is worthy of the real transition from this world unto profitable life, because He finds good will in him. It will increase and remain

1) earthly

with a man through his dwelling alone by himself. Let us ask this gift in prayer; and for the sake of this gift let us make long vigils. And as it is a gift without equal, let us keep watch with tears at the gate of our Lord, that He may give it us. Further we need not weary ourselves with the trouble of this world. This is the beginning of the impulse of life, which will fully bring about in a man the perfection of righteousness.

On the second working upon man. When a man follows his discipline perfectly and when he has succeeded in rising above the degree of repentance, and when he is near to taste the contemplation of his service, when it is given him from above to taste the delight of spiritual knowledge, a second working, after the first, will take its origin here.

In the first place man is assured concerning God's care for him and illuminated concerning His love of the creatures — rational creatures — and His manifold care for the things which regard them. Then there arises in him that sweetness of God and the flame of His love which burns in the heart and kindles all the affections of body and of soul. And this power he will perceive in all the species[1]) of the creation and all things which he meets. From time to time he will become
338 drunk by it as by wine; his limbs will relax, his mind will stand still and his heart will follow God as a captive. And so he will be, as I have said, like a man drunk by wine. And according as his inner senses are strengthened, so this sight will be strengthened and according as he is careful about discipline and watchfulness and applies himself to recitation and prayer, so the power of sight will be founded and bound in him.

In truth, my brethren, he that reaches this from time to time, will not remember that he is clad with a body, nor will he know that he is in the world. This is the beginning of spiritual sight in a man, and this is the principle of all intellectual revelations. By this the intellect will be educated unto hidden things and become mature, and by this he will be gradually elevated unto other things which are higher than human nature. In short, by this will be conducted unto man all divine visions and spiritual revelations which the saints

1) litt.: natures

receive in this world. Thus nature can become acquainted with the gift of revelations that happen in this life.

This is the root of our apperception in our Creator. Blessed is he that has preserved this good seed when it fell in his soul, and has made it to increase, without destroying it by idle things and by the distraction of that which is transitory.

XLVIII

ON THE VARYING STATES OF LIGHT AND DARKNESS TO WHICH THE SOUL IS SUBJECT AT ALL TIMES AND ON THE TRAINING IT ACQUIRES IN THINGS OF THE RIGHT HAND AND OF THE LEFT

Let us look at ourselves at the time of service and prayer. If we possess contemplation regarding the words of the Psalms and of prayer, this has its origin in real solitude.

Let us not be perturbed when we are in darkness; especially if we are not the cause of it ourselves. For it is brought about by divine care, for causes which are known only to it. Our soul is then suffocated and, as it were, in the midst of storms. Whether a man approach unto a book of service — to whatever he approaches, it is darkness upon darkness which he finds in it, so that he desists from all effort. How many a time is he not even allowed to approach. He is wholly unable to believe that a different state will come upon him so that he will be in peace again. This hour is full of despair and fear; and the hope in God and the consolation of faith are wholly effaced from the soul, which is totally filled with doubt and fear.

Those who are tempted by the storm of this time, know by experience the varying state which will follow after it. Never will God leave the soul a whole day in this state; otherwise it would lose life and all Christian hope. But gradually — however strong this darkness may be — a turn unto life will appear from it. Unto thee, o man, I give the advice: if thou possessest no power to dominate thy soul and to fall upon thy face in prayer, envelop thy head in thy mantle and lie down till the hour of darkness has passed away from thee.

Leave not, however, thy cell. By this temptation are tried especially those who are willing to walk in mental discipline and who in their course are running toward the consolation which comes from faith.

This dark hour, therefore, tortures them, more than by any thing else, by spiritual doubt. It is also accompanied by strong abuse; sometimes even by doubt of the resurrection and other points which it is not necessary to mention.

All these things we have experienced many times and recorded for the consolation of many. Those who are occupied by bodily labours only are wholly removed from this struggle. They are attacked by dejection with which every man is acquainted and which differs from the state mentioned and similar ones. The healing of the latter — viz. its consolation — has its origin in solitude. By intercourse a man will never obtain the light of consolation, but in the course of time he will find alleviation. Afterwards, however, it will attack him vehemently. He needs an enlightened man, experienced in these things, by whom he may be illuminated and encouraged from time to time, though not constantly. Blessed is he that endures under these circumstances the abiding indoors, he that after these things reaches the large and strong apartment, as the Fathers say. Not at once, however, will this struggle cease; neither will grace come and dwell in the soul completely at once, but
341 gradually. One, and the other: sometimes temptation, sometimes consolation. Some of it will remain, even till departure. Complete deliverance from it we do not expect here, nor complete consolation.

Thus has it pleased God that our temporal life should be provided. And these things are for those that walk in the way.

XLIX

ON THE GLOOMY DARKNESS WHICH DURING SOLITUDE BEFALLS THOSE WHO WALK IN THE DISCIPLINE OF KNOWLEDGE

At the time of obscurity, more than any thing kneeling is helpful. And even the fact that thou art not able to offer this [unto God] and to cling to it, is [an act of war] on the part

of Satan. It is thy duty to fight against this. For Satan knows the help [provided] by kneeling; therefore he strives with his whole power to withhold thee from offering it. And when thou art near to falling on thy face, he will trouble thee. And even if thou vanquishest him and bendest thy knees he will force thee not to abide by it.

Even if our emotions are cold and dark, we should persevere in kneeling. Even if our heart be dead at these times; even if we are destitute of prayer, so that we know not what to say in that even words of beseeching will not come to us, nor supplication — even then we should be found prostrated constantly, even if in silence.

If we need any help from God, yet remain destitute of help,
342 we rightly do not obtain it, because we do not approach unto God in prayer with zeal and fervour, night and day, crying to Him in pain, because we expect that He will give it us spontaneously. But He contrives an intermediate cause that we should approach unto Him, by leaving us in trouble. And by His refraining from delivering us, He produces our help in that we prolong [our standing] at His door in prayer.

But we, when helpful things come to us, are stupefied and hesitating and we deliver ourselves to despondency and aversion and dejection, and we are colder than water. Under all evils and temptations which befall thee, from without and from within, the way of prayer lies before thee. Fall on thy face, even if for a day and night only and beseech God with a passionate heart. And God, who is merciful and good, will not hesitate to give consolation and relief when He sees that thou beseechest Him in the pain of thy heart, except thou shouldst not ask in the [right] way.

During thy whole life thou hast to act thus. Thou wilt gain and lose. And then thou shalt beseech in pain and He will give thee. And again He will go away from thee; and now thou wilt meet with such a thing that thou wilt think that the end of all has come. And when thou askest Him, in the next hour it will have disappeared. Thus this course has been ordained; be not dejected.

During that time of deep darkness that lies upon the soul, we have to be watchful against dejection. Listen to me, o my brother, fight against [the inclination] to leave thy cell, as a
343 woman in travail against her pains, and as a man who bears

tortures. For the foe greatly purposes, more than anything, to make thee leave thy cell, under the pretext of being unable to endure, at the time of struggle. And with all his power he will compel thee to go outdoors, lest, staying, thou shouldst seek refuge with kneeling. Greatly, more than anything, is he afraid of this act.

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SHORT SECTIONS CONTAINING VARIOUS CONSIDERATIONS IN WHICH IS SHOWN THE INJURY CAUSED BY FOOLISH ZEAL UNDER THE PRETEXT OF FEAR OF GOD AND THE PROFIT ORIGINATING IN QUIETNESS; TOGETHER WITH OTHER SUBJECTS

A zealous man will never reach peace of mind. And he that is destitute of peace is also destitute of gladness. Peace of mind is called complete health, zeal is the contrary of peace. He, therefore, that is moved by zeal suffers from a severe illness. Before thou art deemed, o man, to move thy zeal against the illness of others, thou has driven away health from thyself. Thou hast rather to bestow care upon the healing of thyself. If thou desirest however to heal the sick, know that those who are sick, are in want of nursing more than in want of vituperation. So, whilst thou doest not help others, thou vexest thyself by a severe illness. Zeal is not counted
344 among man as a form of wisdom, but as one of the illnesses of the soul, namely a narrowmindedness and a great ignorance. The principle of divine wisdom is quietness acquired by magnanimity, and the endurance of human weaknesses. Ye, therefore, that are strong, bear the loads of the sick, and direct the transgressor in a meek spirit. The Apostle counts among the fruits of the Holy Spirit peace and patience [1]).

A heart full of suffering on account of its insufficiency regarding manifest bodily labours, is the acme of all bodily labours.

Bodily labours, without mental suffering, are as a body without a soul.

He that suffers in his heart and is lax regarding his senses,

1) Gal. 5, 22

is as a sick man whose body is aching and whose mouth indulges in all obnoxious kinds of food. He that suffers in his heart and is lax regarding his senses, is as a man who has an only son and slays him with his own hands limb by limb.

Suffering of the mind is an honourable gift from God; and he that bears it together with the duties it imposes, is as a man who bears holiness in his limbs. A man who is dominated by his tongue in all things, good and evil, is not deemed worthy of this gift.

Repentance along with intercourse is as a pierced jar.

Blame along with a gift is a knife concealed in honey.

Chastity and intercourse with women are as a lioness and a lamb in one house.

Labours and depravity before God are as a man who slaughters a son before his father. He that is sick in his soul
345 and directs his comrades, is as a blind man that shows the way.

Compassion and justice in one soul are as a man adoring God and idols in one house. Everywhere compassion is the enemy of justice.

Justice is the equality of the even scale which gives to every man as he deserves without deviation to any side and without any consideration of a reward for it [1]).

Compassion is an affection which is stirred by bounty and which goes out to every one for their support. It does not repay him that has deserved evil. To him that has deserved good, it gives a double portion. If the former stands on the side of righteousness, then the latter is on the side of evil. As stubbles and fire cannot remain together in one room, so justice and compassion cannot in one soul.

As a grain of sand does not balance a load of gold, so the effect of God's justice does not counterbalance His compassion.

As a handful of sand thrown into the ocean, so are the sins of all flesh as compared with God's mind.

As a fountain that flows abundantly is not dammed by a handful of earth so the mercy of the Creator is not vanquished by the wickedness of the creatures.

As one that sows in the sea and expects that he shall reap, so is he that prays while preserving rancour.

As the flames of the fire cannot be checked from going

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1) itself

upwards, so the prayers of the merciful cannot be checked from ascending towards heaven.

346 As the violence of water in a narrow place, so is the force of anger when it has found a place in our mind.

He that has humility in his heart, has become dead to the world. He that is dead to the world, is dead to affections. To him that is dead in his heart regarding his relatives, Satan is dead. He that has found envy has also found him that found it for the first time [1]).

There is a humility that has its origin in the fear of God and there is a humility that arises through the love of God. Some people are made humble by their fear, others by their joy in Him. The former live with limbs subdued and ordered senses and in perpetual contrition of heart; the latter in full exuberance and with an exulting heart which is never checked. Love does not know bashfulness; these, therefore, do not know how to regulate or to order their limbs. Love naturally possesses frankness and oblivion of measure.

Blessed is he that has found Thee, thou harbour of all joys.

Beloved of God is the congregation of the humble, as the congregation of the seraphs.

A chaste body is dearer to God than a pure offering. Both, however, prepare a dwelling-place for the Trinity in the soul. Walk with thy friends in a reserved attitude; in doing so thou wilt be of profit unto thyself and unto them. For usually under the pretext of friendship the soul casts off the reins of watchfulness.

Be cautious regarding intercourse; it is not always profitable. In the congregation honour silence; for it prevents many wrongs.

347 Be not so cautious regarding the belly, as regarding sight. Inner war is in any respect easier.

Do not believe, o brother, that inner deliberations can be regulated without the regulation of the body.

Fear customs rather than enemies. He that fosters a custom is as one fostering fire. Both display their vigour when they have acquired free play. When custom, however, has been repelled the first time it demands access, thou wilt find it weaker, a second time. But if thou fulfillest its desire the first time, thou wilt find it stronger when it demands access unto

1) I am not certain of the sense of these words

thee the second time. Under all circumstances this recollection will strengthen thee.

Help proceeding from watchfulness is better than help proceeding from labours.

Be not friends with one that loves laughter and derision; for he will drag thee towards lax customs. Be not joyous with him whose behaviour is lax; but be cautious against hating him. If he desires to remain standing, try to help him; and care for his existence, until death. If thou art yet ill, thou hast not to play the physician; stretch the end of thy staff toward him, and so on.

Speak with watchfulness before a boaster and one who is sick with envy. For while thou speakest he gives in his heart thy words the explanation he desires. He seizes the opportunity to make others stumble, even through beautiful things in thee.

And thy words will be changed in his mind into opportunities of illnesses.

348 Frown upon him that begins to speak to thee concerning his brothers. Doing so thou wilt be found cautious by God and by him.

If thou givest something to one who is poor, let gladness of face and kind words and encouragement for his suffering precede thy gift. When thou doest this, by thy gift the delight of his mind will be greater than the want of his body.

On the day that thou openest thy mouth to speak against a man, deem thy soul as dead to God and void of all thy labours, even if it is thought that thou art moved to speak by [the desire to] direct and to build. Wherefore should a man demolish his own building and order that of his neighbour?

On the day that thou sufferest on behalf of a man in any way, be it on behalf of the good or on behalf of the wicked, in body or in mind, deem thyself on that day to be a martyr and as one that has been deemed worthy of confessorship for the sake of Christ. Remember that Christ died for the wicked, according to the words of the scripture, not for the good. Behold how great a thing it is to suffer for the evil and to do good to the sinners, even greater than to do this for the righteous. The Apostle reminds thee of this as of an amazing thing.

If thou art able to acquire righteousness within thyself, be not anxious to seek other righteousness.

Anterior to all thy deeds are chasteness of body and purity of heart. Without them every deed is vain before God.

Any work which thou performest without deliberation and examination — know that thy labour upon it is vain even
349 though it be beautiful. God counts as righteousness every matter of discrimination, not fortuitous performances.

A lamp in the sun — the righteous who is not wise.

Seed on a rock — prayer of one harbouring rancour.

A tree without fruits — an ascetic without compassion.

A venemous arrow — vituperation that has its origin in envy.

A hidden snare — the praise of the cunning.

A foolish counsellor — a blind watchman.

Sorrow of heart — sitting with sinners.

A sweet fountain — intercourse with the wise.

A wise counsellor — a wall to rely upon.

A foolish friend — a treasure of deficiency.

Better it is to see a mourning assembly than to see a wise man clinging to a fool.

Better it is to dwell with the beasts than to dwell with people affected by envy.

Better it is to dwell in a grave than to dwell with people who behave in a depraved way.

Sit with vultures but not with those who are covetous.

Associate with the murderer, but not with the quarrelsome.

Have intercourse with the swine, but not with the loquacious.

Better is the young of the swine than the mouth of the loquacious.

Sit amidst lions, but not amidst the haughty.

Be the persecuted, not the persecutor.

Be the crucified, not the crucifyer.

Be treated unjustly rather than treat unjustly.

Be the oppressed, not the oppressor.

Be peaceful, not a zealot.

Deal beneficiently, not justly. Justice does not belong to the behaviour of Christianity and no mention is made of it in the doctrine of Christ.

Rejoice with those who rejoice, and weep with those who weep;
350 this is a sign of serenity. With the sick, be as if sick; with the sinners practise mourning and with the converted rejoice.

Be a friend of all men, but a solitary in thy mind.

Join in the suffering of all men, but hold thy body far from all men.

Do not vituperate any one and do not direct any one, not even those who are very evil in their behaviour.

Spread thy mantle over the sinner and cover him.

If thou art not able to take upon thee his transgressions and to receive chastisement in his stead, at least suffer exposure, in order not to expose him.

Do not quarrel for the sake of the belly.

Do not hate for the sake of honour.

Do not love to be a judge.

Thou must know, o my brother, that we stay indoors in order not to know the evil deeds of men. For when we consider all men as good, we shall reach purity in our mind. But if we also become vituperators and chastisers and judges and vindicators, persecutators and critics, in what respect then is dwelling in the towns inferior to abiding in the desert?

If thou art not quiet in thy heart, be quiet with thy tongue.

If thou art not able to be a ruler of thy deliberations, be a ruler of thy senses.

If thou art not a solitary in mind, be a solitary in body.

If thou art not able to labour with thy body, suffer in thy mind.

If thou art not able to watch on thy feet, watch on thy bed.

If thou hast no sufficient power to fast during the night, fast at least in the evening. And if thou hast no force for fasting
351 in the evening, be on thy guard at least against satiety.

If thou art no saint in thy heart, be a saint in thy body. If thou art no mourner[1]) in thy heart, let at least thy face be clad with mourning.

If thou art not able to justify thyself, then speak as a sinner.

If thou art not a peacemaker, be at least not a disturber.

If thou art not able to be valiant, be a humble man in thy mind.

If thou art not a victor, be not wrath with the vanquished.

If thou hast no sufficient power to shut the mouth of him that speaks against his neighbour, guard at least thyself, lest thou become his partner.

Know that if fire goes out from thee and kindles others, the souls of all those to whom some of this fire has been im-

1) abila, also a monk

parted, will be demanded at thy hands. And if thou doest not throw out fire, but doest agree with him that does, and compliest with his deed, thou wilt be his partner in judgment.

If thou lovest peace, be peaceful. And if thou hast been deemed worthy of peace, rejoice at all times. Pray for insight, not for gold.

Be clad with humility, not with byssus. Acquire peace, not a kingdom.

No one has insight without being humble. He that is not humble, has no insight. No one is humble without having peace; he that has no peace is not humble either. No one has peace without rejoicing. While men walk in all the ways which there are in this world, they do not find peace, until they approach unto hope in God. The heart does not acquire peace from vexations and offences, until it approaches unto this place. But hope will give them peace and pour gladness
352 into their heart. This is what that adorable mouth, full of holiness, has said: come unto me, all ye that labour and are heavy laden and I will give you rest[1]). Draw near to the hope which is in me, and desist from the many ways, and ye will have rest from labours and from fear. Hope in God elevates the heart. Fear of Hell breaks it.

The light of the mind gives birth to faith. Faith gives birth to the consolation of hope. Hope makes the heart strong. Faith is the revelation of insight. When the mind is dark, faith is hidden, and fear reigns in us and cuts off our hope. Faith through instruction does not free a man from presumption and doubts; only that faith which dawns by insight. It is called the revelation of truth.

As long as faith understands God as God, through the revelation of insight, fear will not approach unto the heart. When we are left in darkness and we lose this insight that we may become humble, fear assails us which brings us near to humility and repentance.

The son of God has borne the cross and sinners have acquired courage in repentance.

If the habit of repentance has driven away the anger of the King, he will not now reject your sincere mind. If the habit of humility can drive away God's anger from him who knows

1) Matthew 11, 28

himself not to be true, how much more will this be the case with you who are suffering in truth for your trespasses. Sufficient is the suffering of the mind in place of all bodily labours, according to the word of the commentator [1]).

353 A temple of grace is he that is mingled with God by constantly thinking of that which belongs to him. What is thinking of that which belongs to him? It is the constant hunting after his rest; suffering at all times; the toil of constant care concerning those things which always remain imperfect on account of the wretchedness of nature; the constant sorrow at these things which the mind bears under strong emotions and which it places before itself with humble contrition as an offering during prayer. As much as possible it despises the care of the body, according to its power. Such is he that bears in his soul the constant recollection of God, as the blessed Basil, the bishop, says.

Prayer without distraction is that prayer which produces in the soul the constant thought of God. For also this is God's incarnation, that He dwells in us by our constant recollection of Him with painstaking care of the heart, seeking His pleasure. Involuntary evil deliberations have their origin in previous laxity.

O men and brothers, ye that desire to give some rest to the body in the way of recreation, for the sake of the service of God, in order to acquire force and to return to your service — let us not weaken our perfect watchfulness during the few days of rest, giving our whole self to relaxation as if we were men who have not the intention to return unto their service.

Those who in the time of peace are wounded by arrows, are the people who bear the cause of this in themselves, namely wilful freedom of speech. And the dirty clothes with which they see themselves clad in a holy place (namely at the
354 time when God is astir in their soul) are those which they have woven in the time of relaxation. The things which put us to shame when, at the time of pure prayer, we wish to offer them, are those with which we have accustomed ourselves at the time when we esteemed our senses too low.

Watchfulness helps a man more than labours; and relaxation injures him more than rest. In rest there arise internal wars

1) Theodore

which a man is able to overcome vexing though they may be to him. For as soon as he gives up rest and returns to the place of labour, they are put to silence and flee from him. Not so it is with that which is born from relaxation, though relaxation is born from rest. For as long as man is in the place of his freedom, he is able to lay hand on himself and place himself under the order of his laws; he is still in the place of his freedom. But when he is relaxed, he has left the place of freedom. If a man does not throw away completely all his watchfulness, he is not compelled against his will to comply with those things which he does not like. And if he does not completely give up the domain of his freedom, he will not be assailed by accidents, which bind him so that he is not able to withstand necessity. Do not give up the place of freedom on account of any of thy senses, o man; else thou willst not be able to return thereto. Rest injures the novices only; re-
355 laxation also the perfect and the aged. Those who let themselves be directed to the comfort of bad deliberations, may find the way back by watchfulness and gain the height of good behaviour. But as for those who, confiding in their labours, have neglected cautiousness, and have been captivated by the relaxations of life, after [they had walked on] the height of behaviour, some have been wounded in the country of the enemies and have died during the time of peace, others have set out for the sake of the merchandise of life, and have exposed their soul to offence.

We have no difficulties when we trespass in a thing, but only when we persevere in it. Trespasses will sometimes happen even to the cautious.

But clinging to them is utter death. Suffering which we endure for the sake of things in which we transgress fortuitously, are counted as pure service on our part, by the grace that sustains our life.

He that sins a second time expecting [forgiveness] walks with God cunningly. Unexpectedly the rope of punishment will be thrown upon him and he will not reach the time for which he had hoped.

If a man's senses are lax, his heart is also lax. The service of the heart is a bond of the outward members, if a man performs it with discrimination as the Fathers who were before us. This is known from other tokens which are seen in him:

namely that he is not entangled in bodily profits, that he does
356 not love money, and that he is wholly void of anger. Where on the contrary these three are found: the love of bodily profits to a small or to a large extent, and quick anger, and giving way to the belly (even in the case of the former saints), know that the relaxation in outward things originates in inward lack of patience, not in the baseness of the discriminating soul. How else could it be possible that such a one did not possess disregard of bodily things, and quietness?

To expose oneself to disdain [1]) discriminately is to be freed from all things, to disregard life and to love men.

If thou endurest willingly injuries for the sake of God, thou art pure within.

If thou doest not despise any one on account of his stains, thou art surely a free man.

If thou doest not run to encounter those who honour thee, and if thou art not moved by meeting those who do not concord with thee, thou art really dead to this life.

Watchfulness with discrimination is better than all kinds of behaviour to all kinds of men.

Do not hate the sinner [2]); we are all worthy of condemnation. If thou art moved for the sake of God, weep over him. Why shouldst thou hate him? Thou meanst to hate his sins? Pray on his behalf, that thou mayest resemble Christ, who was not angry with sinners but prayed on their behalf. Hast thou not seen how He wept for Jerusalem? In many things we are made mock of by Satan. Why should we hate them that are made mock of like ourselves by the same one that makes mock of
357 us? Why hatest thou the sinner, o man? Perhaps because he is not righteous as thou art? And how art thou righteous, that hast no love? And if thou hast love, why doest thou not weep for him, instead of persecuting him? It is through ignorance that some people, reputed to be discriminating, are moved by the deeds of sinners.

Be a herald of God's goodness, because He provides for thee who art not worthy of it. And though thou art guilty of many things, it is not known that he is desirous of revenge. And for the few things in which thou showest [good] will, he remunerates thee with many. Do not call God just anymore,

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1) ܫܚܠܦܐ. Cf. Introduction 2) With this passage cf. p. 14, 79, 348, 350

for His justice is not known in His dealings with thee. Though David called Him just and righteous, still His son has made it clear to us that He is good and kind. For He is kind towards the evil and the miscreant. How callest thou God just when thou comest across the section on the hire of the workmen? Friend, I do thee no wrong. I will give unto this last, even as unto thee. Or is thy eye evil because I am good [1])? How can any one call God just if he come across the story of the prodigal son? When he had spent all in fornication, it was only on account of the contrition he showed that [the father] ran to throw himself at his neck and made him lord of all his possessions. No one else can say concerning Him that he doubts His goodness. His son testifies this concerning Him. How could there be justice in God, when Christ died
358 for us who were sinners? If He is compassionate here, we believe that there will be no change in Him. Far be it from us that we should wickedly think that God could not possibly be compassionate. God's properties are not liable to variations as those of mortals. It is not possible that He sometimes should not possess a thing, and afterwards should possess it, or that what He possesses should diminish or increase as that which creatures possess. But that which God possesses is with Him from eternity, and it is with Him for ever, as also the blessed commentator [2]) says in his exposition on the creation.

Fear before His love, not before the reputation of harshness with which He has been charged. Love Him because it is our duty to love Him; not for those things which He will give, but also because of those which we have received. Even if He had made this world only for our sake, who could sufficiently tell His bounty? Where is the remuneration for Him in our deeds? Who has persuaded Him beforehand to bring us into existence? And who will intercede with Him for our sake when we shall be in a state of oblivion as if we were not? Who will stir our destruction into life? And from where will the impulse of knowledge be cast into [what is] dust? O the wonder of God's compassion. O the amazement of the bounty of our Creator. O the power of His almightiness. O His immeasurable kindness regarding our nature, that He also brings sinners into

1) Matt. 20, 13—15 2) Theodore

existence! Who can sufficiently tell His praise, who quickens the sinner and abuser who had become dust without motion [so as to participate of] a laudable, recognizing and rational mode of existence; that changes scattered dust into a being exalted above perception; that makes scattered senses a rational nature with quick motion? If the sinner is not able to [understand] His quickening power, he can be content with His grace.

359 Where is Hell which can make us suffer? And what is the torment which can overcome in us His fear, vanquish the joy at His love? And what is Hell as compared with the grace of resurrection, which will restore us to life after Sheol and make this corruptible to be clad with incorruptibility, and make rise in glory what was lying in the contempt of Sheol? Ye understanding, come and wonder. Who has an intellect wise enough to wonder? Come and let us wonder at the grace of our Creator. The retribution of the sinners is this, that He repays them with resurrection instead of with justice. And those that have trampled upon His laws are clad by Him with the glory of perfection instead of with the body. This grace after we had sinned is greater than that which brought our being [1]) into existence when we were not yet.

Glory to Thy immeasurable grace. Now the floods of Thy grace make me silent without any emotion remaining, not even thankfulness. With what mouth shall we thank Thee, good king who lovest our life? Glory to Thee in both the worlds which Thou hast created for our education and for our delight, from all those that Thou hast brought into existence to know Thy glory, now and at all times, world without end, Amen.

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360 ON THE THREE DEGREES OF KNOWLEDGE AND THE DISCRIMINATION BETWEEN THEIR SERVICE AND IMPULSES AND ON THE FAITH OF THE SOUL AND THE TREASURES OF MYSTERIES HIDDEN IN IT AND TO WHAT EXTENT WORLDLY KNOWLEDGE IN ITS MEANS [1]) IS OPPOSED TO THE SIMPLICITY OF FAITH

When the soul in the course of its behaviour walks in the way of faith, this improves it much. When it then turns towards the means of knowledge, it becomes alienated to faith at once. And it is removed from that intelligible force of faith which reveals itself by different acts of help in the serene soul that simply, without inquiry, uses all that belongs to it.

The soul that has once, in faith, entrusted itself unto God and, under many temptations, has received the taste of faith's help, no longer thinks of itself, but is made speechless by ecstasy and silence, nor is it allowed to return unto the means of its knowledge or to make use of them, lest it also be bereft, on the contrary, of the divine care which visits it incessantly and provides for it and clings to it everywhere. For the soul would consider it as a despicable thought to deem itself sufficient to guide itself by the power of its knowledge. For those in whose hearts the light of faith has dawned, do not venture to pray in their own behalf, they do not even venture to ask
361 God: Give us this, or: Take from us that, nor dare they think of themselves in any way. For by the initiated eyes of their faith they always see the paternal care which protects them on the part of that Father whose strong and immeasurable love surpasses the love of all fleshly fathers and who has power to supply us with all things above what we ask and think.

For knowledge is opposed to faith and faith with all its means destroys the laws of knowledge. I do not mean spiritual laws. For the circumscription of the domain of knowledge is

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this, that a man is not allowed to do anything without inquiry or examination; but he must investigate, so as to comply, if possible, with what befalls him.

But as to faith, what is it? If yes and no approach unto it equally, faith does not consent to remain in that position. That knowledge cannot be used without methods and means, that it even does not exist without them, is known. And this is the token of its sceptical attitude regarding truth. Faith on the other hand requires a serene and simple mind, far from any cunning or need of means. Behold, how knowledge and faith are each other's opposites.

The mansion of faith is a childlike mind and a pure heart. For in the purity of their heart people have praised God. For 'except ye be converted and become as little children' [1]) and so on. Knowledge, however is the persecutor and opposite of
362 these two. Knowledge adheres to the domain of nature, in all its ways. Faith makes its course above nature. Knowledge does not admit unto itself anything which is in disharmony with nature, not even for the sake of trial; but it lets these things dwell at a distance. Faith on the other hand orders with authority and says: Thou shalt tread upon the serpent and the lion: the young lion and the dragon shalt thou trample under feet [2]).

Knowledge is accompanied by fear; faith by trust. As long as a man uses the means of knowledge, he is not free from fear, it is not even possible that he be deemed worthy of freedom. But as soon as he clings to faith, at once a free man and the king of his soul and a son of God, he will use freedom in all things, with authority. A man that has found the keys of faith will use all the species in nature, as God. For faith is allowed even to create a new creation, just as God did. If thou willest, anything will stand before thee. And many times it is possible to make every thing out of nothing

Knowledge is not able to make anything without materials. Knowledge does not venture to step over unto the domain which lies outside nature. How then? That the dissolved nature of water does not suffer the footsteps of flesh on its back, that he who excites fire is burnt by it, and that it is dangerous
363 to act contrary to these [rules]. Such lore is cautiously guarded

1) Matth. 18, 3 2) Ps. 91, 13

by knowledge. And it is absolutely impossible to persuade it to order an advance into this domain.

Faith on the other hand commands this with authority, saying: If thou tread on fire it will not burn thee; and floods will not drag thee along. And faith has done these things many times before the eyes of all creatures. If knowledge had been given an opportunity in this domain, it would not have given the permission to try such things at all. Through faith many have entered the mouth of the flames, and have checked the power of the burning fire, and have persevered in it without injury, and have walked on the back of the sea as if it were dry land. Verily, all these things are above nature and contrary to the methods of knowledge.

Seest thou how faith shakes the foundations of knowledge and shows that all its means and laws are vain? Seest thou how knowledge guards the domain of nature? Seest thou also how faith walks above nature and makes there the paths for its course? For nearly five thousand years the means of knowledge have been governing the world and the world has not been able to lift its head from the earth at all nor to perceive the power of its creator, until faith dawned to us and freed us from the trouble of labouring upon earthly things and from the vain slavery of fruitless distraction. And now that we have
364 found an unexplored ocean and an unlimited treasure, should we desire to stay at a poor fountain? There is no knowledge which is not lacking, rich though it may be. As to faith, heaven and earth cannot contain its treasures.

He whose heart is supported by the trust of faith, will never experience want of anything. And though he does not possess anything, he dominates all things through faith. As it is written: All things, whatsoever ye shall ask in prayer, believing, ye shall receive [1]).

And again: Our Lord is at hand; be careful for nothing [2]). Knowledge perpetually seeks means to preserve those who possess it. What does faith do? 'Exept the Lord build the house and keep the city, they labour in vain that build it and wake to watch' [3]). Never will he that seeks refuge with faith use means.

Knowledge everywhere praises fear. As also the sage says: Blessed is he whose heart fears. What does faith do? 'He was

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1) Matth. 21, 22 2) Phil. 4, 4 sq. 3) cf. Ps. 127, 1

afraid and began to sink' [1]). And again: For ye have not received the spirit of fear to bondage, but the spirit of adoption [2]) to freedom in faith and trust in God. 'Fear them not therefore' [3]), lest I crush thee before them. Fear always accompanies doubt, and doubt examination, and investigation means, and means knowledge. And that which always examines and investigates, shows doubt and fear; for knowledge does not always and in every thing profit, as has been shown above.

365 Often hard circumstances and multifarious affairs oppose themselves, full of danger and of such a nature that knowledge and the means of wisdom are absolutely unable to give any profit; things which are so hard that they withstand the whole power of the domain of human knowledge.

But faith is never vanquished by anything. What help can human knowledge afford in manifest struggles against invisible natures and incorporeal powers and many things of that kind?

Thou seest how weak the power of knowledge and how strong the power of faith is. Knowledge restrains its pupils from approaching unto anything which can do harm to nature. But look at the power of faith; what does it command its sons? In my name shall they cast out devils and shall take up serpents; and if they drink any deadly thing, it shall not hurt them [4]).

Knowledge according to its laws orders all those who walk in its way, to investigate all things from their beginning till their end and then to begin; lest the end of the thing be contrary to the limits of human power, and people might undertake fruitless labour when their work would prove to be impossible and difficult to be realized. But what says faith? All things are possible to him that believeth [5]).

O unspeakable richness, o ocean rich in its billows and in

366 its amazing treasures, o effusions of the power of faith! How full of encouragement, how delightful and full of trust is its path! And how easy are its loads; how delightful is its service. He [6]) that has been deemed worthy of the taste of faith and then turns towards psychic knowledge is equal to him that has found a pearl of great price and changed it for a copper coin for he has left authoritative freedom and has

1) Matth. 14, 30
2) cf. Rom. 8, 15
3) Matth. 10, 26
4) Mark 16, 17
5) Mark 9, 23
6) Introduction

turned towards the means of poverty which are full of the fear of bondship.

Knowledge is not to be rejected, but faith is superior to it. And if we reject, we do not reject knowledge, far be that from us, but the distinctions in a variety of classes in which it moves itself in opposition to the glory of nature, so that it becomes cognate with the class of the demons. This we shall discern distinctly, seeing in how many degrees knowledge moves, and how many distinctions there are in every one of them, and in which emotions it a rises within every one of the classes when it remains in them, and in which of these classes it comes into opposition to faith when it is moved in them, and leaves the domain of nature; and which are the distinctions of the service in them; and in which class it comes to its natural state, having changed its pristine direction preparing the degrees for faith by its beautiful behaviour; and to which point the distinctions of this class conduct it; and how it
367 proceeds from this class to a higher one; and what are the kinds of service in that latter class, which is the first in honour; and the point where knowledge is united to faith and becomes one with it and is clad by its influence with fiery impulses so that it blazes spiritually and acquires the wings of apathy and is lifted up from the service of earthly things towards the place of its creation, acquiring also other things.

So it is meet for us to know that the degree of the service of faith is superior to that of knowledge. And knowledge is made perfect by faith, so that it acquires the power to ascend and to perceive that which is above all perceptibility and to behold the splendour of Him that is not attained by the mind or the knowledge of the creatures.

Thus knowledge is the ladder on which a man ascends the height of faith, but which he does not use any more when he has reached faith. For now we know little out of much and we understand little out of much. But when perfection has come this little becomes useless.

So faith shows us as it were before our eyes the reality of that future perfection. By faith we are instructed about those unattainable things, not by investigation and the power of knowledge. All works of righteousness: fasting, alms, vigils, holiness and the others which are performed with the body; and neighbourly love, humility of heart, forgiveness of sins, medi-

tation upon beautiful things, investigation of the mysteries
368 hidden in the holy scriptures, the occupation of the mind with the practice of good works, the keeping of the affections of the soul within the borders, and the other virtues which are accomplished with the soul: all these need knowledge as their regulating power. But all these are still degrees along which the soul ascends unto the elevated height of faith, and they are called virtues.

As to the discipline of faith, its service is above excellence; it is not a service of labour but one of perfect rest; it is consolation and comfort and it is accomplished by the impulses of the soul. All the amazing distinctions of spiritual discipline, the service of which is apperception of spiritual forces and delight and exultation of the soul, and love and joy in God and all the other things which are granted through this discipline — all these are forthwith given by faith in fullness unto the soul which by grace is made worthy of this blessedness, by God who is rich in gifts, as they are mysteriously denoted in the holy scriptures.

But perhaps some one reasons thus: If all these good things and the works of excellence which are mentioned above, and also the refraining from evil and the discrimination of subtle emotions arising in the soul, and the struggle with deliberation and the strife against alluring affections, and the other qualities without which faith cannot even show its power in its working upon the soul — if all these are made perfect by knowledge, how then can it be argued that knowledge is in opposition to faith?

369 The solution of this doubt: There are three stages in which knowledge ascends and descends in an intelligible way, and where it receives its variations according to variations of the places in which it moves, and where it also injures or helps. The three stages which I mean are: body, soul, spirit. And though knowledge is one in its nature, it becomes condensed or subtilized in accordance with its abiding in these intelligible places. And so also its stores are changed and also the working of its impulses.

Hear now the [enumeration of] the stages of its service and the causes by which it injures or helps. Knowledge is a gift which was presented by God unto the species of rational beings from the beginning of their existence. It is simple in

nature, not divided, as sunlight is, but has variations and divisions in connection with its service.

The first stage of knowledge. When knowledge accompanies the love of the body, it gathers provisions as: riches, vain glory, honour, elegant things, bodily comfort, means to guard the body against those things which are in opposition to nature, zeal for rational wisdom that serves to govern this world, and to be the originator of inventions in crafts and learning, and the other things which crown the body in this visible world.

To the properties of this knowledge belong those which have been enumerated above in opposition to faith. This knowledge is what is called simple knowledge, because it is bare
370 of every godly thought. It imparts to the mind an unspeakable weakness because it dominates it with a bridle and because its whole thought is directed upon this world. Thus this degree of knowledge never imagines that there is at all an intelligible force and a hidden governor regarding man, or a divine care which provides for him. But it thinks that all good which happens to a man, and his being saved from injury and guarded against severe difficult accidents and against the numerous adversities which inhere to our nature openly or in secret, all happen by its own zeal and means.

This is the degree of knowledge which thinks in the way mentioned and its adherents say that there is no providential government in visible things. Consequently it is not able to desist from constant anxiety and fear regarding bodily things. Therefore [it is accompanied by] pusillanimity, grief, despondency, fear of demons, fear of men, rumours of robbers, tales about epidemies anxiety before sicknesses, fear of scarcity of food, fear of death, reptiles and beasts and other things of this kind. And at all times of the day and night knowledge is tossed about as the sea is by its billows, because it does not know to commit its care unto God with the trust of faith in Him.

So knowledge in all its circumstances uses means and artifices. And when by any cause its means are exhausted, because it does not see hidden providence, it scolds men as its
371 hindrances and haters.

By this knowledge was planted the tree of good and evil, which is the eradicator of love. Knowledge examines the small

stains in others and the shortcomings and weak points of men; and in it are the disputations of learning, and dialectics, and cunning artifices, and all the other means which dishonour man. In it are also presumption and haughtiness, because it reckons to its own credit and not to God's credit all things which happen, if they are wholesome.

Faith on the other hand attributes its deeds to grace. Therefore it cannot be haughty. As it is written: I can do all things through grace which strengtheneth me [1]; and again: Not I, but grace which was with me [2]; and what the blessed Apostle says: Knowledge puffeth up [3].

This he says concerning that knowledge which is not mingled with faith and trust in God, but not concerning true knowledge. Far be it! For true knowledge makes perfect by humility the souls of those who possess it, as Moses and David and Isaiah and Peter and Paul and the other saints who were deemed worthy of perfect knowledge, in accordance with the domain of nature. And because their knowledge is constantly enveloped by various visions and divine revelations and the supreme sight of spiritual things and unspeakable mysteries, their own person is in their eyes, as compared with these, dust and ashes.

That other knowledge must needs be puffed up, because it walks in darkness and it examines its subjects in analogy with earthly things without knowing that there is something more valuable.

372 But [even] those who are dominated by haughtiness because their behaviour is [in their own eyes] of greater importance than earthly and bodily things, and because they rely upon service without penetrating with their mind in unattainable things — when they come to meditate upon those waves of the glorious splendour of the godhead, and their service is on high, their mind then cannot deviate to think of impure things and idle deliberations. For those who walk in light cannot go astray. All those, therefore, who err from the light of the knowledge of God's son, and deviate from truth, walk in these ways.

This is the first stage of knowledge accompanying the bodily love. This we reject, calling it oppositional not only to faith, but to all works of excellence.

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1) Cf. Philippians 4, 13 2) Cf. 1 Cor. 15, 10 3) 1 Cor. 8, 1

The second degree of knowledge. When knowledge leaves this first state and turns towards meditation and psychic love, it performs those beautiful things which have been described above, through the cooperation of the psychic impulses with the bodily senses, by its natural light; namely: fasting, prayer, compassion, recitation of the holy scriptures with a view to excellence, strife against the affections, and so on. All beautiful deeds and excellent distinctions which are seen in the soul, and the amazing stages which are administered in the church of Christ, are accomplished by the influence of the
373 power of the Holy Ghost, in this middle stage of knowledge. The Ghost will level ways in our heart leading to faith. And by faith we shall gather provisions for this our true world.

And till this point knowledge is still of a bodily nature and composite, though it occupies itself with excellence and though it is the way conducting us to faith. For the latter is a degree higher than knowledge; and if knowledge is as it ought to be, it will be able by the help of Christ, to ascend [this higher way], when it bases its service upon seclusion from men and recitation of the holy scriptures and prayer. And the other good works will be made complete by these.

This is the second degree of knowledge, by which all beautiful works are performed. It is called knowledge of practice, because, as to its outward stage, it accomplishes its activity by deeds perceptible by the senses of the body.

The third degree of knowledge, which is the degree of perfection. How knowledge is subtilized and acquires spirituality so that it resembles the discipline of those invisible forces the service of which is not performed by the apperceptible practice of works but by the thoughts of the intellect — hear this now. When knowledge elevates itself above earthly things and above the thought of service and begins to try its impulses in things hidden from eyesight, and when it partly despises the recollection of [worldly] things from which proceeds the perversion of the affections, and when it stretches itself upwards and clings to faith by thinking of the world to be and love of the promises and investigation con-
374 cerning the hidden things — then faith swallows knowledge, gives anew birth to it, wholly spiritual. Then it is able to direct its flight towards non-bodily places and to the depths of the unscrutable ocean of wonderful and divine government

which directs intelligible and apperceptible beings, and to examine spiritual mysteries which are attained by the simple and by the subtle intellect. Then the inner senses awake to spiritual service, as the order of things which will be in the state of immortality and incorruptibility. For from here onwards they have received intelligible resurrection, symbolically, as a true sign of that universal renewal.

These are the three degrees of knowledge, in which the whole course of man is contained, that of body, soul and spirit. From the time that a man begins to distinguish between good and evil, till he leaves the world, in these three degrees is contained the knowledge of himself and the accomplishment of all iniquity and wickedness and the summit of all righteousness; and the scrutiny of the depths of all spiritual mysteries is worked by one knowledge in these three degrees. Within these is the whole emotion of the mind that ascends or descends moving in good things or in evil things or between these. These three degrees are called by the Fathers the natural, the praeternatural and the supernatural. And these are the three directions in which the thoughts of the rational soul ascend and descend, as it has been said. Either it works righteousness in nature, or in the domain above nature, its thoughts wrapped
375 up in contemplation towards God; or it will go out to feed the swine in the praeternatural domain, as one that has lost the riches of his intellect while serving with the herd of demons.

The first degree of knowledge makes the soul cold to works in the course of the good. The middle one excites in the soul fervour in its course in the degrees of faith. The third stage is the soul's desisting from service; and this is a symbol of the future, that the soul only finds delight in intellectual occupations, in the symbols of future goods. But as nature is not yet elevated above the stage of mortality and above the load of the flesh so as to abide totally in that spiritual state which is exempt from deviation, and because it is not able to administer complete perfection in the world of mortality and to abandon the nature of the flesh completely while it abides in it as yet, therefore it is in the former and in the latter stage alternately. Sometimes the soul in the middle degree of knowledge as a poor being is occupied with performing with all its power the virtues proper to nature, because of the nature of the body. And sometimes, as those who have received the

spirit of adoption [1]), it delights in the mysteries of freedom through the gift of the spirit, even as it pleases its giver. Then it turns again towards the poverty of its world, namely of the body, being on its guard against it, lest the latter should captivate it by the allurements which are found in its world through its troubled and easily deviating impulses. For as long as the soul is covered by the curtain of the flesh, it
376 has no trust. For there is no perfect liberation in a non-perfect world.

The whole service of knowledge is a service of work and of exercise. The deeds of faith however, are not performed by labours; for they are accomplished by the spiritual impulses through the sole and pure efficacy of the soul [and they are elevated] above the senses. Faith is more subtle than knowledge, just as knowledge is more subtle than apperceptible deeds. For all the saints which have been deemed worthy of spiritual discipline which is ecstasy in God, walk through the power of faith, in the delight of that discipline which is above nature.

I do not call this faith, that a man believes in the discrimination of the adorable hypostases of the Essence, or in the properties of His nature, or in the amazing government regarding humanity consisting in His accepting our nature. But I call this faith: the intelligible light which by grace dawns in the soul and, without leaving room for doubt, supports the heart by the testimony of the mind, namely by the persuasion of hope which is far from all presumptions and not by tradition from hearsay. This light will show the spiritual eyes of the soul the hidden mysteries which are in the soul, and the secret riches of divinity which are concealed from the eyes of fleshly men and are revealed spiritually to those who at the table of Christ are brought up in meditation upon His laws; as He says: If ye keep my commandments, I shall send you the Spirit, the Comforter, whom the world cannot receive,
377 and He will guide you into all truth [2]). Thus He will also show man the holy power, which surrounds him at all times. That power is the Comforter. By the power of this faith all the parts of the soul are kindled as it were by fire so that it despises all danger on account of its trust in God.

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1) Romans 8, 15 2) John 16, 13

And upon the wings of faith it is lifted up above the circle of the visible world and, as drunk, it is constantly in ecstatic thought of God. And by simple sight, and by insight without sight of the divine nature, it accustoms the intellect to looking at its secret being in meditation. For until the coming of that which is the perfection of the mysteries, and until we shall have been made worthy of its revelation eye to eye, faith administers unspeakable mysteries between God and the saints. May we be deemed worthy of them by the grace of Christ, here by pledge, there in reality in the kingdom of heaven, with all those who love Him. Amen.

LII

SHORT SECTIONS ON A DIFFERENT SUBJECT ON THE DISTINCTION OF THE IMPULSES OF KNOWLEDGE

When knowledge pursues visible things, concerning which instruction is acquired through the senses, it is called natural. When it pursues the intelligible forces behind the visible things in non-bodily species, it is called spiritual. For perception is
378 received by the spirit, not by the senses. And regarding both of these kinds the soul receives the recognizable materials from without. When however knowledge pursues the Essence it is called supernatural, or rather agnostic, because it is elevated above knowledge. As to this [latter kind], the soul does not acquire contemplation concerning it in materials lying without it, as is the case with the former kinds. But without materials, by a sudden working of grace within, unexpectedly, it is revealed in the soul. For the kingdom of God is within us [1]). And it will not come from the place from where it is expected, nor through observation [2]), according to the word of our Lord. But within the hidden form of the intellect it is revealed without cause and without meditation upon it. For the intellect has no materials to meditate upon it.

The first [kind of knowledge] is born from constant recitation and from zeal for teachings. The second kind from a steady

1) cf. Luke 17, 21 2) Luke 17, 20

behaviour and faith of the intellect. The third kind is due to faith alone. For there knowledge ceases and works reach their end and senses will be superfluous.

As long as knowledge is beneath this line, it is called knowledge. And the lower it is, the more honoured it becomes, so that when it reaches the earth and earthly things, knowledge is master of all, and without it all is cripple and idle. But when the soul elevates its gaze and directs the space and the
379 time of its impulses towards heavenly things and becomes desirous after the things which are not to be seen with the bodily eye and over which the flesh has no power, then all things fall under the category of faith.

LIII

ON PRAYER AND THE OTHER THINGS WHICH ARE NECESSARILY TO BE SOUGHT [1]) IN CONSTANT RECOLLECTION AND WHICH IT IS VERY PROFITABLE FOR A MAN TO RECITE WITH DISCRIMINATION AND TO RETAIN

That a man have trust in the petition of his prayer through trust in God, is the chief part of the gift of faith. The assurance of faith in God is not a correct confession, though this is the mother of faith, but a soul that looks on the truth of God by the power of behaviour. When thou findest faith and what is related to it, in the holy scriptures mingled with behaviour, do not consider it in the sense of true confession. Faith which gives the conviction of trust is never demanded by the imperfect, or by those whose mind is perverted so that it cannot attain truth. The assurance of truth reveals itself in the soul — in accordance with the elevation that is the result of behaviour — in an attitude which tends toward the legislation of our Lord.

The light of the soul consists in constant meditation upon the scriptures. For they trace in the intellect profitable recollections with regard to watchfulness against the affections and for perpetual abiding with God, in love and in purity of prayer.

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1) Bedjan's ܬܗܘܕܝ is a misprint for ܒܗܘܕܝ

They trace before us the way which is made peaceful by
380 the steps of the saints. Yet do not confide in the signs of the words when they are not accompanied by great alertness and perpetual affectability through constant prayers. Accept without doubt words that are spoken from experience, even if they are uttered by a simple man. Even the great treasury of earthly kings does not abhor to take increase from the money of the mendicant. And from small sources the large streams of the rivers increase.

If the recollection of the excellent renews in us the desire of excellence when we commune with them mentally, the recollection of the impudent also renews in our mind impure desire when we are reminded of them. This is because the recollection of all these develops in our mind the distinct lines of their deeds. And with their finger as it were they show us their evil deeds or the elevation of their behaviour, in accord with their belonging to one or to the other kind. And the recollection with its stings — be they right or left ones — spurns us to meditate upon the baseness of our mind (while the images of their noble behaviour are depicted in our imaginations) and to look upon them zealously.

So not only the meditation upon evil injures those who are captured by it, but also the sight and the recollection of those who perform evil. And not only is the performing of excellent things greatly profitable to those who accomplish them, but also the imaginative representation formed by the recollection of the persons who perform those things. And on account of
381 this it can be understood that those who are near to reaching the stage of purity, are deemed worthy of seeing perpetually holy men in nightly visions. And during the whole day the images of the saints which are printed in their soul are to them a source of joy by their intellectual intercourse with them. And on account of this they turn with renewed fervour towards the performance of good works and an intense fire of love unto excellence is kindled in them.

It is said that the holy angels assume the appearance of honoured and excellent men and show themselves to the soul in visions during sleep when the emotions are distracted, for the sake of joy and higher incitement. And during the day they set [the solitary] astir by the recollection of the visions, and so they are fired anew to their labour by their joy at

those holy men. And so the latter are promotors of the former's course. In the same way, at the time of the heat of battle, those who are accustomed to evil intercourse, are visited by the demons in this likeness. They assume a likeness in which they show themselves to the soul, namely visions highly exciting amidst the recollections of the day to those who converse with these. Sometimes also they do this by frightful visions which terrify the soul and weaken it, and which accentuate the difficulty of behaviour in solitude and reclusion, and the like.

We ought therefore, o my brethren, to use discrimination regarding recollections, in our meditation, [choosing] which of them we should cherish and which we should dispel hastily as soon as they approach our mind, according to whether they
382 proceed from the activity of the demons who provide the affections with matter, or from desire or anger, or from the holy angels such as give indications that cause joy and knowledge and profit by the deliberations which they excite through their offerings to us, or by the recollection and perception of former deeds some of which stir in the soul deliberations that are useful in any direction.

Experience concerning the two we must acquire by discriminating knowledge, as also experience concerning their aspect, their intercourse, even concerning their way of working. Each of the two has at once to be met with a distinct prayer.

Love which is maintained by [outward] things is to be compared with a small flame whose light subsists by the sustenance of oil; and with a stream subsisting through rain, and whose flow ceases as soon as the supply which maintains it becomes deficient. Love of which God is the cause, is as a source welling from the depth, whose current will never cease. For He alone is the source of love whose supply does not fail.

Thou desirest to perform the recitation of Psalms during thy service with delight, and thou wishest to perceive the spiritual words which thou recitest? Abandon the performance of a certain quantity and ignore the measures of service; and say the words in the way of prayer, and leave the usual iteration. Understand what I say. As to those sections which bear the character of a history, let thy spirit consider their repetition as the recitation of some providential act of God, in order that by the deep significance which is in them the soul be
383 awakened unto amazement at Providence; and from here it

may be stirred to praises or to profitable affection. The passages which are prayers, take them unto thyself. When thy mind has become established in them, confusion has given way and disappeared. For in the service of bondage there is no peace of mind, nor is there trouble of confusion in the liberty of the children. For confusion is wont to suck away the taste of insights and to rob them of their intellect, as the leech which with the blood of the limbs sucks the vitality of the body. For it is possible, to say of confusion that it is the mount of Satan even. Satan, as a chariot-driver, is wont to ride on it constantly, taking with him a multitude of affections. Thus he invades the poor soul making use of the darkness of its confusion.

And this thou hast to understand clearly, lest in the sentences of thy recited Psalms and of thy prayer thou becomest a conductor of words as if they came from a strange person. For thou shouldst not think that thou art sedulously promoting the work of the apostles if thou art wholly devoid of the passion and the joy which is in it. But thou shouldst say the words beseechingly, as originating in thyself, with intelligence and with passionate discrimination, as one who is aware of his being occupied with ritual of his own. Dejection is caused by distraction of mind; distraction by neglect of labours and recitation and by intercourse left to chance.

Not to use conversation with those who speak to us, but
384 to cut off their speech entreatingly, is a sign of a mind that has found wisdom and power by grace. For its true knowledge frees it from much labour; and by its treading short ways it cuts off the many windings of a long way. For we have not at all times the power to reduce to silence all contrary deliberations by arguments, and it may happen, when we receive a blow, that for a long time we shall not be healed.

Against those who are six thousand years old thou wilt stand thy trial. But they also are provided with means which may destroy thee, being mightier than thy wisdom and thy learning. But even if thou vanquishest, the dirt of their deliberations will defile thy mind and their stinking odour will linger in thy smell. But by the former method [1]) thou wilt be free from all these and from fear, because there is no helper like God.

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1) viz. by cutting off discussions

Perpetual tears during prayer are a sign of divine mercy of which the soul is worthy because of its repentance which has been accepted; and with tears it begins to enter the plain of serenity. Unless the deliberations have been freed from the care of transitory things and have cast away the hope of the world and contempt for it has been established in them and they have begun to prepare provisions for the day of a man's departure, because the thought of things beyond earthly ones has been established [1]) in the soul — it is not possible that the eyes shed
385 tears. Tears originate from pure meditation without distraction and from perpetual meditations without deviation, and by some subtle recollection which falls into the mind and affects the heart by the anxiety it causes. Then tears become frequent.

When thou turnest towards perpetual handiwork in thy solitude, do not make the commandment of the fathers a pretext for love of money. In order to avoid despondency thou must have some trifling occupation which does not trouble the mind. If however thou desirest to bestow more care upon it, for the sake of alms, know then that the order of prayer is more excellent than alms; if thou desirest to do so because of thy need, without being covetous, that which is sufficient to fulfill thy want is what our Lord provides thee with. He never has left His servants in want of transitory things. Seek ye first the kingdom of God and His righteousness, and all these things shall be added unto you, before ye ask, says our Lord [2]).

One of the saints [3]) has said: it is not the aim of thy discipline that thou shouldst appease the hungry and that thy cell chould become a place of congregation for strangers. For this behaviour is rather meet for those who are in the world, but nor for solitaries who are free from thoughts of visible things and who preserve their mind by prayer. If ever thou wilt be deemed worthy of the solitary state and avoid heavy
386 loads in the kingdom of its freedom, let not the customary thought of fear terrify thee with its many and varying deliberations. But as a man who believes that there is a guardian with him and who knows occurately through his wisdom that he and all creatures are under one Lord, and that one will moves them all and stops and governs them, and that no fellow is able to injure his comrade without the commandment

1) Reading ܡܬܬܠܐ 2) Matthew 6, 33
3) Perhaps Euagrius; cf. *Book of the Dove*, p. 30

of the Governor, and that all is under His care — make up thy mind to be courageous. For though some of them have been given freedom, yet they have no freedom in all things, and neither the demons nor the beasts of prey, nor malicious men are able to injure any man according to their good pleasure, until the divine will has given the command and until material opportunity has been given. It is not granted by the divine will that all freedom should realize itself, otherwise no flesh could live. For the Lord does not allow the freedom of demons or man to approach his creatures that they use it according to their good pleasure.

So thou hast to say to thyself: there is a guardian with me and there is no possibility for any of the creatures even to show themselves to me, if no permission from on high has been given. So if thou seest with thy eyes and hearest with thy ears their threatenings, even then thou must not believe that they will venture to act. If they had received an order
387 from the heavenly will, no speech and even not a word even would be necessary, but action would immediately follow will. And if this be the will of my Lord (so say to thyself), that the evil ones have power in his creation, then I must not resist this fact as if I were one taking pleasure in contradicting the will of his Lord. Thus, even in thy temptations, thou shalt be full of gladness, as one who knows and feels that his Lord is governor. Support therefore thy heart by confidence in the faith in the Lord without being afraid for the terror by night nor for the arrow that flies by day [1]). For the faith of the righteous in God makes the beasts of the field as lambs and goats [2]). It is namely impossible to be a righteous man confiding in God unless this be true of thee, that for the sake of the service of righteousness thou art gone into the desert with its many troubles and that for it thou art administering the will of God. So thou labourest in vain when thou takest upon thee these pains. For God does not wish the pains of mankind, but that thou offer to Him as a sacrifice of love thy personal affections. All those who love God show Him this distinctive [sign of love] that they are willing to bear troubles for the sake of His love. For all those who desire to live in the fear of God through Jesus Christ, bear troubles. And then He makes them rule over his hidden treasures.

1) Psalm 91, 5 2) Cf. *Book of the Dove*, p. 80

One of the saints has said: There was an old, honoured solitary to whom I once went when I was shaken by tempta-
388 tions. He was ill and had to lie down. When I had greeted him I sat down near him and said: Pray for me, Father, for I am very much shaken by the temptations of the demons. He opened his eyes and looked at me benignanthy, saying. My son, thou art a boy; God will not admit the demons unto thee. I answered: If I am a boy I have to bear the temptations of strong men. Then he said to me: So God is trying to make thee wise. I said to him: How can I become wise, if I taste death every day? He said to me: God loves thee; be silent, God shall give thee His gift. Then he said to me: Thou must know, my son, that I have been making war upon the demons during thirty years, of which I have passed twenty without enjoying any help whatever. When twenty five years had elapsed, rest began to show itself. As it approached, it increased and when twenty eight years had passed it had grown considerably. And now that thirty years have been accomplished rest has increased to such a degree, that I know not how this can happen. — Further he said: When I desire to stand performing service, I am allowed to accomplish one *marmita*[1]). Further, even if I remain standing during three days, I am in ecstasy with God, without perceiving fatigue. — Behold how prolonged labours produce illimitable rest.

One of the Fathers used to eat two times every week. He
389 said to us: 'The day on which I speak with someone, I am not able to keep the usual rule of fasting, but I am compelled to break it'. So we understand that the keeping of the tongue not only does excite the mind unto God but that it also in secret grants considerable force for the accomplishment of the visible labours which are performed through the body. And on account of a hidden service the intellect will constantly be illuminated, as our Fathers say. For keeping the tongue excites the heart unto God, if we be silent with knowledge.

This saint was much given to vigils saying: When of a night I stand till dawn and take rest after the recitation of Psalms, and then wake up from sleep, on that day I am as a man who is not in this world. No single earthly thought

1) a fifteenth part of the psalter.

rises in my heart, nor do I want definite regulations, but all day I am in ecstasy.

On one day such as this in which I was wont to take food (and since four days I had not eaten), when I rose in order to perform the evening service and to eat afterwards, I stood in the room of my cell in full sunlight. I perceived only that I began with the *marmita* which is the beginning of the service; but till the next day when the sun rose before me and the clothes on my body became warm, I did not perceive where I was. As the sun troubled me by burning my face my mind came back to me and behold, I saw that it was a
390 new day. And I thanked God because of His pouring out His grace upon mankind and because of His deeming worthy of such a greatness those who seek Him.

Here end the tales of holy men.

LIV

OTHER EXPLANATIONS CONCERNING MAGGENANUTHA [1])

Although we have already spoken on this subject in an other context in the foregoing disquisitions [2]), when an opportunity offered itself, yet we do not object to elucidating the subject further here.

Maggenanutha denotes help and guardianship and also the receiving of the heavenly gift. As for instance: The Holy Ghost shall come and the Power of the Highest shall overshadow thee [3]). And: Thy right hand shall save me [4]), which is a prayer for help. And: I will defend this city to save it [5]).

So we understand two kinds of action in the maggenanutha granted by God unto mankind: one is symbolical and intelligible; the other practical. The former is connected with the holiness which is received through divine grace; this means: by the influence of the Holy Ghost a man is made holy in body and soul, as is the case of Elisha and John and Mary the blessed among women. But because this is incomparable

1) Inspiration, revelation, incarnation a. s. o. 2) Syriac text, pp. 107, 160

3) Luke 1, 35 *naggen*; to overshadow is only a faint rendering. The original means rather to envelop and to overpower.

4) Ps. 138, 7 5) Ps. 37, 35

and above that which happens to the rank-and-file of creatures we have to come to that partial [holiness] which is granted unto the other saints, in the relation between the limbs and the body.

The mysterious kind of maggenanutha — as the [gifts]
391 imparted unto each of the saints — is a kind of influence which possesses the mind. And when man is deemed worthy of this maggenanutha, the mind is snatched away in ecstasy and expanded by some divine revelation. And as long as the influence possesses the mind, man is exalted above the emotions of psychic deliberations, on account of his communion with the Holy Ghost.

And this is what was said by the Apostle in the form of a prayer unto the Ephesians, when he desired to explain to them this mystery: May the God of our Lord Jesus Christ, the Father of glory, give unto you the spirit of wisdom and revelation in the knowledge of Him: the eyes of your hearts being enlightened [1]). What is the result of this? That ye may know what is the hope of His calling and what the riches of the glory of His inheritance in the saints, and what is the exceeding greatness of His power to us-ward who believe [2]).

This is one symbolical kind of maggenanutha, that when this power overshadows a man, he is deemed worthy of the glory of the new world, by revelation. And this is the part that has fallen to the lot of the saints by light; concerning which the blessed Paul says, that those are deemed worthy of it who have received sanctification of the mind from the Spirit, on account of their holy and excellent behaviour [3]).

Another kind of maggenanutha is that whose action manifests itself practically. It is the intelligible power which constantly covers a man and broods over him, removing from him any injury or accident that threatens to approach his body or soul, something not to be perceived visibly by the mind, but
392 clear and evident to the eye of faith, such as was frequently experienced by the saints; as is written: The angels of the Lord encamp round about them that fear Him and deliver them [4]). And: Many are the afflictions of the righteous; but the Lord delivers them out of them all [5]).

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1) Ephesians 1, 17 sq. 2) ib. 10, 18 sq. 3) cf. 2 Thess. 2, 13
4) Ps. 34, 7 5) Ps. 34, 19

LV

HOW THE HIDDEN ALERTNESS WITHIN THE SOUL IS TO BE PRESERVED HOW SLEEPINESS AND COLDNESS ENTER THE MIND BANISHING THE HOLY FERVOUR FROM THE SOUL KILLING THE DESIRE OF GOD THAT TENDS TOWARDS SPIRITUAL AND HEAVENLY DESIRABLE THINGS

Opposition would have no chance to cause confusion to those who desire beautiful things, if an occasion were not offered to these evil machinations by the lovers of beautiful things themselves. The matter is nearly thus.

Every impulse of love unto what is beautiful is from the beginning of its motion accompanied by some zeal which in its fervour resembles that of fiery coals. This zeal usually surrounds the impulse of love as a wall, chasing from its neighbourhood all opposition and trouble. It possesses such vigour and unspeakable force that it can stiffen the whole soul against relaxation or against being shaken by the attack of all troublous things. It is in the first place the force of the holy desire implanted in the nature of the soul, namely an emotion set astir
393 by the force of the soul's natural anger, which is implanted in it by God in order to guard the boundaries of nature, so that it may use its vigour for fulfilling the natural desire of the soul, which is excellence. It is impossible to perform excellence without this impulse.

It is called zeal because it makes zealous and it sets astir and kindles and makes man heroic from time to time so that he despises the body in the troubles and terrible temptations which occur, and delivers his soul to death full of confidence and encounters the powers of the rebellion, giving up especially the fulfilling of what the soul loves.

A certain man, clad with Christ, somewhere in his book calls this zeal a dog and a guardian of the law of God, which is excellence.

Excellence is the fulfilling of the laws of God. This force of zeal becomes mighty and alert and fervent for the sake of guarding the house, an account of two reasons; and it becomes

weak and sleepy and despicable on account of other two reasons.

The first reason of fervour and alertness consists in anxiety for the virtues which a man possesses or is going to possess, when some fear arises, lest these virtues should be stolen or seized by some approaching event. This fear is set astir by divine care, in all worshipers of excellence, lest the alertness and the constant zeal of the soul should get asleep.

When this fear is set astir in nature, the dog of which we
394 have spoken will be fervent, night and day, as a blazing furnace, spurring nature which like a Cherub is watching and threatening all the surroundings at all times. If, so to speak, a bird should pass by, it would be astir and bark with a vigour unspeakably sharp.

When this fear is anxious on behalf of the body, it is satanic; because faith in God's care is shaken and man forgets how God thinks of those who care for excellence by caring for them at all times. As the Holy Ghost has said through the mouth of the prophet: The eyes of the Lord are upon the righteous and His ears are [inclined] to hear them [1]). For the thoughts of the Lord are unto those who fear Him. And in another place [the prophet] says, as it were speaking in the name of God, unto those who perform righteousness: There shall no evil befall thee, neither shall any plague come nigh thy dwelling. For He shall give His angels charge over thee to keep thee; they shall bear thee up in their hands [2]), and compare the other words of Scripture.

But when this fear is on behalf of the soul, for the accidents threatening excellence, namely fear lest the soul be robbed or injured by any cause, this is a divine impulse and an excellent thought. And it is in God's care that this distress and fear originate, and this terror which torments the mind by its oppression.

The second cause of the vigour and the fervour of the dog is brought about by the increase of love of excellence in the soul. According to the measure of the love of the soul for
395 that which it possesses by this love, — which is a divine deliberation — this natural zeal glows for it.

As to the causes of its abating and sleepiness, one of them is brought about by love being quenched and reduced in the

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1) Psalms 34, 16 2) Psalms 91, 11 sq.

soul. The second rises when some deliberation of trust takes its seat in the soul and man confides and thinks many times that there is no danger of anything that could injure him. Then he casts away the weapon of zeal and becomes as a house without a guardian. And the dog goes asleep, leaving his watch. Usually this deliberation is the source of most of the intelligible houses being robbed. This happens when the serene flame of holy knowledge in the soul becomes dark.

Whereby does it become dark, if not by some subtle deliberation of presumption penetrating into the soul, or because man is given to too much care of bodily things, or because he is frequently in contact with worldly things. Every time that strugglers come into contact with lay people, especially women, the soul descends. This also happens through contact with the multitude on account of whose gaze the soul necessarily is assailed by vain glory.

In short: the ruling mind as often as it comes into contact with the world resembles the skipper who calmly was sailing on the sea while a soft wind from behind drove him towards the harbour, when he suddenly got among the cliffs.

LVI

396 BEAUTIFUL CONSIDERATIONS [1]) CONCERNING THE LIFE OF MAN

As often as man in his course approaches this world, the love of worldly things takes root in him, and he is constantly troubled by the thought of them, and he fights with man for them; and becomes bound in love to some person or other, without discrimination.

When on the other hand the mind profits by the subtle meditation upon the world to be, constantly thoughts unrivalled will move in it; and expecting the things which he does not see, he goes to meet them, forgetting the things of this world, sometimes forgetting himself; because of his utter absorption in ideas, neglecting visible things on account of these deliberations. So deliberations as well as practice are despised by

1) literally: distinctions

him as long as he cares for these ideas. He is devoid of enslaving love related to single persons, but universal love which does not need sight is fixed in his soul. The apperception of recollection concerning human things gradually disappears from his mind, while the thought of hidden things increases in it, gains force and vanquishes bodily deliberations, till it is free from corruptible things, as far as nature allows this. And if it were not that the common [human] recollection was aroused in him, when the need of something which cannot absolutely be dispensed with presents itself, his mind would be directed towards future things the most of the time, by such thoughts as would give him profit of these things. And because of these he becomes a stranger [1]) to all the wisdom of this world. So he becomes void of recollection and a fool as it were on account of his having examined human wisdom.

397 Blessed is the man who has been deemed worthy of these things. Tears will not cease to drop from his eyes when he turns unto himself with the recollection of those things by which men are led into error, and why forgiveness is granted them, and whereby the universal end is brought about, and what labour and error is caused by these. It is said concerning Paul that on account of these emotions which prevailed over his soul, for three years he was not quit of tears, unable to subdue them.

Such a deliberation accompanied with the emotion of tears rules man when he perceives the future hope and then turns his mind towards the things of this world, [thinking] how small psychic life is in comparison with the hope preserved for eternities, in the new life. By such affectability man grows dead unto all transitory things and thought of them; and all affections of body and soul die in him.

Let us remember this, my beloved, and despise the things of this world, as much as it is possible for us; and let us gradually, to the same extent, approach with our emotions towards future things. For if a man does not compel himself, from time to time utterly neglecting the things which are before the eyes in order to abandon them gradually and to proceed onwards in this way, so that the thought and the contemplation of these things increase in him — he will remain

1) literally: a fool

in this body with his behaviour. Also those who walk in the way, if they do not go forwards in their daily march and so diminish the distance but remain on one spot, the way before
398 them will never end and they will never arrive there where they hope to come.

Our case resembles theirs. If we do not compel ourselves gradually, we never shall have the power to abandon the bodily things in order to look towards God.

Because it is so difficult to free oneself from them when one has once become entangled in any of them, it is a matter of wisdom to struggle in order not to come near to them, so that one may be free even of the thought of them, and thus the mind be able to look towards something different. I do not mean that we should not provide for our wants; for these are a necessity and may bereave nature of life. But we should not put them in the position of the principal service by giving them the preference over the service of God. But attending to these needs in part, we must leave the care of them to God. We should confide in Him rather than in ourselves.

And when a man ventures to despise these [earthly] things wholly for the sake of spiritual things, I do not esteem this improper, because we have all the encouragements of scripture that teaches us to be strong in hope; as is written: The Lord is at hand; be careful for nothing [1]). And David says: Cast thy care upon the Lord and He shall sustain thee [2]). The rich do lack and suffer hunger: but they that seek the Lord shall not want any good thing [3]). And our Lord has commanded us, saying: Be careful for nothing, but frequently think of the future things. And these earthly things which are necessary because of the needs of nature, will not fail thee.

399 May God in His grace grant us that His love be abundant in us, in order that by constant meditation on Him we may forget the world and what belongs to it by becoming free from its bonds; and that instead of many bonds we may be bound with that one bond which is not loosened from those who love Him, namely the bond of the kingdom of the worlds above; that we also may be bound with it, and be deemed worthy of the prefiguration of good the fulness of which is preserved in the future world for those who have possessed

1) Philippians 4, 5 2) Psalms 55, 22 3) Ps. 34, 10 according to the Peshito

it here already. That we also may possess it and be possessed by it through the power that comes from it, for ever and ever, Amen.

LVII

HOW PATIENCE FOR THE SAKE OF THE LOVE OF GOD ACQUIRES HELP FROM GOD

In accordance with a man's despising this world and his being occupied by the fear of God, divine care will approach him and he will perceive its help in secret and there will be given to him clear emotions so as to understand it. Even though a man be not destitute of the goods of this world by his own will, still even as he is devoid of them, so mercy will follow him and divine compassion will support him. Glory to Him who shows us His grace in things of the right and of the left hand [1]) and who in all of them lays a cause for the renewal of our life; and who makes the souls of those who, wilfully, are too weak to acquire life, ascend towards excellence, by involuntary distress.

400 The poor Lazarus was not destitute of the goods of this world by his own will, even his body was stricken by ulcers; bitter plagues he had to endure, one still harder than the other: illness and poverty. Yet in the end he received honour in the bosom of the patriarch.

God is near to the suffering heart which out of trouble cries to Him. And though the body sometimes refuses to bear these pains for the sake of the help, yet, as a physician who causes healing by the acute pains of his operations, the Lord greatly favours his soul in accordance with the heavy pains of his distress. Now when the love of Christ is not so prevalent in thee that thou art without affection in all troubles through thy gladness in Him, know then that the world lives in thee more than Christ does. When illnesses and want, or injury of the body, or fear of its afflictions trouble thy mind in the joy of thy hope and thy clear thought in our Lord, know then that the body lives in thee, not Christ. He whose

1) happy and unhappy

love is prevalent over thee, he lives in thee. If thou art able to walk in serenity on thy way unto Christ, fulfilling all things required without lack, without bodily torments, without fear of adversaries, know then that thou art sick in thy mind and devoid of the taste of God's glory.

I do not judge why thou art so, but [I say this] in order that thou mayest know at least how far thou art from the
401 accomplishment, even partially, of the discipline of the saints which lived before us. Do not say: There is not a man to be found whose mind, shipwrecked though the body may be by every sorrow of temptation, is so wholly exalted above sickness that the love of Christ vanquished the affectability of the mind. I refrain from reminding thee of the deeds of the martyrs; perhaps we would be unable to remain standing firm before the deluge of their sufferings, in which patience through the power of love has vanquished the trouble and the love of the body. But because even the recollection of these things is difficult to human nature, in that we are troubled by the greatness of the thing and by its amazing aspect, we will turn towards the ungodly philosophers, and from them, by a comparison with their patience, we shall find instruction concerning the weakness of our will. But this has also to be preserved till its time when we shall explain it in its place [1]), knowing that also this is a sign of illness. Thus we shall not judge this matter from ourselves, but so that we may believe how very low we have been cast down and how that, despite this, it is possible that the Highest should become wholly man. The drunkard will never believe that there are many men who do not even drink wine. Neither will the lascivious believe, that there are men who wholly abstain from sexual union. Neither will he that is troubled by a certain desire believe that there are men who are not troubled at all by this desire, even though they be incited by other things. Neither will he that is constantly ill, believe that there exists a body which is not ruined by illnesses. So the consolation
402 of those who are not able to vanquish absolutely [the weakness of] the mind, may be in the consideration that there is no man who is completely elevated above this weakness. That there are people in whom the love of Christ has vanquished

1) p. 403 (Syriac text)

the weakness of nature so that they wholly despise the body and its love, whose mind is not troubled by the gladness in Christ so that this should bring about the possibility of being vanquished by the power of oppositional forces on the part of the body, and in whom the [divine] gifts have overcome the incompetence of nature — this they do not believe at all.

I do not say that difficulties wholly fail in the way of God, or that there is anyone who lives in this way without temptations. On the contrary, I say that he that lives in excellence, day by day will find more troubles, and the farther he proceeds onwards, the more he is oppressed by distresses. This is a sign of the veraciousness of his course, that he lives a bitter life in this world and that he departs this body with torments. For this world is not the world of the righteous, and they cannot abide in it without distresses. But the will can be strengthened by grace to despise all these things and keep the mind without confusion, by the gladness of the love of Christ.

That there have been men who reached this, and that it is possible that they become thus even now, is due to the great help of the gift of Christ. Do not judge, o man, the
403 deeds of all men, from thy own case, and do not weigh their behaviour against the weight of thy own weakness. If thou seekest, begin with hope, then thou wilt be helped. And be not incredulous lest thou be left by Him that sows these things in thee, so that thou reach the measure of thine own smallness, whatever it be, in contrast to those who have vanquished the world and its confusion absolutely.

If thou doest not believe the church, approach unto the philosophers. Then thou wilt see, how much power the will possesses to be uplifted above the body and to remain without confusion according to the choice of him that chooses. When thou seest how these, who did not know God, have displayed in the face of the world the endurance and vigour of a heroic will, and how they have shown how much force inner nature possesses to vanquish everything if it like — a man will be struck with amazement in reading their histories at the power which God has assembled in this nature, that, if we like, we can vanquish everything. But because we do not will, we preach the weakness of nature. And while we hide the vigour of nature by the weakness of our will, we say: Who should ever be able to vanquish these things?

One of them had mastered the will of the body to such a degree, that, in order not to give up and to deviate from the choice he had made, he did not even allow his mind to be disturbed when the sword was drawn; so fear of death could not break through the barrier he had made for himself. When
404 for many years he had kept silence, the king of the Greeks, wondering at his fame and desiring to put him to the test, ordered him to appear before him. As the philosopher remained silent whenever the king spoke and questioned him, giving no answer, the king grew angry and ordered him to be put to death, because he was not even impressed by the glory of his throne and crown. The philosopher was not moved by this [order], but kept his rule quietly. Then the king ordered the executioners to slay him if he should break his rule out of fear of the sword; but to bring him back living if he should be firm of will. When the moment had come and the executioners commanded him to bend his will or die, he deliberated thus: it is better once to suffer death, while keeping the rule of my will which I have borne all this time, than to give way out of fear of death, putting to shame my wisdom, and be found a coward because of that which I shall have to meet at any rate, whenever it be. — By this firmness of will and this heroic mind he was delivered even from death, being found just and true to his rule. Doest thou see what power will possesses? This sage stretched his neck before the sword without breaking his own rule.

Others have trampled upon the desire of nature and have tamed it by the bridle which they have put into its mouth. Others have remained unmoved before disdain. Others have
405 been found consistent and without wrath, before blows. Some have suffered from their equals what could hardly be borne; others from people who were by far their inferiors. Others have remained without feelings of enmity or anger while their possessions were robbed. Others have shown endurance under horrible and severe illnesses, without being troubled, and have added even other ascetic practices. Some have performed voluntary labours, others have practised total nakedness, apart from the covering demanded by chastity, or a solitary life, and support of life by raw food. Thus king Alexander, when once he went to see one of them, did not hear anything from him except on contempt of the world.

All this [they practised] lest they should be withheld from meditation and the occupying themselves with their wisdom.

If the labour of instruction and the discipline of wisdom, apart from the fear of God and the light of faith and the hope of a world to be, are able to perform such heroic deeds, who then should not be despised by his own conscience, that notwithstanding all the light of Christ which is poured out on the world, and the great gifts which are lavished abundantly in secret, and the hope on God which day by day is confirmed by events — still the difficulties and the pleasure of this body are master of him, so that he does not remain as a diamond for the sake of the love of God, despising everything joyfully?

If it is possible to be in doubt as to how men vanquish all
406 these things — every wise man knows that no one can do anything by his own power. But it is possible, because by God's help and a firm will he finds all things weaker than himself.

By these the zeal of the solitaries has been kindled, so that they have abandoned and suddenly given up the world and what belongs to it, and have become strong, withstanding all contrary things and, by endurance of will and by the help of their Lord, have vanquished all difficulties whatsoever. For they dwelt in the midst of them. Many of them were adherents of the doctrine of the philosophers, saying: If external sages, in spite of the fact that they were not on the way of God, have taken upon themselves, in return for transitory wisdom and training in the instruction of this temporary world, to bear these things, and have become alienated to the world and apart from it in their dealings, so as to reach the desire of their will, though there was no just basis in their thoughts nor hope of inmortality in their labours, performing these things to this high degree with a view to a vain expectation — how much more are we bound to endure for the sake of the love of God and to despise all difficulties for the sake of the sublime future which has been promised us.

So they have been confirmed by this thought and have mastered the laxity of their deliberations and have entered the arena and turned not their backs until they have gained the crown. They were an example even for later generations, and have shown the world how those who walk this way have to enter the arena.

LVIII

407 ON THOSE WHO LIVE IN THE NEIGHBOURHOOD OF GOD AND PASS ALL THEIR DAYS IN A LIFE OF KNOWLEDGE

Blessed is he that leads a watchful life in this world. A certain Father had written on all the walls of his cell various things, and all kinds of thoughts, and admirable words on every context. He was asked: What are these, o Father? He answered: These are deliberations of justice that occur to me through the angel that is with me and through the right impulses of nature. I write them down when I am in these apartments, in order that I may be occupied with them in the time of darkness, and that they may save me from error.

So a man ought to do all his days.

A certain Father was called happy by his own thoughts which praised him thus: In stead of the world that passes, thou hast been deemed worthy of the indestructible hope. The Father said to them: Why do ye call me happy, while I am still alive? I do not know what will happen to me till my death. I am still on the way; happiness is not certain before I have reached my home.

Indeed, this is a just deliberation. It is becoming that we should appoint our day of death as the term of victory. Before death, he that triumphs is no real victor. For his enemies are living and the way is before him, and he does not know
408 where he may be entangled; for his way is not safe, and he has not yet reached the time of trust. Thus he that is entangled in evil things has not to be dejected; for it is possible for him to gain life, as he is still alive. There is hope for him as well as for the one that behaves well. Why doest thou rebuke the sinner, o man? The labours of thine own merchandise have not yet entered the harbour; the hope of him over whom thou art extolling thyself, has not been cut off by God. It is possible that within a short time he will surpass thee in excellence and come nearer to God than thou art. For death has not yet come and concluded his affair, nor thine. Many vicissitudes happen to a man during

his life. But it is God who looks to the end and not to the things in the middle. There have been many righteous who fell from their righteousness, and sinners have come up and taken their place. Therefore the righteous should not extol himself, he is still alive; nor shall the sinner be dejected, for God is near to him if he seeks Him, and prepared to receive him when he changes his behaviour and turns towards Him. If thou hast wrought righteousness without perceiving the taste of its profit, then be not amazed.

Until a man becomes humble, he does not receive the wages of his service. Remuneration is not given for service, but for humbleness. He that wrongs the latter, looses the former.

He who has taken upon him the service of excellence is
409 inferior to him that has first taken upon him the excellence of service. Excellence is the mother of afflictions; from afflictions humbleness is born. The gift is given for humbleness. Consequently remuneration does not belong to excellence, nor to pains for its sake, but to humbleness which is born from it. Now if humbleness fails, the other ones are vain. The service of excellence is the observance of the commandments of our Lord. The excellence of service is steadiness of mind, which is established by humbleness and watchfulness. Where the power [necessary] for the performance of the former ones fails, the latter is received instead of them. So Christ does not seek the service of the commandments, but the steadiness of the soul, for the sake of which He also has laid commandments upon rational beings. The body works with the right and with the left part, equally. But the mind, as is becoming, is either justified or condemned.

Some serve life by left-hand things, through wisdom from God; and some acquire sin under the appearance of acquiring divine things. Shortcomings in sundry things in which those who are watchful are entangled, are permitted by God in order to guard their righteousness, that their trespasses and failures may become to them a cause of humbleness.

Humbleness protects many men for their service, not only withholding them from haughtiness, but by the recollection their [trespasses] they become humble and receive higher wages.

Without blows a gift cannot be kept. A gift without temp-
410 tations is found to cause the destruction of those who have received it.

If thou hast served well before God, and He has given thee a gift for thy steadfastness regarding Him, in order to spur thee on the more and to give thee joy in thy service, then let Him give thee knowledge so as to know how it is necessary to humble thyself; otherwise he would appoint a prosecutor or take it again from thee, lest there should be a chance for its being lost. It is not given to every one to guard riches without damage.

The soul that takes upon itself the trouble of excellence and lives in the veracious fear of God cannot be without daily afflictions. Virtues and afflictions are interwoven.

He who abandons troubles also abandons excellence entirely. Who clings to excellency, clings to afflictions. If thou desirest excellence, thou givest thyself over to all afflictions. Excellence is the mother of afflictions; afflictions are the mother of humbleness. For God does not desire that the soul should be without care. And he that desires this, his mind is found to be without God's will. By care I do not mean care concerning bodily things, but concerning the oppression that persecutes virtues. For before we reach true knowledge, which is the revelation of hidden things, we have to come near to humbleness through temptations. He that is found to be without afflictions in his excellence, for him a door unto haughtiness is opened. How can he who desires this [excellence] be without affliction in his mind? It is not possible that the mind remain
411 in humbleness if there is no reason for blows. And it is not possible that without humbleness it should remain in perpetual supplication unto God, in serenity.

First man is removed from the thought of his duty in his mind, then the spirit of haughtiness approaches him. At first the angel of care suffers this, but afterwards it withdraws itself from him. As long as the angel is near him, he provides him solely with thoughts of righteousness. But when he has wronged the angel and it has withdrawn itself from him, then a foreign power approaches him, and no single just thought will furthermore be in him. Haughtiness comes before ruin, says the sage [1]); so humbleness before a gift. By the quantity of haughtiness which is found in the soul, is judged the scale of ruin which is on the point of being sent to it by God.

1) Proverbs 16, 19

For none of the sins does God withdraw from man, leaving him wholly because He dislikes him, until He finds the mind seized with haughtiness or blasphemy. And the former [of these two] becomes the cause of the latter.

Those who in their mind leave the way of humbleness and so become devoid of divine help, either fall into the impurity of lasciviousness, or into blasphemy, or into mental ruin.

Those who extol themselves on account of excellent behaviour, usually fall into into evil lasciviousness; those who extol themselves on account of knowledge and mental discipline, into blasphemy or trouble of mind.

Haughtiness is not the state in which such deliberations
412 pass through the mind, nor when the mind is sometimes overpowered by them, but when the mind clings to them. It is manifest that even for such a one there is repentance. But when he loves haughtiness, he does not know how the repent. If he does repent, he does not cling to haughtiness. Not that the evil man sins or commits a fault against God, but that he clings to his evil [is the great thing]. For the former denotes the weakness of nature, the latter audaciousness of the will.

Also by praises on the part of his fellowmen is a man's mind struck with madness, when he desires to perform among them deeds which are above his measure, in order that the glory of his greatness may increase, and men may perceive that he is very near to God. Many have excelled in behaviour and were rich in gifts from God and have been honoured with the gift of [performing] signs. But afterwards they became changed and received a blow from God, the same men that were so honoured before. The cause of this was that they were not able to bear the many gifts which they had received and were drawn towards haughtiness and were rejected by God as dross and became foreign to the high rank in which they were. And many who were quiet and firm in mind, whose words were weighed, whose behaviour was chaste, whose knowledge was envied, have become an object of fear for those who know them and a lamentable aspect for those who see them.

With loud weeping raise thy voice unto God and beg for
413 humbleness. Fill thy mouth with thy tears and stray ashes on thy head. Do not rise from the earth nor lift up thy head

from the ground, before God has shown thee mercy and has made thee to pass away from this life, saved; or till He has compassion upon thee and gives thee humbleness. And do not desist from mourning before perceiving that thou hast received it, lest thou shouldst be found suddenly as one of these [1]).

And even when thou hast received [humbleness], do not lift up thy eyes, nor look towards the sky, nor satisfy thy eyes with the aspect of men nor let thy heart have rest from fear and prayer. Perhaps thou wilt be saved from the evils which are prepared by the demons, in this discipline full of darkness, narrow, with many stumbling-blocks, incomprehensible to human nature.

Believe me, my brother and consider my words as true: thou art not able to understand all the power of the demons, and thy knowledge is not sufficient to remain standing before their artifices. Let now therefore be poured out within thee a stream of light, in which the love of Christ is found and by which thou art conducted within the wall of divine mercy, to the honour of the humbleness which thou hast found.

When thou enterest into the darkness of temptations where the light withdraws itself and thou art given over to be tempted in that thick darkness of the soul into which those enter who are abandoned by God and given over to the demons, then thou wilt know that thou findest thyself face-
414 to-face with them as a child that does not know where to go. All thy knowledge will be confuse as a little child. Thy mind which was firm in God, thy veracious knowledge, and thy sound spirit will be in the midst of the ocean of doubts.

By one thing canst thou vanquish them: by humbleness alone. As soon as thou takest hold of this, their whole power vanishes. Do not take it for [a sign] of the health of thy soul when thou goest thy course in serenity through thy joy in God, but when thy being bound up with [earthly] things does not turn thy mind away from the love of God or thy neighbour, nor thy connection with several persons from thinking of our Lord, to whom be the glory. May He keep us near to Him and in intercourse with Him. Amen.

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1) who have been described in the above passage

LIX

A PROFITABLE DISCOURSE

True is the word of our Lord who has said that no one can possess love of God side by side with love of the world; nor mingle with the world and with God, nor care for the world and care for God. Apart from all that is connected with vain glory, many of us generally deviate because of bodily want, we who have promised to serve the kingdom of heaven but who do not remember the promise of our Lord who has said: If ye bestow all your care upon the
415 kingdom of heaven, I shall not leave you in want of the needs of sensible nature; but these things will come to you spontaneously before ye think of their use at the time of want, although I do not even let you want because of care for them.

Upon the soulless fowls which have been created in your behalf, God bestows care; and should He neglect you that care for righteousness? To him that cares for spiritual things, even partially, bodily things are prepared even when he does not provide for them, in accordance with their necessity and in their time.

He that shows care for the last named things more than is becoming, will fall from God, even involuntarily. While we bestow care upon things connected with the name of our Lord, He will provide us with both kinds, in accordance with the measure of our care and the importance of the want of each of them. We should however not ask God's care in these bodily things for ourselves as a remuneration for our labours, but we should direct our whole service towards the future hope. For he that once has given himself to excellence with the love of his soul and longs after its service with his whole being, does not think of looking after bodily things, whether they are or are not. How many times does God allow the friends of excellence to be tempted by such things! And not only this; but He even allows many evil things to assail them from all sides; and He smites their body, as in the case of
416 Job, and gives poverty entrance to them an lets them be deprived of their human state, and smites them in all that

they possess, with this restriction only, that the plague should not attain to their life.

It is not possible that we should walk in the way of righteousness and that no troubles should hurt us, nor that the body should not suffer illness and pains, nor that we should remain without varying states, if we really desire to live in excellence. That however a man should wilfully kill or injure himself or harm himself in any way, is a cause of damnation. If he walks in the way of righteousness and follows his course towards God, together with many of his fellows, and one of these things should hurt him on his way, it is not becoming for him to deviate; but he shall accept them joyfully without scrutiny, thanking God because He has given him His gift, God for whose sake he has been deemed worthy to be entangled in temptations so as to become associated with the sufferings of prophets and apostles and the other saints who have endured troubles on behalf of the way of God; [thanking God] because He has deemed him worthy to bear afflictions for the way of excellence, even though they should happen through men, or through the demons or through the body.

These things are not permitted without the divine will, but they happen in order that thou mayest have a cause of righteousness. For it is not possible that God should give the opportunity of becoming excellent to him that desires to be with Him, otherwise than by bringing him into contact with temptations for the sake of truth.

That a man himself is not able to become worthy of such
417 a greatness that he should be led into temptations in behalf of these divine things with joy, but only by a gift from Christ, is witnessed by the blessed apostle. For so great is this thing, that he openly calls it a gift that a man for the sake of the hope in God should be prepared to suffer by faith, saying: For unto you it is given from God, not only to believe in Christ, but also to suffer for his sake [1]).

Then thank without a break Him that has delivered you from the dominion of the darkness of the world and has brought you near the kingdom of His son, and has made you fellows of all the children of light who have suffered for the sake of God, in order that you may gain the part that has fallen to

1) Philippians 1, 29

the lot of the saints in the light. And this is what Peter writes in his epistle: But if ye suffer for righteousness' sake, happy are ye[1]). For you will have a share in Christ's suffering. Therefore, when thou art free from affliction, do not leap up with joy, nor when circumstances assail thee cover thy face with sadness, reckoning this as something foreign to the way of God.

Behold, for years and generations, the way of God has been leveled by the cross and by death. How is this with thee, that thou seest the afflictions of the way as if they were out of the way? Doest not thou wish to follow the steps of the saints? Or doest thou wish to go a way which is especially
418 for thee, without suffering? The way unto God is a daily cross. No one can ascend unto heaven with comfort, we know where the way of comfort leads.

If any one trusts himself with his whole heart to God, God never wishes to take care away from him, namely care for the sake of truth. But thereby he knows that he is guided by God, when He continually sends him afflictions. But those who are guided under afflictions, are never allowed by divine care to fall into the hands of the demons, especially when they kiss the feet of the brethren and hide and cover their shortcomings as if they were their own.

He that wishes to be without care in the world yet guided by excellence, loathes this way. As the blessed commentator says in his interpretation of Matthew: For those who long after excellence, it is not possible to flee from afflictions. For afflictions will necessarily increase to the same measure as the soul fights against contrary powers. But when afflictions leave it, the soul in the first place leaves what belongs to it.

He that says that he is without care, yet is guided by excellence, does not even know whence excellence is born in the soul. For we know what are the governors of excellence. By temptations the gate of heaven is opened before the soul. Our Fathers have guided us in this way. God who gives unto His saints victory in strife so that their deliberations are not turned away from the future hope, will guard and help us by their prayers. Amen.

419 The righteous not only excel in beautiful works by their will but even in involuntary temptations they excel greatly by

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1) 1 Peter 3, 14

their tried patience, because they valiantly endure all earthly troubles, expecting the amazing wages of the world to be. The soul which clings to the fear of God does not fear before anything which harms the body.

LX

THAT WITHOUT NECESSITY WE SHOULD NOT DESIRE NOR ASK THAT ANY SIGN SHOULD MANIFESTLY HAPPEN THROUGH US OR UNTO US

The Lord who is always near the saints through the signs of help He sends to them, does not show, without necessity, His power manifestly by performing any perceptible sign, lest the things which are meant to help us, should become impotent or a means to bring us harm. Such is His way, though He care for them to such an extent, that His secret providence does not abandon them one moment. But in all things He allows them to show care according to their power and to fatigue themselves by prayer.

If however the matter is so difficult, that the scale of their knowledge should become too light, after they have spent their force and resigned because nature is not sufficient [for such a task], He will give His supply according to the greatness of His power, as is becoming and profitable to them in
420 His mind. As long as possible He strengthens them secretly in order that they may remain standing before that difficulty. By the knowledge which He grants them He causes its bond to be loosened, and by contemplation He excites them unto glorification, in order that the matter may be of profit to both parties.

If however the case wants manifest action, He will proceed to give this, for necessity's sake. His acts of providence are wise, serving necessity, not chance.

He that without necessity ventures upon this, begging from God and desiring that wonders and powers should happen through himself, is found to be tempted[1]) of the scornful demon in his heart, and even a boaster and one sick in heart.

For to ask God's help in trouble, is becoming. But to tempt

1) Reading ܡܬܢܣܝ with Bedjan and the Greek translation (πειραζόμενος)

without necessity, is a dangerous thing. He is not even truly a righteous one, who desires this. But that which the Lord does without any man's will, is found by most of the saints. That a man should desire this wilfully, without necessity, is apostasy from watchfulness and aberration from true knowledge. And if he that asks is heard on this point, because of his daring and his persuading our Lord, he is led unto a thing which is still more serious. But those who are truly righteous, do not desire this; and they not only do not count upon this
421 but they do not even ask for it, if it is given them; neither before the eyes of men, nor even privately.

Unto one of the saints, because of his serenity, the gift was granted that he knew beforehand if any one should visit him; but he asked God, and he persuaded others to pray for this, that the gift might be taken away from him.

The Fathers did not use this freedom of speech not even in times of necessity. When the blessed Ammon, a holy man in truth, one of the admirable Fathers, went to the great Mar Antonius and wandered in the desert he did not say: O God take me up and set me down there where Antonius is — though he would have been able to do something like this, because of his being near to God, and because this was a case of necessity; for it is said that those who are wandering in this desert incur danger. Notwithstanding all these things, he did not say this to God, but said only this word: O Lord, let not Thy creature perish. — Doest thou perceive the humbleness, doest thou understand the true wisdom of the Fathers? And
422 God, because He knew that the man was true and not led in his deliberations by haughtiness, showed unto him His care for the saints, and did to the man as his greatness deserved. And so, though Ammon did not beseech, God did what was becoming. For Ammon lay down to sleep; and rising he saw as it were the hand of a man hanging above his head in the sky and showing him the way, till it went and stood still above the cave of the blessed Antonius. — Doest thou perceive God's care for His housemates? It would have been possible even not to let him err. But God desired that Ammon should know how much He cared for him. So He let Him err and showed him afterwards manifestly the way, not through a man, but through an angel and in the air. Blessed be God's care for the saints.

Recollect also what happened to Aba Macarius. When he went to Skete, bearing baskets, and grew fatigued and weary, he sat down because he could not walk any longer. But he did not ask from God that He should do unto him anything, by His influence, to give him comfort. But he trusted himself unto God saying: O God, thou knowest that I have no more strength. Then at once, in a moment, by divine influence, he was taken up and placed there whether he wished to go, he and his baskets.

Those who are righteous in truth, constantly think in their heart that they are not worthy of God. And they consider themselves as true in so far as they deem themselves to be wretches. And they sincerely confess, secretly and openly that they are not worthy of His care. And as sinners and wretches
423 they bestow care and painstaking upon everything and trust themselves unto God, in faith, though, as far as their strength goes they do not desist from what they ought to do, being instructed by the Spirit that they should not neglect to care for their duty but to labour as long as they live.

The time of rest He has preserved for the world to be. And those in whom God dwells do not desire that they may have rest here and be liberated from torments, although consolation in spiritual things is given unto them from time to time in secret.

Excellence is not that a man, on reaching it, should give up care and painstaking. But this is [the sign of] the immanence of the Spirit, that a man constantly subdues and compels himself, even if it should be possible to perform the thing in comfort. For the will of the Spirit is not to accustom those in whom it dwells to laziness and to invite them to comfort, but to labours and greater trouble. And it will teach them alertness and confirm them by temptations and lead them towards wisdom.

It is the will of the Spirit that those who love it, be in vexations. In those who pass their life in comfort, not the Spirit of God but the Spirit of Satan dwells. The Spirit of God is not pleased with bodily comfort, nor does it find pleasure in a life of comfort, but in a life of vexations. Satan on the other hand finds pleasure in a life full of comfort, according to Our Lord's witness. The Holy Spirit flees from comfort;
424 as it is said by the holy Fathers: The Spirit of God does not

dwell in a body softened[1]) by comfort. But it looks after a place where people strain themselves, with an emaciated body, and a prepared soul; and with them it takes habitation, teaching them how to live during this small space of time.

Those who love God complete their life under all kinds of trouble. For all the righteous have driven out this world by means of vexations. According as they came nearer to God, their vexations increased. For one of them said with oaths: I die every day. I conjure you by your honour, o my brethren, that it has been given me in our Lord Jesus Christ to die every day. Therein they differ from other men; and that God lives in them [appears from the fact] that they live in troubles whereas the world delights in comfort. God has not chosen that those who love Him should enjoy bodily comfort, but it is His will that as long as they live they should be in trouble in the world, afflicted, vexed, needy and lonely; naked and poor; sick, scorned and beaten. A standing place they have not; their heart is broken; their body is humbled; their acquaintances disavow them; their mind is full of distress; their aspect is strange to all creatures; their dwelling place is strange to all mankind; their habitation is solitary and lonely, bereft of the sight of the world, void of every sign of the things which cause joy in this world; destitute of any comfort. Mourning, is found in it; joy, is far from it; afflictions, are frequent in it. They do not even possess plenty of that which the body needs as all men do. Their bed is the ground; their faces are parched by fasting; their knees tremble from weakness. Their internal organs are unfitted for their customary purpose through service alien to human habit. They weep, and the world laughs. They are sorry, and the world is joyful. They fast, and the world takes comfort. All creatures enjoy a sweet sleep, and they wake in prayer. During the day they are wearying themselves and during the night they prepare themselves for struggle. The saints live a bitter life in the world, with a humbled body, an afflicted soul and in distress on all sides.

Thus it is the will of God that all those who are near to Him should live in miserable circumstances, being humbled and wretched in their whole soul and body; some through

1) Dwell and softened are expressed by the same root in Syriac

voluntary troubles; some through the vexations caused by their sufferings; some through the bitter pains which they bear in their bodies; some through the misery and the persecutions of men; danger of sufferings, danger of the demons, danger of illnesses, danger of poverty. Others have been persecuted; others have been put to death; others have been sawn asunder; others have been stoned; others have been drowned in the sea; others have had their limbs cut off alive; others have been delivered to scorn and contempt; others have been
426 punished by the flames, others by prison, others by terrible flogging; others have been delivered to the sword; others have gone round, clad in hides of lambs and goats, and have become as lost in the desert. Troubles the saints have undergone on mountains and in caverns and in the holes of the earth. Of such people according to the witness of the apostle, the world was not worthy. But what is more marvellous than all these things, they did not expect to be saved or to find rest on account of all these according to the word of the blessed apostle. Glory to Him that crowned them, He that by the suffering of the cross has also completed this path with all its previous sufferings, that also His saints may follow His steps.

Fulfilled has been the word of our Lord: In the world ye shall have tribulation, but in me ye shall have good cheer [1]). By the force of this good cheer, these saints acquire the power to be patient. May God, by whose power the saints have been patient in these struggles without becoming weak in their hope, strengthen His hope in us all. Amen.

Without troubles, no life. God did know that two kinds of gladness cannot be in one man. And because it is impossible to cling to His love when the body is in comfort, He has withheld men from this, and has strengthened His love in their soul by bereaving them from all worldly pleasure. May Christ, whose love is stronger than death and fire and sword
427 and exile and alienation from family and loss of life — and no difficulties can remain standing before His love of His friends — reveal in us the power of His love. Amen.

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1) John 16, 33

LXI

FOR WHICH CAUSES GOD ADMITS TEMPTATIONS TO HIS FRIENDS

By the love which the saints show unto God in return for what they bear for the sake of His name in that they undergo trials without leaving the excellency which God loves, their heart acquires freedom to look towards Him without a veil and to ask from Him with confidence.

Great is the power of prayer in freedom of speech. Therefore He allows that His saints are tried by all afflictions, on the way towards Him, in order that they may acquire freedom of speech and may experience His help and His care for them in that He is found to be their saviour in danger; and in order that His friends may acquire wisdom through temptations so that they are not dull and destitute of training. So through temptation they acquire knowledge concerning everything, and are not laughed at lightly by the demons.

For if He would train them by good things only they would lack training in other things and they would be as blind men in trials. And if someone should say: He guides them without training and without selfknowledge [the conclusion would be] that He wished them to be like oxen and asses who possess
428 no freedom whatever. There is even no taste in the good, when a man has not first been tried by temptations of evil and afterwards finds it and when he does not use it as his own, in knowledge and freedom. How sweet that knowledge is which has been acquired through training and the experience of labours, and how much strength it imparts to him that has found it after many personal experiences, is known to those who are acquainted with the help afforded by it.

They learn the weakness of nature and the help afforded by divine power when He first withdraws power from them while they are in temptations. Then they perceive the weakness of nature and the strength of temptations and the wickedness of the Fiend, [perceiving] of which nature their Fiend is, with which nature they are clad, and how they are guarded by divine power; and how, though they run and are uplifted,

when the divine power withdraws itself from them, they become weak before all passions.

Through all this they acquire humbleness, and press close to God, expecting His help and persevering in prayer. How could they have acquired all this, if they had not experienced myriads of evils, without God's caring for their being surrounded by them? 'And lest I should be exalted through the abundance of revelations, there was given me a thorn in the flesh, the messenger of Satan' [1]).

Man acquires also a confirmed faith by temptations, through experiencing divine help, when it is granted several times. And furthermore he is without fear and acquires courage by temptation, on account of the training he acquires.

429 Temptation is useful to every man. The virtuous are tempted in order that their riches may increase; the lax, in order that they may be preserved from injuries; the sleepy, in order that they may be armed with alertness; those that are afar off that they may come nearer to God; the housemates, that they may approach with freedom of speech.

A son that is not trained, cannot profit by the riches that are given to him from his father's house. Therefore God tempts and vexes first, then He shows His gift. Glory to that Lord who by strong drugs brings us the delight of health. There is no one, to whom the time of exercise is not hard; and there is no one, to whom the time during which he is obliged to drink the potion of temptations, is not bitter. But without this, a sound constitution cannot be obtained. Even to endure is not of our own. How should a clay vessel endure the vehemence of the waters, if the divine fire had not hardened it? If we daign to ask in humbleness fervently and perseveringly, we shall receive everything.

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1) 2 Cor. 12, 7

LXII

THAT BY THE THOUGHTS WHICH STIR IN A MAN HE KNOWS TO WHICH DEGREE HE BELONGS AND WHICH THOUGHTS FOLLOW

As long as a man is negligent, he fears the hour of death; when, however, he comes near to God, the coming of Judgment. But when he proceeds firmly, both kinds of fear are taken away. How does this happen? While [1]) his knowledge
430 and his behaviour are of a bodily nature, he is frightened by death. But when his knowledge is of a psychic nature, and his behaviour is steadfast, his mind is moved by the thought of Judgment every moment. In the first state he belongs wholly to nature; in the psychic state he is moved and guided by his knowledge and by his discipline. And he is happy in the neighbourhood of God. But when he reaches true knowledge by the motion of the apperception of God's mysteries and becomes confirmed in future hope, he is consumed by love.

He that is bodily, fears as an animal fears being slaughtered; he who is rational fears the Judgment of God. He that has become a son, is pleasing to love, not to the staff of him who terrifies. ‚I and my house, we will serve the Lord' [2]). For love annihilates fear. It not only felars not but it even longs after departure. Love is the dissolver of temporary life. He that has reached the love of God, does not desire to stay here any more.

My beloved ones, because I was foolish, I could not bear to guard the secret in silence, but am become mad, for the sake of my brethren's profit. For true love is not able to cling to the cause of love apart from friends.

Oft when I was writing these things, my fingers paused on the paper. They could not bear the delight which had fallen into the heart and which made the senses silent. Blessed is he that is in constant intercourse with God and has withdrawn himself from worldly things, being with Him only, in intercourse founded upon his knowledge. And if he has to be patient, it will not be long before he sees fruits.

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1) Introduction 2) Joshua 24, 15

431 Gladness in God is tronger than earthly life. He that has found it, is not only free from the trial of the affections, but he does not even turn towards his life any longer. Furthermore he has no other apperception, if he really has been deemed worthy of this.

Love is sweeter than life. And understanding concerning God, from which love is born, is sweeter than honey and honeycomb. What is the sweetness of love which excels life? Love is not spiteful if it has to undergo a myriad of deaths for the sake of its friends.

Love is the child of knowledge, knowledge the child of health of soul. Health of soul is a power born from patient endurance. And what is knowledge? The apperception of immortal life. What is immortal life? Apperception in God. Knowledge concerning God is the highest of all desirable things. And the heart that has received it, does not want the sweetness of anything on the earth. Because to the sweetness of the knowledge concerning God nothing is to be compared.

O Lord, fill my heart with life everlasting. Life everlasting is consolation in God. He that has found consolation in God, to him the consolation of the world is superfluous. How is it perceived in a man that he has received wisdom from the Spirit? Thereby, that wisdom teaches him kinds of humbleness, internally and by his senses; then it is revealed to him in his intellect, how humbleness is acquired.

432 How is it to be perceived that he has reached humbleness? Thereby that it is a vile thing to him to please this world by act or word, and thereby that the glory of this world is ugly in his eyes.

What are the affections? The allurements that lie in the things and the stories of this world, evoking a bodily want, which never cease as long as the world exists. If a man however has been deemed worthy [to know] the divine intellect and to taste and perceive what is more profitable than those things, their allurements will not enter his heart, because their place has been taken by a desire which is better than those. Then the allurements of [worldly] things and those which are born from them, will no longer approach his heart. But they will stand outside idle. Not that the allurements of the affections do not exist any longer, but the heart which could

receive them is dead to them and living to some other thing. Not that it desists from watchfulness and the labour of discrimination, but there is no longer any struggle in the mind, in as much as the inner being is satisfied by the delight of some other thing. So, when a man is satisfied with delicious and fat food, and his inner being with abundance and delight, and then he sees food which is unclean and steeped in its own filth, his inner being does not need care to check it from desire or to withhold it from gazing at it with lust; nay, the whole inner being is even shaken and troubled by the sight
433 of it. This does not happen on account of the uncleanness of the food, for possibly he had been accustomed to it before; but on account of the comparison with the excellence of that other food which had filled his inner being with every delight. So it is with the health of the soul. If the heart has really received the apperception of spiritual things and the contemplation of the world to be, its inner being will regard the affections in the way mentioned.

And just as a man when he loses his riches and becomes poor and destitute of the glorious and excellent food in which he delighted in the royal palace, forgets its delicious taste, and those glorious dishes are no longer with him and his stomach is deprived of the delight of their abundance, and he has necessarily to turn towards food which is by far inferior — so it is with him that was deemed worthy of health of soul. If he is deprived of that divine delight because he neglects his duty and falls asleep and becomes neglectful he again turns towards that sordid food, that has been steeped in all filth and which is unclean; and his inner being does not examine, because the stomach of his soul is empty. For to the hungry soul even bitter things are sweet.

And farther: no one to whom a treasure is entrusted will indulge in sleep. If he keeps the law of watchfulness and
434 clings to the labour of discernment, and through knowledge derived from these drinks in life, the struggle of the allurements of the affections will not approach his mind at all. And these allurements will not be held back with effort from entering the heart, but the satiety of the inner soul which is full of knowledge, and the desire of amazing visions which is found in it, restrain them from approaching to man with their intercourse. This does not happen, as I have said, while man

desists from watchfulness and from the labour of discrimination which are the guardians of true knowledge and of psychic light; but it happens without the mind being involved in struggle, for the reasons which have been expounded.

The food of the poor is despicable to the rich and the nutriment of the sick to the healthy. But riches and health are established through watchfulness and diligence. This is witnessed to by nature. As long as a man lives he needs watchfulness and diligence and alertness in order to guard his treasure. But if he leaves his territory, he becomes ill and is robbed [of his possessions]. For a long time even he will possess strength through his previous health, but when this does not increase, he will become a prey to weakness and indigence. Does not even nature instruct us concerning these things? And is there any heavenly thing which cannot be discussed in a comparison which we find in our nature? Even our Lord used to confirm all spiritual things by examples from nature and in this way He used to establish their power in our souls; not only things relating to the shortliving earthly pawn, but also those belonging to the true body, and the
435 completion and the truth of our future. Do not wonder at what I have said. There is not only work to be done till the fruit shows itself, but even till the time of gathering the fruit there is still work to be done. By the time of gathering the fruit I mean the grave. It may occur that, when the fruit has become ripe, hail of a sudden will strike it.

He that mingles with things and proceeds to have intercourse, cannot be certain that his health will stay with him. I say: using and seeing [are the same]. O Jesus Christ, king of the worlds, make me worthy of desire in Thee. The man who adheres to intercourse with God, and who has mingled his life with it, is greater than any other man on the earth and [greater] than any service performed by rational creatures. When thou prayest unto God, say to Him only this: O Lord make me worthy of becoming dead to the intercourse with this world, in truth. — So thou canst comprehend the whole prayer. And try diligently to accomplish this in thyself in reality. If prayer is followed by practice, thou surely art standing in the freedom of Christ.

Being dead to the world is not only this that a man keeps himself far from mingling with [worldly] things. But this is

being dead to the world in truth: that a man in [1]) his mind does not long after the goods of the world.

If we are accustomed to beautiful meditation, we are eshamed of the affections when we come in contact with them (this is known by those who have experienced it in their soul), and so we shall be ashamed to approach unto their causes.

436 If thou desirest to cling to some work for the sake of the love of God, then set death as the limit of thy desire for it. So by practising it, thou wilt be elevated unto the degree of martyrdom through every suffering and injury which smites thee within the domain of death, if thou perseverest till the end without giving way. Meditating upon a feeble deliberation weakens the power of patience. But the confirmed mind imparts a strength which does not belong to nature, to him that adheres to its contemplation. O Lord, make me worthy of hating my life, for the sake of life in Thee.

Dealings in this world resemble a copy of a book which is still in rough draft. What a man desires or whenever he wishes, something can be added to or taken from it, and so he may alter his writing. Future dealings resemble documents drawn up as bonds, provided with the seal of the king, to or from which it is not allowed to add or subtract anything. As long as we are in the place where altering is possible, let us observe ourselves; and while we have authority over our lifebook and our book is still between our hands, let us zealously add [acts of] beautiful behaviour, and let us scratch from it the loss of the old behaviour without freedom. We are allowed to scratch out faults, as long as we are here. And God will take into account every alteration we make in it. May we be deemed worthy of life everlasting before we appear before the king, and He puts His seal on the book [2]). As long as we are in this world, God will not put His seal
437 neither on our good works nor on our bad ones, before the hour of departure, when we have completed the service of our country and we prepare to strike camp.

So it is becoming for us, as the blessed Mar Ephraim says, that we make our soul resemble at all times a ship that is prepared [for sea]. When the wind [required] for her will blow,

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1) The text has: in the intercourse or occupation of his mind

2) Cf. the Muslim doctrine of the خواتيم

she does not know. And the army does not know when the trumpet will give the sign to start; and to the tenant it is not known when the landlord will give the command to depart. Now if these are thus prepared for the sake of a short absence, as they will soon turn perhaps and come back, how much more is it becoming for us to be prepared and ready before the long absence of the day of death. May Christ, the mediator of our life, grant us to reach that long bridge and the gate of the new world, in a state of preparation. To whom be glory for ever and ever. Amen.

LXIII

WHY IT IS THAT PEOPLE WHO ARE IN THE PSYCHIC STATE OF KNOWLEDGE CONSIDER SPIRITUAL THINGS IN ACCORDANCE WITH [THEIR] BODILY GROSSNESS AND HOW IT IS POSSIBLE THAT THE MIND BE ELEVATED ABOVE THIS AND WHAT IS THE CAUSE WHY WE ARE NOT FREED FROM IT AND WHEN AND HOW IT IS POSSIBLE FOR THE MIND TO REMAIN WITHOUT IMAGES AT THE TIME OF PRAYER

He whose majesty is blessed, will open the gate before us, so that we have no single wish than desire of Him. When
438 we so abandon everything, and our mind goes out to seek Him alone, there will be no thought in it of anything which screens its face from the aspect of the Lord of the Universe. The more the mind abandons the thought of visible things, o my beloved, and the more it thinks of the future hope, in accordance with the degree of elevation above bodily thoughts and intercourse with them, to the same extent it will be subtilised and become clear during prayer.

To the same extent as the body, the mind is made free from the bonds of [worldly] things; and to the same extent as it is made free from the ties of thoughts, does it become cerene; and to the same extent as it becomes serene, is it also subtilized; and to the same extent as it is subtilized, is it lifted up above the emotions of this world which bears the stamp of grossness. And it knows that it shall look on God as He is, not as we are.

If a man has not been deemed worthy of revelation before, it is not possible that he should know this. And if he does not attain purity, his emotions are not made clear so as to look at the hidden things. And until through his [spiritual] riches he be freed from all that is seen, he is not freed from emotions for those things, and he does not become devoid of deliberations that cause darkness. And even as darkness and enchaining thoughts, so the affections are there.

If a man is not made free from all those things which I have mentioned and from their causes, he cannot consider the hidden things of the mind. Therefore our Lord has ordered us to practise renunciation before any other thing, and flight from the troubles of the world, and freedom from common human thought. Who does not forsake his whole human state and all that he possesses, and deny even himself, he cannot be a disciple to Me[1]; lest the mind be injured by anything:
439 by sight, by hearing, by care of [worldly] things, their loss or their increase, or by man. And thereby that He has bound our mind by hope of Himself alone, He has caused the whole care of our deliberations to look towards Himself. And in Himself He has bound the whole care of our mind, after having freed it from all other things, that thence we may long after intercourse with Himself, because of our care being continually directed towards Himself.

Prayer further requires also training, that through long practice the mind may become wise. For after renunciation which frees our impulses from bonds, prayer requires constancy that through constancy and time the mind may acquire training so as to know how to restrain its deliberations and to learn through experience many things which it cannot receive from others. Any [state of] discipline is prepared[2] by the preceding one; and the preceding one is necessary for the existence of the following.

Prayer is preceded by reclusion; reclusion [is practised] with a view to prayer; prayer in order to acquire love of God; for in prayer are found causes for loving God.

Also this we must know, my beloved ones, that any hidden intercourse, or any meditation upon spiritual things, is to be denoted by prayer or comprehended under the name of prayer

1) Cf. Luke 14, 33 2) literally: educated

or included within this denomination: be it recitation with dis-
440 crimination, or songs in praise of God, or painstaking thought of our Lord, or prostration of the body, or psalms of glorification, and so on. For from them is received instruction concerning veracious prayer; and from the latter love of God is born. And love is through prayer; and prayer through dwelling alone. And loneliness serves the purpose, that we should have a place where we can converse with God in solitude. Loneliness is preceded by abandonment of the world.

If a man forsake not the world first and renunciate all that he possesses, he cannot attain to loneliness. So abandonment of the world in its turn is preceded by patience, and patience by hatred of the world; hatred of the world by fear and love. For if the mind is not terrified by the fear of Hell and incited by the love of [future] good, the hatred of this world will not arise in him. And if the mind does not hate the world, it cannot forego its intercourse and comfort. And if the mind has not acquired patience before, it cannot choose dwelling in solitude without companions. And if it does not choose a lonely life, it cannot abide in prayer. And if it is not constantly in intercourse with God and cling to those impulses which are interwoven with prayer and to those kinds of instruction which are in prayer, as we have said, it cannot perceive love.

So the love of God proceeds from intercourse with Him; the intercourse of prayer from solitude; solitude from renunciation; renunciation in its turn from patience; patience from
441 hatred of desires; hatred of desires from fear of Hell and the expectation of the [future] good. Desires are hated by him that knows the fruits thereof, namely what they prepare for him and from what good he is deprived for their sake.

So every discipline is connected with that which precedes it, takes increase from it and proceeds unto others which are higher. And if one of the middle links should fail, the following could not maintain itself and it would appear that all were loosened and lost.

LXIV

ON THE MANY VARYING STATES WHICH CLING TO THE MIND AND ARE PURIFIED BY PRAYER

To choose what is good, is the part of the good will of him that desires this. To accomplish the choice of the excellent will, this belongs to God and it requires much help on His part. Therefore we have to combine the good desire which is awakened in us, with continual prayer. Not only in order to ask from Him help, but also to discriminate whether it concords with His will or not. Not every beautiful desire falls into the heart by divine action, but [only] that which is profitable. There are beautiful things which man may desire though they do not help him. Such desires may even be sent by Satan, even though they be esteemed to be helpful. How many times does the thing desired not fit his measure; and
442 Satan has contrived it to his detriment, compelling him to ask it, though he has not yet reached this [stage of] discipline or though he is a stranger to the rank of its scheme; or the time is not fit in which Satan incites him to accomplish these things; or he is not able to perform them, either through [lack of] knowledge, or through bodily weakness, or through the time not being favorable. At any rate, though it does seem beautiful, it either troubles him, or it causes him bodily harm, or it places a hidden snare in his mind.

So, as I have said, we have to combine continual and diligent prayer with theseemingly good desire which is awakened in us, saying, every one of us: May it be Thy will regarding me, to accomplish in fact this good which I have choosen and which I desire to practise, if it concords with Thy will. To fix my will on it, is easy to me; to practise it, is however not possible for me without a gift on Thy part. Though in truth both are thine, to will and to do [1]). For it is not without Thy grace that I have surrendered to or been shaken before that which stirred in me. It is the custom of him that desires any good thing with discrimination of mind, to work for it in

1) Cf. Philippians 2, 13

prayer continually; and the force [he acquires] thereby, he will use as an aid for his service. And then wisdom which distinguishes truth from falsehood through much prayer and labour and watchfulness and beautiful longing without break, will come to light, in continual tears, humbleness and heavenly help, especially when its opponents are deliberations of haughtiness which remove from us God's help, and which we can annihilate by prayer.

LXV

443 GOOD ADVICE GIVING INSTRUCTIONS CONCERNING WATCHFULNESS AND DIRECTIONS CONCERNING THE WAY OF DISCIPLINE BY WHICH A MAN MAY ACQUIRE A HIGH RANK

Repentance [1]) is the mother of life. It opens to us its gate when we flee from all things. The grace which we have lost, after baptism, by a lax behaviour, is restored in us by repentance, through discrimination of mind. From water and spirit we have put on Christ, without perceiving His glory. By repentance we enter into His delight through the discriminating love which rises in us.

He who is destitute of repentance, is destitute of future delight. He who is near to all, is far from repentance. He who is far from all, with discrimination, is the true repentant. As soon as a man withdraws from men and concentrates upon himself, impulses of repentance will show themselves in his mind. He receives the seed of life from grace and, as an embryo, the affection of discrimination moves in him, and in his heart is stirred the thought of eternal life in the future and the hope of resurrection and the thought of Judgment.

Do not think that without divine grace suffering falls into the mind, which receives [it] secretly, as a gift through divine mercy, because of a sudden contrition and a longing after life. As also the blessed Euagrius says [1]): A purifying drug is the
444 hot contrition of the soul, which is given by the Lord through the angels to those who repent, that through diligence puri-

1) Cf. Introduction

fication from the affections may be granted. Further he says: The fire of a furnace is the hot contrition of the soul, which through the grace of Christ happens to the soul at the time of prayer so that the thoughts attain contemplation. Its lack is cured by living water.

The beginning of repentance is humbleness without artifice. Splendid garments are a confusion of repentance. The way towards wisdom is the regulation of the limbs. Bodily effervences are a confusion of wisdom. True wisdom is looking towards God. Looking towards God is silence of the deliberations. Solitude of the mind is quietness with discrimination. The moisture of the senses is a fountain of deliberations. Apperception in God is the depth of humbleness.

True contemplation is the mortification of the heart. The heart which is really dead to the world, is wholly astir in God. True mortification is the motion of life. It is better to smell life by desisting from all, than to build life by desisting from smelling. Better is he that builds his soul than he that builds the world. It is better to imbibe life than to distribute life. He whose outward limbs are dead, his inner emotions are alive. He whose outward limbs are alive, has killed the limbs of wisdom. Humbleness with discrimination is true knowledge. True knowledge is a fountain of humbleness. He that is humble in his heart, is humble in his body. He who is audacious in his body, is audacious in his heart. He who is
445 perturbed in his body, is perturbed in his heart. He who is perturbed in his heart, is foolish in his mind. He who is foolish in his mind, his ways are evil. Whose way is evil, he is dead in life.

If thou lovest humbleness, do not love finery. A man who loves finery cannot bear contempt. And to take to lonely works, is difficult to him. And he is ashamed of submitting to him that is inferior to himself.

The servant of God does not adorn his body. Know that every man who loves bodily finery is sick in his inner being, though he performs beautiful [works]. And to every one who loves visible profit, it is impossible to acquire true love of any one. And every one who runs after honour, is a slave of this world. If those who do these things are disliked by thee, then restrain thyself from the same things.

Humbleness and chastity are promoted by the same idea

of contempt. And from him that loves honour and finery thou requirest not the former properties in their truth. If thou lovest chastity, do not love distraction. Things which happen to thee through divagation do not allow thee to cling to chastity with caution. No one who loves distraction, is chaste. And do not believe that any one who converses with lay people, is humble. Every one who loves God loves a solitary life. That a man who is given to distraction should guard truth in his soul without a stain, is impossible.

Many show the appearance of repentance; but only he pos-
446 sesses it in truth, that is grieved in heart. Many run to find the affection of the heart; but only he finds it in truth, that possesses continual silence. Every one who is a servant of God, loves grief.

Every one who possesses profuse speech is certainly empty within, though he tells amazing things.

Inward grief is a bridle of the senses.

If thou lovest truth, thou must love silence. This will make thee illuminated in God like the sun and it will deliver thee from the idle thoughts of ignorance; silence will even unite thee with God.

When thy kneeling gives thee delight, do not hasten to reach its end. Would that it never ended as long as thou art in this life. When thy mind is concentrated, do not cut off thy prayer. Do not count as idleness a long concentrated prayer, as against the long recitation of Psalms. Love kneeling during prayer better than the sound of the sentences. If it profits thee, then accomplish it instead of thy service.

If the gift of tears be given thee during thy service, do not deem the delight which is in it as a pause in thy service. For the gift of tears is the accomplishment of prayer.

Do not wonder if sometimes, while thou art kneeling in prayer, thy mind, being concentrated upon it, desist from praying. This thou wilt find during service as well as during recitation. When thy mind is distracted, it will rather adhere to recitation than to prayer. Thy method of recitation has to be parallel to the scope of thy discipline. Not all books are useful for the concentration of the mind. Most books containing
447 instruction are not useful for purification. Various books cause to thee distraction of mind. Know that not every book containing instruction concerning the fear of God, is also useful

for the purification of the inner being and the concentration of the deliberations. Do not dispute about the exact significance of these things with him that does not know the truth.

Love rest more than labours. Honour recitation, if possible, more than standing [1]); for it is a source of pure prayer. But there is no reason at all to despise standing. Beware of snares.

Recitation of Psalms is the root of discipline. But know this, that the sentences [sung] with a distracted mind suit better bodily labour. Mental grief is better than bodily fatigue. At the time of weariness be accustomed to spur on thy zeal somewhat. For the heart greatly needs to be alert to render fervent the emotions of the soul. As against desire, so natural warmth is also helpful at the time of weariness; for it chases the cold from the soul. Usually weariness befalls us at two occasions: through a heavy stomach and through great weakness caused by labours.

The regulation of service is the light of the mind. There is nothing like knowledge.

Let every prayer which thou offerest during the night, be honoured in thy eyes above all labours of the day. Do not make heavy thy stomach, lest thy mind become confused and
448 thyself troubled by distraction while standing during the night; and thy limbs be lax and thyself filled wholly with relaxation; thy soul be dark and thy impulses troubled, and thyself absolutely unable to concentrate them upon the sentences on account of darkness; and the taste of everything become weak to thee; and the sentences of the Psalms sung keep not their sweetness to thee, sentences the discriminations of which the mind used to taste with delight on account of its swiftness and illumination.

When the order of the night-service is troubled, then the mind will also be confused during the service of the day and proceed in darkness, without taking delight in recitation, as usually. For it is as if a cloud lies over the impulses, when they are in emotion in prayer or in meditation. The delight which during the day is lavished upon the ascetic is poured on the watchful mind on account of the light of the nightly service.

From him who has not experienced solitude for a long time thou canst not expect to learn anything additional concerning

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1) in prayer or in vigils

the goods of the ascetics even though he may be very wise and instructive and possess a range of habitual virtues.

Be cautious not to weaken thy body too much, lest weariness overpower thee and thou shouldst make thy soul cold against the taste of its service. As in a scale man ought to weigh his discipline. When thou art satisfied, be somewhat cautious against free speech in thyself.

Let thy sitting be in chastity, also at the time of bodily want. Especially chaste and cautious thou hast to be when going to sleep, not only thy deliberations, but also thy members being watchful. Be watchful against presumption when good states [1]) come upon thee. Thy weakness and thy dullness
449 in the face of its subtlety thou must communicate to our Lord in zealous prayer, lest evil things should be allowed to try thee. For fornication follows haughtiness, and aberration presumption.

Use handiwork as far as thou needest it, especially as thou art shut up in solitude. Let not thy hope on Him that provides for thee, indulge in any weakness; God's provisions in behalf of His housemates are amazing; even in the desert without human hands He provides for those who inhabit it and hope on Him. If our Lord supplies thee with that which the body needs, though thou doest not labour but carest for the soul only, then some thought will arise by the trickery of the murderer [2]) namely this, that there necessarily must be on thy part some cause for all this care. And with this deliberation, God's care will be withdrawn from thee. And at the same time myriads of temptations will arise and assail thee, having their origin either in the neglect of those who used to care for us, or in the recommencement of pains and illnesses that are caused [3]) in our body. God does not give up His care on account of this emotion alone, but when the mind sticks to it. On account of in voluntary emotion God does not chastise and judge a man, not even when we give way to it for a short time; but at once pain pricks us and contrition comes to us. Our Lord will not seek retribution for such a fault; but only for such a one as the mind really clings to, in that we glance at it unconsciously as if there

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1) ܚܠܝܬܐ

2) Satan 3) lit. stirring

were no harm in it and without thinking of anything wrong Perpetually we have to pray to our Lord in this way: O
450 Christ, Thou summit of truth, let Thy truth dawn in our hearts, that we know to walk in Thy way according to Thy will.

When for a short time or longer some evil deliberation shows itself often in thee, know then assuredly that Satan wishes to lay a snare for thee. And pay attention to it in due time. If it is however a right-hand and good one, know that the Lord wishes to give thee some share of life and that for this cause this deliberation is astir in thee so unusually often. If it is a dark deliberation and thou art in doubt concerning it because thou canst not make out clearly whether it is helpful or treacherously hidden in a scheme of beauty, then pay attention to it in keen prayer night and day, with long vigils. Do not push it from thee, neither deliver thyself unto it but pray diligently and fervently because of it. Do not cause crying to our Lord, and He will show himself manifestly, [so that thou knowest] whence it is.

Love silence above all things. It brings thee near the fruit which the tongue is too weak to interpret. At first we compel ourselves to be silent. Then from our silence something is born which draws us towards silence. May God grant thee to perceive that which is born from silence. If thou beginnest with this discipline, I do not know how much light will dawn in thee through it. Concerning what is said about the admir-
451 able Arsenius: that Fathers and brethren came to see him, but that he sat with them in silence and dismissed them in silence — do not think, my brother, that this happened by the action of his will alone, though in the beginning he had to compel himself. After some time some delight is born in the heart from the exercise of this service and by force it draws the body towards remaining in silence.

Many tears are born in us by this discipline, by the amazing sight of things which the heart perceives distinctly. Sometimes by suffering, sometimes on account of ecstasy the heart becomes small as a child; and as soon as it insists in prayer, tears will burst forth.

Great is the man who, side by side with bodily endurance, possesses admirable customs in his soul.

If thou placest all labours of this discipline [1]) on one side

1) solitary life

and silence on the other, silence will outweigh them. There are many warnings of the Fathers which need not be kept laboriously when a man approaches unto silence, and the practice of which becomes superfluous, because he is elevated above them, and is near the mark. Silence is also helpful for solitude.

For it is impossible that, living in an inhabited place, we should not meet with any one. Even that angel of God, Arsenius, who loved solitude more than any one, could not wholly avoid meeting others. For in such a place we meet Fathers and brethren and innumerable other persons, and we have to visit the church. When that blessed man saw that it
452 was impossible to avoid this, so long as he was in the vicinity of an inhabited place (though his dwelling-place was at a distance of many miles from a human settlement, even from the solitaries who dwelt in those places), he learned from grace this means: continual silence. When sometimes it was necessary for him to open his door to some of them, they enjoyed his aspect only; conversation was superfluous.

Many fathers have been led by this sight, to become careful also as to their own person that, their spiritual riches might increase, through the instruction they received from the aspect of the blessed one. They continually saw him silent, so that many of them put a stone in their mouth [1]), others tied a rope to their inner wall for the sake of recollection, others wearied themselves by unusual fasting; when they had to go to meet other people they imposed the trial of hunger upon themselves. For hunger greatly helps those who try to acquire a greater concentration of the senses. And many used to do such things in order to acquire this self-control of beautiful aspect that imparts life.

Many fathers I have found, o my brethren, great and admirable, who cared for the direction of the senses and the bodily attitude more than for other labours, because from them is
453 also born the direction of the deliberations. Many causes, independent of his will, meet a man and make him leave the domain of his freedom. And if he did not guard his senses through the regularity of custom which dominated his soul before, they would for long prevent him from recovering his mind, finding his former quiet.

1) Ghazālī tells this about Abū Bakr

The education of the heart is, to be occupied with its hope. The education of discipline is to free oneself from every thing. The recollection of death is a wholesome bond of the outward limbs. A hook [drawing] the soul towards life is the joy that rises in the heart on account of hope. A drink of knowledge are the perpetual temptations which the mind every day draws from within, through the two varying states. The budding of the heart is the conviction of the resurrection in faith, which hope receives from within.

Deem me worthy, my Lord, to see in my soul Thy bounty, before I depart this would, that I may perceive in my self in that hour consolation, as have done those who in good hope have left this world. Open my heart, o God, through Thy grace and purify me from the communion with sin; and make level in my heart the way of repentance, my God and my Lord, my hope and my boast, my strong refuge, by whom my eyes receive light, and let me receive understanding by Thy truth.

Deem me worthy, O my Lord, to taste the delightful gift of repentance by which the soul is made free from the bondage of sin and the whole will of flesh and blood.

Deem me worthy, o Lord, to taste this affection in which reposes the gift of pure prayer. My saviour has reached the amazing passage through which the soul leaves the visible
454 world and in which begin new impulses for entry into the spiritual world, and experiences of new apperceptions.

He that begins and accomplishes well, places his discipline upon this foundation, entreating God unceasingly that He may deem him worthy to perceive this apperception in which is sown the knowledge of the future order of things through imperishable hope, which through divine grace is preserved for man after the completion of this world.

But he that begins pervertedly goes from above downwards: he begins with joy and he ends with weeping; and he becomes devoid of knowledge and hope, as a formless body which not attained to the reception of the soul, because it has not completed the state of preparation in the womb, but has reached the end of the life of form [1]).

Contempt for intercourse with the world is the sign of a

1) ܕܡܘܬܐ ܕܝܠܕܘܬܐ ܥܒܝ

soul that has perceived its hope. A hidden alertness implies drowsiness regarding visible things.

The weapon of the heart is faith in Christ. Who by the desire of hope has withstood even death, death is esteemed as nothing in his eyes, and so are being exiled from his country, and the strife of the demons and alienation from men, and lack of the consolation of the world. What is the consolation of visible things and the being occupated with them, as compared with the delight of hope that is perceived in the heart? As he that has abandoned the body in the drunkenness of his joy, through the flaming faith which kindles his heart, so that
455 all visible things are hidden from him and he knows nothing in the creation through the heat of his body and the emotions of his soul, and as he that abides already in the kingdom, does he account [earthly things] because of the faith of his mind.

Though sometimes we are subject to despondency because of loneliness — perhaps this is permitted in us by Providence — yet we also possess through our heart's faith the consolation of hope which is too great for words; and through this hope, troubles are accounted by us as nothing, even death. And well has one of those who are clad with God, said: Sufficient is the love of God, as a consolation for him that believes, even when he loses his self. How should troubles injure him who despises even the delights of comfort for the sake of future good?

Also this I advise thee, o my brother, that in all thy discipline the scale of mercy be preponderant; through this thou wilt perceive God's mercy for the world. Our own state becomes to us a mirror in which we behold the true Prototype, in those things which naturally belong to that Essence.

By these things and the like we become illuminated so as to be in motion unto God, with a clear mind. A heart wicked from of old, cannot become serene.

A merciful man is the physician of his own soul; for he drives away from his inner being the dark mist, as by a strong wind. Mercy is a good investment with God, according
456 to the Gospel of life: Blessed is the merciful: for he shall obtain mercy [1]). Not only in the world to be, symbolically also here. What mercy is greater than this, that when a man is

1) Matthew 5, 7

moved by mercy unto his follow man and becomes his partner in suffering, our Lord delivers his soul from gloomy darkness which is intelligible Hell, and brings it in contact with the light of life, for its comfort? The blessed Euagrius has well said: A clear way is founded upon mercy.

Therefore, as I have said: Let a merciful heart preside over thy whole behaviour, then thou shalt find peace with God. Be careful, that no evil be ever done to any man through thy hands, not even to the evil one [1]). And when it is possible for thee to deliver the iniquitous from evil, do not omit it. Not that, if the matter be far from thee, thou shouldst go and mix thyself with such things — such a deed does not belong to thy duty — but if the matter is put in thy hands, and thou hast power over it, because it has been placed before thee accidentally as a trial, in that God wished to try thee by His admitting it, then be cautious regarding thyself lest thou become a participant in the blood of the iniquious, because thou doest not hasten to deliver him. But try with thy whole soul to save him, even if thou shouldst die for his sake. Then thou wilt really be a martyr and as one that has suffered death on the cross for sinners. And pray God, that this [2]) may not happen through thee. But even if he be worthy of evil, let him receive the judgment of his deeds by the hands of
457 others. It does not become thee to regard the worth of his deeds. Let good [alone] happen to him by thy hands.

Think of Him who bears all, the deeds of all men being placed before His eyes, clearer than the sun; and if He liked He could destroy all men by the breath of His mouth. Thou wert not appointed to pronounce [the judgment of] vengeance against deeds and their perpetrators, but it is thy duty to implore mercy on the world, to abide in vigil for the salvation of all, to share in the suffering of every man, righteous and sinners. And thou must know, that if he deserve it, justice will bind him within a short time, by the hands of others who are fit for this deed; and thou wilt save thy soul and become a living martyr. But even this thou hast not to ask or to care for, but to implore God's mercy upon him, that he may change and become as it is the will of God that he should

1) Cf., p. 14, 79 etc.
2) viz. the punishment of the iniquitous

be and may depart life in righteousness and not [awaiting] the retribution of wickedness.

Be instead of an avenger, a deliverer; instead of an accuser, a peace maker; instead of one who delivers, a martyr; instead of a plaintiff, a dependant. Beseech God in behalf of the sinners, that they may obtain grace. And pray for the righteous, that they may be preserved. Vanquish the evil ones by this kindness, and make the zealous wonder at thy bounty. Those who love justice, make them ashamed by thy mercy. With the afflicted be afflicted in thy mind. Love all men. And be far
458 from all men. Recollect death, and prepare thyself for thy entrance into it. Embellish thy course. Remember that the sins of all men go before them to the court of justice.

Be not dejected because of trespasses. I do not say that thou shouldst not suffer; but thou must not account them as being incurable. Better broken than dead. For one who is broken, there is the physician, who on the cross has implored mercy for those who crucified Him, who asked forgiveness for His murderers while He hung on the cross. ‚All manner of sin and blasphemy shall be forgiven unto men' [1]), namely on account of repentance. When Simon who had denied Him, had wept a short time, He forgave him. And after His resurrection, He appointed him as the head of His flock. Three times He asked him: Lovest thou me? [2]), even as three times he had denied Him, in order to confirm His pardon. Christ came on behalf of the sinners, in order to heal the broken in heart, and to bind up their wounds [3]). 'The Spirit of the Lord is upon me; therefore He has anointed me, to preach good tidings unto the meek; He hath sent me to bind up the brokenhearted, to proclaim liberty to the captives [4]), and sight to the blind, and healing to those who are broken, by forgiveness. And the Apostle says in his epistle: Jesus Christ came to the world to save sinners [5]). And his Lord witnesses: For I am not come to call the righteous; for they that are whole have no need of the physician, but they that are sick [6]). There were two debtors to a certain creditor; and because they had nothing to pay with, he forgave both of them; namely: when they had beseeched him.

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1) Matthew 12, 31 2) John 21, 16 3) cf. Psalm 147, 3
4) Isaiah 61, 1 5) 1 Timothy 1, 15 6) Mark 2, 17

Our frail nature would not be strong enough if God's justice
459 should proceed to take vengeance. Therefore He uses mercy so that we at all times are bound by our debt.

Do not sin, o man, in hope of repentance, and do not indulge in weakness, confiding in forgiveness. Remember, that death will not be postponed. Do not contrive to approach to the delight of sin, with a cunning mind. God is not mocked [1]). His knowledge precedes thy deliberation: trouble will come upon thee suddenly, and thou wilt cry, but He will not answer thee.

When thou approachest thy bed, because the time for sleep has come, say: O bed, perhaps thou wilt become my grave this night and I not know it. Perhaps in stead of temporary sleep, eternal sleep will fall on me this night, while I thought of preparing for days and months, which I did not see.

As long as thou hast feet, run after the service of righteousness, before they be caught by a bond which it is impossible to sever. As long as thou hast hands, stretch them towards heaven in prayer, before thy arms fall from their joints and thou desire to raise them, and it is impossible for thee. As long as thou hast fingers, raise them unto God in supplication. For there will come a time when the splendid strength of their joints is weakened. As long as thou hast eyes, fill them with tears during prayer, weeping for thy sins,
460 before the moment when sand will cover the black [clothes] and the eyes will become feeble, staring senseless in one direction, without thy knowing it. As long as the heart, the fountain of the deliberations, is ordered by a distinguishing power, bethink of those things which are helpful to thy life, before the soul be hastened on to departure from it [2]) and become a house devoid of its inhabitants.

O thou who art wise, let no deliberation flatter thee with the hope of a long life. As a flower withers by the blowing of the sirocco, so against thee will blow one of the elements which are within thee and without thy expecting it, suddenly thy knees will relax. And while thou thinkest that it is nothing and that thou art curing the illness, suddenly the cunning one will approach, who laughs at the wise.

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1) Galatians 6, 7
2) the heart

O, for the wretchedness of our nature! how are we entangled in its love, though God does not desire to leave us in this state. Set thy heart to prepare for departure, o man. As a sage thou must expect departure every hour, thinking every day: the messenger of him that comes after me, has reached the gate; why should I remain sitting? It is a departure for ever, I cannot return hither. Go asleep with these thoughts every night; and meditate upon this deliberation every day. And when [the time of departure] comes, go joyfully to meet it, saying: Come in peace. I knew that thou wouldst come and I have not neglected anything that could serve me on the way.

461 Take provisions for thy long way, o sage. Drive away the heaviness of sleep from thy heart, o companion. Order thy things for departure, thou who dwellest as a sedentary. Morningtime is near, o traveller, why art thou sleeping? Come, prepare thyself; thou sailor who art about to sail off, prepare the utensils of thy ship; for thou doest not know when the wind will begin to blow.

Be ready and prepared before he comes that will destroy thy forms. For Sheol shall make wither their form [1]), and they shall be bereft of the beautiful glory of nature and their bodies will be left in the wilderness. Remember always that destruction of deplorable appearance, that formless scattering of thy senses, that ruin of the building of thy body, that pure mixture that will become mud in Sheol. Bleased is he that with joy meets the recollection of that destruction! Blessed is he that with good hope awaits that event full of mystery, in which the wonder of the Creator's great power is hidden! Spiritual meditation is, to be continually occupied with the hope of [things which will be] after the resurrection.

The beginning of this impulse in the mind lies in the domain of repentance. That which induces the soul to embrace repentance, is the constant thought of future things. Who has been moved by repentance, his hope has turned to the future world. Who has forgotten this, his mind abides in this world.

Who loves intercourse with Christ, loves to be alone. Who loves to remain in the company of many others, he is a friend of this world.

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1) Cf. Job 14, 20: Thou changest his countenance and sendest him away.

462 Repentance [1]) is the constant sorrow of the heart at the meditation of that inexplicable statute: how shall I reach that unspeakable entrance? If thou lovest repentance, then love also solitude. For without this, repentance cannot be completed. If there is any one who disputes this, do not dispute with him, for he does not know what he says. If he did know what repentance is, he also would know its place, and that it is not to be disturbed by trouble. If thou lovest solitude, the father of repentance, then love also to accept gladly the small deficiencies of the body, and the blame that arises from them. Without this preparation it will be impossible for thee to live in solitude, freely, without trouble. If thou despisest those things, thou wilt acquire solitude, according to God's will. If thou art wronged or robbed or laughed at or the like, thou wilt not be moved, because of thy love of solitude.

Love of solitude is the constant expectation of death. He that without this meditation enters solitude, having other thoughts, cannot bear those things which, for the sake of solitude, he must bear from all sides: to die for the sake of God, and to live in God. The accomplishment of life is meditation upon death for the sake of God. This brings our mind near to union with God, says Euagrius.

Also this thou must know, o discrimiating reader, that lonely dwelling and solitude and reclusion are not chosen by us in order to perform an excellent canonical labour. For it
463 is known that communion with many others gives a better opportunity, because the body preserves its strength better. But if reclusion were not necessary, the pious men that were the holy Fathers, would not have abandoned intercourse with many people. Some of them dwelt in graves, others chose reclusion in a lonely cell, which is greatly relaxing to the body and which does not promote the accomplishment of the canonical rules. And all bodily weakness and misery, and severe illnesses which struck them, they bore gladly during their whole life, even when they were not able to stand on their feet or to offer the usual prayer, or to praise God with their mouth, or to recite a psalm, or to perform any of the [works] which are performed through the body. And bodily weakness alone and solitude with them took the place of all canonical rules.

1) Cf. Introduction

And this was their occupation all the days of their life. And during all this so called idleness, none of them longed to leave his cell or to wander abroad ceasing from canonical labours, or to enjoy the sound of the glorifications of others in a congregation.

Better is he that perceives his sins, than he that is profitable to the world by his appearance. Better is he that one time has sighed by himself, than he that quickens the dead by his prayer and dwells among many others. Better is he that has been deemed worthy of seeing himself, than he that has been deemed worthy of seeing the angels. The latter
464 partakes of the eyes of the body, the former of the eye of the soul. Better is he that clings to Christ mournfully in solitude, than he that praises Him in a congregation. No one should adduce the words of Paul: For I could wish that myself were accursed by Christ for my brethren [1]). He that has received the power of Paul, he has also the permission to do so. Paul was behaving as he did because a divine order had been given to him to be profitable to the world. As he witnesses to it, that he did not this by his own will: for necessity is laid upon me, woe is unto me, if I preach not the gospel [2]). Moreover, the election of Paul was not because of repentance, but that he should preach to humanity he received even greater power.

So we must love solitude, o my brother, that this world may die from our heart and we may think of death continually. And by this meditation we shall approach unto God in heart; and we shall despise the emptiness of the world; and its desires shall be despicable in our eyes. Let us joyfully bear, with a sorry body, the continual idleness of solitude, my brother, in order that we may be deemed worthy of delight with those that in the caverns and the clefts of the earth are waiting for the glorious revelation of our Lord from heaven. To Him and to His father and to the Holy Ghost be glory and praise for ever and ever.

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1) Romans 9, 3 2) Romans 9, 16

LXVI

465 A LETTER WHICH HE SENT TO HIS FRIEND IN WHICH HE EXPOUNDS SOME THINGS CONCERNING THE MYSTERY OF SOLITUDE AND HOW IT IS THAT MANY NEGLECT THIS WONDERFUL SERVICE BECAUSE THEY ARE NOT ACQUAINTED WITH IT WHEREAS THE MAIN PART OF THEM CLING TO SITTING IN THE CELL BECAUSE THIS IS CURRENT MONKISH TRADITION. TOGETHER WITH A COLLECTION OF SHORT SAYINGS USEFUL FOR THOSE WHO PRACTISE SOLITUDE

Now that thou hast inculcated in me the duty to write to thee on those things which are necessary, I inform thy love by this my writing, in accordance with the promise which I gave thee. As I have found that thou art determined to practise sitting in solitude, with painstaking behaviour, so I from my side will describe to thee in simple words, that which I have heard from discriminating men concerning this service, combining the concentrated sense of their words with personal [1]) experiences [gathered] by practice. And thou, on thy side, wilt profit by being occupied with this letter in thy usual diligent way, because with the discrimination of wisdom thou approachest the concise terms of the lecture of this letter, and not in the usual groove. And thou shalt take them as some elucidation of the rest of thy lecture, because of the great insight and power hidden in them. For the mind is greatly strengthened by such a lecture and it takes from it a
466 weapon against distraction of the thoughts and against dejection which is wont to rise from the hardship of labours and the prolonged sitting in solitude. And it casts behind it the world with attention to its practices, through the radiancy with which it is clad [by the sight of] those things which it meets; the which is the aim of this letter, [namely to make known] what is dwelling and service in solitude, and what mysteries are hidden in this discipline which are not observed

1) lit.: near

by many, and what events the prudent try to reach by solitude; and wherefore they reject the righteousness which is practised among men, fleeing from the sight of the world and choosing the troubles and struggles which are connected with quiet and lonely dwelling. On account of this insight and on account of those things which are found in this letter [readers] will call these solitaries who pass their life in this world in concentrated sitting by themselves happy. To those who do not perceive these things, admonition and advice concerning the order of solitude are vain. Here however I write to the wise, and I give advice in love.

If thou seekest imperishable life during thy short days, o brother, then let thy entry unto solitude take place with discrimination [1]), that thou mayest find the profit which awaits the wise in the path of solitude. Scrutinize its service and do not run after a name. Enter, be profound and bold, learn and acquire and train thyself in all the amazing and liberating distinctions of the ways of service in solitude. Then thou wilt understand, with all the saints, what is the height and the
467 depth and the length and the breadth of this illimitable discipline, because of the illimitable riches which its merchants seek to acquire. And thou wilt not rest, until thou art trained in all the ways of its service [2]).

From every human practice, at its beginning, some profit is expected when it shall be realised; this it is which moves the intelligent to lay its foundations. And this aim makes the mind heroic, so as to bear the difficulties of the matter. The mind even gathers some consolation from it by looking towards it. And after the fashion of an officer of the law, it apprehends the mind, till the matter is accomplished. So, in the eyes of the discriminate, the aim of the severe service of solitude is the harbour of mysteries towards which the mind looks, from the time when it lays the first foundations till the end of the work of building. And as the eyes of the helmsman look to the stars, so, in all his long and difficult labours, the inner gaze of the solitary, during his whole course, is directed towards the aim which he has fixed in his mind the first day when he gave himself to sailing the rough sea of solitude, till he shall find the pearl for the sake of which he has

1) Cf. *The Book of the Dove*, p. 19 2) Text has plural

entrusted himself to the not-to-be-explored floods of the ocean. And his gaze of hope makes light to him the whole burden of service and the difficulties full of danger which meet him in his course.

But he that, as soon as he enters solitude, does not set this aim to the profit [he wishes to gather] from his service, labouring at random as a man that combates the air, will never during
468 his life escape the spirit of despondency. And one of two things will happen to him: Either, no longer bearing the insupportable burden, he will be vanquished and give up solitude altogether; or, if he adheres to it, his cell becomes a dungeon in which he is tormented. And because he does not know that he may expect the consolation which is born from the service in solitude, he is not able to implore through his heart's pain or to beseech in passionate prayer or to embrace the token which our merciful Fathers, from love of their posterity, have left to us in their writings, whereby we could gain our life.

One of them has said: To me the profit of solitude is this, that where I withdraw from the camp in which my abode is fixed, my mind becomes void of the occupations of war and turns to a service which is more profitable.

Another: Solitude cuts off causes which give a new turn to the deliberations and within its walls there grow old and tasteless the recollections of previous things. And when the old matter has disappeared from the intellect, the mind returns to nature in order to direct it.

Another: I run to meet solitude, with this aim, that in my heart the sentences of recitation and prayer may become sweet. And when my tongue has been made silent by the delight of their understanding, I fall, as it were, asleep, my senses and my emotion being benumbed. And when by prolonged solitude my heart has acquired peace from the trouble of recollections, solitude sends me continually waves of gladness which arise from emotions which burst forth from within unexpectedly and
469 suddenly, to the delight of my heart; the which, running against the ship of my soul, and [withdrawing it] from the sounds of the world and from the life of the flesh, immerse it in the deepest depths of quiet in God.

Another: The degree of thy hidden things thou canst understand by thy different emotions. I mean the perpetual ones, not those which are set astir by accident and are made to

pass by time. There is no one clad with flesh whose house is not visited by some traveller belonging to the two various states of good and of evil. If he is disprudent, by those of deficiency, through nature, the fathers of children. If he is faithful, by those of elevation, through the leaven of grace which He has mixed with our nature, the parents of the kingdom on high.

Another: Choose the delightful service of continual vigils, by which all the Fathers have put off their old man and have become worthy of the renewal of the intellect. At these times the soul perceives that immortal life, by which apperception it throws off the garment of darkness and becomes the recipient of spiritual gifts.

Another: It is not possible that a man, while seeing many faces and hearing various sounds foreign to spiritual meditation, and speaking and having intercourse with the like, should keep his mind free so as to gaze at himself secretly, to remember his sins, to hide his thoughts, and to look at those which come, and to become familiar with hidden prayer.

470 Further it is impossible for a man to subdue the senses by the domination of the soul without solitude and alienation from men because the initiated soul becomes united to them and involved with them as in one person and is dragged along with their impulses, if it does not hold vigil with hidden prayer. And then, how vigils and alertness with prayer and recitation, will delight and gladden and give joy and make pure the soul, is well known to those who have practised these things during their whole life, in veracious asceticism.

And thou, o man who lovest solitude, place before thee, as a mark, these indications based upon the words of the Fathers, and direct the course of thy service towards them, and before all things, judge which are those which suit best the aim of thy service. Without them thou canst not be mature in true knowledge; try to show thy endurance especially in them.

Silence is a symbol of the future world. Speech is an organ of this world. A man who fasts is trying to acquire likeness with the nature of the spiritual beings.

Through his continual silence and fasting a man becomes distinguished that in his hidden state is constantly occupied with the service of God. By these mysteries is accomplished, even through those invisible forces, the holy service of the Essence

which governs the world. Some men who have been marked
471 off to enter the divine mysteries, have been signed with such seals as these; some of them have been entrusted with the guidance of a strong people; others have even acquired power over the elements and, midst great admiration, the species [1]) of nature have obeyed their commandments; others have been entrusted with the office of examining, for the universal re novation, the secrets that were hidden in the mysterious silence of the Lord of the universe. And it would not have been beautiful, if with a full belly and a mind distracted by wantonness, such mysteries had been administered, or if the sanits had ventured to elevate themselves to intercourse with God and unto His secret mysteries, unless with weak limbs and a colour livid by the pain of hunger, and a mind conscious of its reason by its having renunciated all earthly deliberations.

When, on account of a long abode in thy cell and troublesome labours and secret observance and restraint of the senses from all contact, the power of solitude gets hold of thee, thou wilt find first that joy which from time to time, without a cause, dominates thy soul. Then thy eyes are opened to see God's creative power and the beauty of the creatures, in accordance with the degree of thy purity. And when the mind by this sight has been snatched up in ecstasy, night and day become one to it in its admiration of the glorious works of God. And then the apperception of the affections is taken away from the soul by the delight of this sight. And by it the soul enters
472 the two degrees of intelligible revelations which belong to what lies higher than purity.

LXVII

AN ELUCIDATION WITH EXAMPLES CONCERNING THE DISTINCTIONS BETWEEN INTELLIGIBLE THINGS [SHOWING] WHICH USE THERE IS IN EACH OF THEM

Intellect [2]) is a spiritual sense which is made a recipient of the visual power, as the pupil of the fleshly eyes into which perceptible light is poured.

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1) ܓܢܣ 2) ܡܕܥ

Intelligible sight is natural knowledge which by power has been mixed with the order of nature, and which is called natural light.

A holy power is grace, the sun of distinction for those things, which hold a middle position between light and sight. Species [1]) are those things which are intermediary and distinguished by light so as to become sight. The affections are as it were some dense entities, which, placed between light and sight, hinder the distinction of things.

Purity is the clearness of the intelligible air, through the mediation [2]) of which spiritual nature circulates in us.

The reverse way: If the intellect is not of a sound nature, knowledge does not influence it. If the fleshly sense is harmed by some cause, sight is taken from it. If the intellect is sound, but there is no knowledge, the intellect cannot have any distinct influence upon spiritual things without it; just as an eye which is sound in all those things which are its own,
473 and yet, often its visual power is dull. So, if all these [spiritual] things are preserved in their proper state, but grace is not near, they remain, all of them, destitute of the service of their different functions; as it is also during nighttime, when all these things, because of the absence of the sun, remain without function, though they are true and perfect in themselves. I mean eye, sight and things, not those which are distinguishing or distinguished. This is what has been said: In Thy light we see light [3]). Now, even when grace, the intelligible sun, is near and inciting and flattering and working and exhortating, but there is no purity through which (as through the air purified from the density of the clouds and from the matter of darkness) the sunrays attain to us easily, so that we enjoy by their light a sight which is wholly spiritual — then sight is impeded in its discriminating power, nature looses its active force, the soul is hindered from perceiving the second sun which dawns over the world, because of the screen of the body in which the rays of truth are hidden so that they cannot reach us.

Therefore, all that has been said is strictly necessary. And because all these things are hardly to be found without defi-

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1) حنّنكم 2) lit. bosom

3) Ps. 36, 9

ciency any one, not many are found who reach a partial completeness in spiritual knowledge. Such a deficiency has its origin in impotence of the intellect, or in neglect of the aim,
474 or in the unpreparedness of the will, or in lack of purity, or in want of guides, or in the impediments of grace (for riches do not suit the fool, nor is a slave entitled to rule over many things) — or in the hindrances of time, place and mode.

LXVIII

SHORT SECTIONS

You must know, my brethren, that the sensual eye through its visual power alone (which is administered unto it from the brains as it were through a channel), without partaking of other light, is not able to receive [the images] of the different things. All natural apperceptions are placed on the same level as the intelligible things as regards spiritual behaviour in this respect; and [as for] the natural force of the intellect, which is also called psychic knowledge — it is impossible for the soul to participate in truth by contemplation, without receiving divine light. This is based upon excellence of behaviour, which is acquired when the affectible part of the soul is built upon natural health. For many have endeavoured [to acquire this] while being entangled in psychic and bodily affections, by philosophical training, being supported by the latter alone; but they have lost even the truth which they possessed and have ruined their usual visual power. And just as eyes which see in the air fantastic images because of their weak sight which cannot reach the humid matter in them, so every one of them
475 considers as truth one image which presents itself to him. And when all the images of all of them are united, then, in stead of one truth, there appears a variety of images. And this happens to them because they have not asked for the rays of grace which shines so as to purify the soul. Truth is the apperception concerning God which a man personally tastes by the perceptive power of the spiritual senses of the mind.

The flower of spiritual knowledge is divine love, which has its origin in radiant insights which are found by the spirit during prayer. Love is the fruit of prayer, which, on account

of contemplation originating in it, draws the mind towards a predilection which never becomes satisfied; the mind clings to this predilection for prayer without growing dejected, be it that it prays apperceptibly, with the body, or by the silent motion of the mind, fervently and eagerly. Prayer is: the impulses of the will being dead regarding fleshly life. For it is alike when a man prays veraciously and when he dies from the world; this means that he denies himself, and this means continually being in prayer.

It is known to those who know the scriptures what beseeching in veracious prayer is. And it is known that those who have devoted themselves to this lonely state in order to acquire lonely prayer through their demands, thwarting their desire, do not follow their nature when they arouse trouble against their soul because of the contrary affections which they stir
476 in their soul after prayer.

So the love of God is found in selfdenial. As from the seeds of the sweat of fasting the blade of chastity grows up, so does lasciviousness grow up from satiety and impudence from repletion. Against a hungry stomach wanton deliberations never direct themselves. Every food which we receive within us is added to the humours of the natural seed which is collected in our body. And when the organic limbs are filled with the influx which is gathered there from the whole body, and when it happens that the bodily [eye] sees [something], or when some involuntary recollection is awakened in the heart, then at once, together with the thought a sensation of delight is astir and spreads through the whole body, so that, even if the mind is very strong and chaste and cautious in its emotions, still, by this apperception of the limbs, the discriminating power of the mind is troubled at once, and is, as it were, cast down from the height where it stood, and the holiness of its deliberations is perverted.

And its pure chastity is defiled by the confusion which is caused by the affection that is astir in the heart on account of the burning of the limbs; and at once half of its force is lost, so to say, and the former scope of its hope is forgotten; and though it has not entered into the struggle, it is defeated without strife or labour on the part of its fiend, and vanquished by the subduing will of the body.

477 To such an extent does copious food and constant satiety

compel a man's good will that, although he is moving steadily in the harbour of chastity, he stoops to comply with that which he never would have stooped to think of. And when he lies down to sleep, alone, a host of thoughts clad in impudent images surrounds him. And his chaste bed is made by them a theatre and a brothel, where he deals and speaks with his thoughts in drunkenness and defiles his holy limbs, though no woman is near to him.

What sea is so disturbed by storms as the steady mind is stirred by the vehemence of the waves assailing it in the sea of the body, through a full stomach? O chastity, how is thy beauty made splendid by sleeping on the ground, by the suffering of hunger, when sleep flies from thee on account of the leanness of the body and the emptiness of the stomach, which is made a deep pit for the intestines between the ribs by abstinence from food. But by indulgence in food and comfort, evil representations and impure images are formed and come into existence. Then they proceed and show themselves to us in the hidden place of our mind, inciting us to mingle with them secretly by impudent actions.

Emptiness of the stomach makes free room for the mind which is devoid of deliberations and all tumult of thoughts. But when the stomach is replenished and satisfied it is made thereby a place of sights and a theatre, even if we are in
478 the wilderness and alone. For he that is satisfied desires many things.

Thou understandest that thou hast been deemed worthy of psychic apathy therein not, that no evil deliberations pass through thee — that is [the absence of] the movement of the impulses which are in the body, the which is impossible — nor that thou vanquishest them easily, the thought not having been defiled or disturbed at all, however exalted this may be; but that, through the intellect being totally occupied, the mind is not even permitted to combat with or to crush them, but that as soon as deliberations elevate their head, it is dragged away from them by some involuntary force, which by custom or grace, begins to ferment in the heart which is the house of the intellect. The struggling mind is different from the rank of priesthood. The mind which, by heavenly mercy, is dead to the world, to it things cause simple deliberations only, without the strife of battle, though from the motion of the

limbs an apperceptive power without equal [is born]. Perfection which is joined with flesh and blood rules over that which originates in flesh and blood, but it does not annihilate the peculiarities of nature while vital impulses still move in elementary life, and the foundation of existence, on account of the four humours, is subject to various emotions.

LXIX

479 HOW THE INTELLIGENT HAVE TO DWELL IN SOLITUDE

Listen, my beloved, to what our love says to thee.

If thou desirest that thy labours shall not be empty and thy days idle and thyself destitute of the profit which the intelligent expect from the discipline of quiet, let then thy entering into solitude take place with discrimination, not in a kind of groove, as it is with many. But let there be an aim towards which thy mind directs the labours of its behaviour[1]). And interrogate those who have solid knowledge, through experience, not through reading only. And exercise thyself in all the wonderful and liberal distinctions of solitude, without taking rest before thou art trained in all the ways of its service. And at every step thou takest, examine whether thou art walking in the way, or thou hast erred away from it on one of the ways leading to the desert.

Thou must not believe that the true discipline of solitude is accomplished by visible labours alone. If thou desirest to reach by personal experience that which our Fathers have found, thou must secretly have signs and tokens in thy soul, at every step thou takest, by which thou canst recognise the truth of our Fathers or the error of Satan. A few of them, written in order that thou mayest become wise in thy way are as follows.

480 When thou seest, in solitude, that thy mind is able to use freely its righthand impulses and that there is no compulsion in its rule over any of them, then know that thy solitude is right. And if, while thou art performing thy service with discrimination, without distraction as much as possible, the words are suddenly cut off from thy mouth, and the bonds of com-

1) *Book of the Dove*, p. 19

pulsory silence are placed on thy soul and this phenomenon is constantly repeated, then know that thou art making progress in thy solitude and that its simple beginnings are taking increase.

For simple solitude is rejected by justice. And every simple [act of] discipline, among discriminate sages is accounted as a lonely, helpless member.

And if thou seest that at every deliberation which stirs in thy soul, at every recollection and vision happening during solitude, the surroundings of thy eyes are filled with tears and thy cheeks are moistened by them, without compulsion, then know that before thee, in the opposing camp, there begins to grow a breach.

And if thou findest that thy spirit, from time to time, descends within them without unusual efforts, and abides there some time, whatever that time be and afterwards thou seest thy members as it were in great weakness, while peace reigns over all thy deliberations, but [the weakness] remains continually the same, then know that the cloud has begun to cover the tabernacle.

If, during thy abiding in solitude, thou findest that harsh delibe-
481 rations reign over thy soul, and that it is tyrannised by them every moment, and that at all times the mind is attracted by those things which were administered before, namely, when it is desirous of vain investigations — then know that thou art fatiguing thyself with solitude in vain and that thy soul is corrupted by distraction, and that there are outward causes, or inward neglect of duties, especially of vigils and recitation. Then direct and fix thy will. But if thou doest not find peace from the assaults of the affections as soon as these days begin, then be not astonished.

Now [1]), if the bosom of the earth when the sunrays have ceased, preserves their heat for a long time, and if an aromatic smell and the odour of perfumes which spread through the air, remain a long time before they are dissipated and become effaced — how much more certain is it, that the affections, like dogs accustomed to lap up blood at the butcher's, will stand at the door barking, when the usual food is withheld from them, till their old force has abated.

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1) Introduction

When neglect begins to penetrate into thy soul secretly and to spread gloom, and the house is near to being filled with darkness, then thou wilt secretly perceive in thyself these signs which will soon appear: Thy faith will be weakened. Visible things will arouse thy covetousness. Thy confidence will diminish. Thy neighbour thou wilt wrong. And thy whole person, thy month and thy heart, will be full of vituperation against every
482 man and thing and against that which thy deliberations and senses meet, and even against the most High. And thou wilt be terrified by the frailty of the body which has rendered thee pusillanimous at all times. And from time to time thy soul will be shaken by fear, so that thou shalt be frightened and terrorised as it were by thy shadow.

For by faith I do not understand that which is the foundation of the common confession, but the intelligible force that by the light of the mind supports the heart, and by inward testimony stirs in the soul great confidence in God; so that the soul does not provide for itself, but casts all its cares on the Lord without thinking of any of them.

Then, when thou art making intelligible progress, thou wilt soon perceive in thy soul these dim signs. By hope thou shalt become strong, and by prayer rich. And continually abundant profit will be the part of thy mind in all that thou meetest, and thou wilt perceive the weakness of human nature. On the one hand thou must beware of haughtiness; on the other hand let injury against thy neighbour be despicable in thy eyes. Departing the body has become desirable to thee because of the desire to be near those things in which we are going to live. And as for all the afflicting accidents which happen to thee manifestly and secretly thou wilt soon find that all of them happen to thee justly, in all sincerity which is far from
483 presumption. And concerning all these thou shalt make confession.

These are signs for the watchful and for those who constantly dwell in solitude and wish to reach veraciousness of behaviour. Those who are relaxed, do not want subtle signs indicating hidden traps. For they are also far from hidden virtues.

As soon as one of these begins to show itself in thy soul, then at once try to understand towards which side it begins to incline; then thou shalt know at the same time to which category it belongs.

LXX

THAT WE CAN UNDERSTAND THE DEGREE OF OUR BEHAVIOUR BY THE VARYING STATES OF OUR MIND WITHOUT CHILDISHLY JUDGING BY THE MANY DISTINCTIONS OF OUR LABOURS ONLY THAT WE SHOULD RECOGNISE THE DEGREE OF OUR SOUL AS SAGES BY THE JOY WHICH DAY BY DAY IS SECRETLY PERCEIVED IN IT. THE SUBTLE ORDER OF INITIATED KNOWLEDGE

Examine thyself constantly, my beloved, and pay attention to the steadiness of thy labours, and the troubles assailing thee, thy lonely dwellingplace, the subtlety of thy mind and the keenness of thy knowledge, the long period of thy solitude, and the frequent drogues of temptations that are continually administered by the true physician in order to heal the inner man; sometimes however by the demons. Sometimes they come through illnesses and bodily sufferings, sometimes through the terrors of the emotions of thy soul when it thinks of the woes which will come in the end. Sometimes through
484 the tenderness and fostering of grace there will arise warmth and sweet tears and spiritual joy and all the other things, to be short.

Doest thou see with certainty through all these that thy wounds are going to be healed, that is — that the affections begin to grow weak? Put up a mark and enter into thyself continually and see which of the affections have become weak before thee; which of them have reached their end and are altogether finished; which of them are beginning to become silent in the health of thy soul, and not by the departure of emotional influences; through the maturity of the mind and not for lack of causes.

Doest thou now see perfectly — as thou observest that living flesh, which is peace of the soul, is going to cover thy open wound — which of the affections continually trouble thee, and which from time to time; and which are bodily, which are psychic, and which of a mixed nature; and whether they stir darkly, as being ill by recollections, or they assail the

soul vehemently; whether they consequently behave stealthily or imperiously; and how king mind, the governor of the senses, looks at them when they knock at the door; whether it combates and vanquishes them by its force, or even does not look at them or think of them; and which of them are the remnants of old ones, and which have been newly formed; and whether the affections stir through representations, or by apperception without any representation; whether there is recollection without affections, and emotion without allurements.

By these [symptoms] it is possible to recognize the degree which the soul occupies. If the first mentioned alternative is to be affirmed (though it does not prevail), this shows that
485 there is still strife in the soul though it is strong against [the contrary powers]. If the second mentioned alternative is to be affirmed, it almost proves that, as scripture says, David sat in his house and the Lord had given him rest round about from all his [enemies] [1]).

These things are not to be connected with one affection, but with the natural affections of desire and love also, as also with the affection of love of glory, which forms images and phantasies and allurements. And the affection of the love of money — when the soul participates of it secretly, though it is not persuaded to commit any action thereby — forms in the mind images of things connected with the love of money in the examples of wealth-gathering, and it induces the soul to think of them and it excites the desire of possessing them, and so on.

Not all affections combat man by allurements. For some of them burden the soul with troubles only. Dejection and despondency and distress do not bring allurements nor comfort, but only burden the soul with heaviness. The readiness of the soul is demonstrated by a victory fought against those forces which make use of allurements in the struggle.

For a man ought to possess all these, namely subtle knowledge and signs, in order that he may perceive, at every step he takes, how far he is gone and in which country his soul has begun to walk, in the land of Kanaan or beyond the Jordan.

Consider also this: whether the soul, through its illumination, possesses sufficient knowledge for these distinctions; or distinguishes them dimly, or is wholly destitute of such distinctive

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1) 2 Sam. 7, 1

486 faculties. Doest thou find with absolute certainty, that the deliberations have begun to become clear? Does distraction desist from the intellect at the time of prayer? Which affection troubles thee when the mind approaches unto prayer? Doest thou perceive that the power of solitude envelops the soul with the quiet and the unusual peace which it engenders in the mind? Is the mind continually snatched away spontaneously, by immaterial emotions, towards those things which it is not allowed to interpret to the senses? Does there suddenly blaze in them joy which makes the tongue silent by its incomparable delight? Does there constantly flow from the heart some enjoyment which envelops the whole being in rapture, without thy perceiving it? Is sometimes thy whole body possessed by some delight and joy, which no fleshly tongue can express, so that thou esteemest all earthly things as ashes and dung, even when thou recollectest them?

The first happens sometimes at the time of prayer, sometimes during the recitation; sometimes when through constant and prolonged meditation the spirit has become meditative and the mind fervent.

The second usually happens without these. Often during fortuitous works, usually however during the night and on purpose, between sleeping and waking, sleeping though not sleeping and waking though not waking. And the delight which flows through the whole body is esteemed so high at that time, that it seems as if the kingdom of heaven were nothing else but this.

487 And further consider this: if the soul possesses the strength to reject recollections of apperceptible things by the strength of the hope which reigns over the heart and makes strong the inner senses by an unfathomable conviction; and if the heart has acquired, without forethought, the habit of being captured so that it does no longer [perceive] earthly things, through continual intercourse with our Saviour, and thou possessest knowledge so as to distinguish the different designations of this intercourse, when thou hearest them — solitude cultivated without interruption will make it easy to the soul to acquire the taste of these.

They disappear however, after having been present, through the neglect of those who have received them, and for a long time they do not reappear.

On account of these, man ventures to adduce with confidence the testimony of his own mind; so the blessed Paul says: For I am persuaded that neither death, nor life, nor things present, nor things to come, nor any other thing shall be able to separate me from the love of Christ [1]). Then should bodily and psychic trouble, or persecution or hunger, or nakedness or loneliness, or captivity or danger or the sword? No, not even the angels of Satan, nor his powers with their evil cunning; nor glory which makes efforts by its alluring flatteries; nor oppressions and scorn by their vain blows.

If these things, my brother, to a larger or lesser extent have not begun to show themselves in thy soul, thy labours and troubles and all thy solitude are vain efforts. And even
488 if miracles were wrought by thy hands and thou shouldst quicken the dead, this would be, nothing in comparison with the absence of these. And it is becoming that thou arousest thy self and with tears beseechest the Saviour of the world that He may take away the veil from the heart, and disperse from the inner firmament the darkness of the clouds of the affections; and that thou mayest be deemed worthy of seeing the rays of daylight.

Then thou wilt not dwell in darkness as one who is dead for ever. Continual vigils with recitation and frequent kneelings performed between, will not fail one day to give this good to him that is diligent. For those that have found them, have found them through these works. And those who will find them, will be able to do so through these works.

And while we are constantly abiding in solitude, performing these works, and the mind is not bound by any thing or any man without the soul, then by the works of inward excellence we shall soon find in ourselves a partial, but veracious apperception of them and we shall acquire certainty also concerning the rest. Those who, while abiding in solitude, have experienced God's lovingkindness, do not need much persuasion. Nor is their soul sick by the affection of unbelief as those who doubt the truth. The witness of their mind is for them sufficient persuasion, more than myriads of words not founded on experience.

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1) Cf. Rom. 8, 38

LXXI

489 ON THE INFLUENCES PROCEEDING FROM GRACE

Thou must perpetually place a token in thy soul, and pay attention to it. And when thou perceivest that divine care begins to reveal itself to the soul, then understand that thou art near the harbour of purity. As soon as man begins to be lifted up above the affections, this holy force will cling to the soul, without leaving it, day or night, showing it God's providence. And even the particulars of what is and comes to pass, of yes and no, what happens to a man secretly and manifestly and the facts relating to the creation of this world, are revealed to the soul by that force which clings to it and which reveals to it the creative power of God and shows it divine providence which, without a break, follows and visits this whole creation. And it shows the soul how this providence follows man at all times, and, though he does not perceive it and does not know it, preserves him against adversities at all times and directs him towards what serves for the salvation and the rest of his soul and body and to gain life.

Now this divine force, which works all these, shows itself secretly to man, by intelligible revelation to his spiritual nature, which is intellect. When man has been deemed worthy to receive this power within his soul, he abides only in ecstasy and silence and tears which always flow as water, so that he desists from
490 all work.

And thou must gaze at all times at this sight of God's continual care for the work of His hands: the mind absorbed in ecstasy, the senses at rest, weak man prostrated on his face in prayer, [in astate] in which no tongue can speak and in which no heart can pray, but by astonishment at these things even prayer is cut off.

This is the idleness which is more profitable than work, when a man is purely at rest, with his senses and his impulses, being continually prostrated before his Lord. And even his bones in silence send up a glorification to God, in this so-called idleness; as the prophet says: All my bones shall say:

Lord, who is like unto Thee? [1]) At this time, above all affections, thou findest the demon of haughtiness bound and thrown at the feet of the soul. By this gift, as it is said, man becomes worthy of the love of God and of complete humility.

This first gift is tasted through solitude. And those who, in service and observance, have abided within absolute solitude, must necessarily know it. But when a man leaves solitude and begins to be lax, it is withdrawn from him. And when he enters again and cares for himself and clings diligently to the usual service, he is again supplied with it, and it shows its force to the soul. Then, when man has become wholly perfect, this force will cling to him inwardly and outwardly and
491 not one hour will he be without sighs and tears and the rest, if he does not neglect [2]) the pure order of his service. Even now there are men who have been deemed worthy of this partly. And the peculiarities of the degree of perfection they recognize from that which they possess partially. For, when a man has tasted a small quantity [3]) of wine from a large skin, he knows how all the rest is, even when others drink a part or all the remainder.

A man who possesses [this gift] in perfection, will not soon be found, nay hardly at all. For this power is a gift of the observance of solitude; and because in this our enervated generation there is none who keeps perfect solitude and complete observance, we are also destitute of its gifts [4]). He who possesses these signs in writing of ink, but their practice is not found in him by experience, resembles a man who bears in his arms a cither adorned and provided with strong strings, but his fingers do not know, because they are not trained, to play thereon and to bring forth different melodies for his own delight. For he only possesses the cither, but not the required art. And he needs others to play on it before him and give him enjoyment.

Do not rejoice when thou art rich in the knowledge of many things; but rejoice when that which thou knowest is found with thee practically. The former without the latter will retire gradually and even end in haughtiness, through idleness. When thou art zealous in the latter, thou wilt necessarily be illuminated

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1) Ps. 35, 10

2) ܬܥܠܡ, meaning uncertain

3) ܡܕܡܐ

4) cf. *Book of the Dove*, Introduction, p. XVI

by it without instruction. The eye of knowledge is experience; its growth is brought about by continual service.

492 This will be to thee a luminous token of the serenity of thy soul: when thou, examining thyself, findest thyself full of mercy for all mankind, and when thy heart is afflicted by pity for them and burns as with fire without personal discrimination. While by these things the image of the Father in heaven is continually seen in thee, thou canst recognize the degree of thy behaviour, not by the discrimination of the labours, but by the varying states to which thy intellect is subject. The body is then wont to swim in tears, as the mind gazes at spiritual things, while it is as if from the eyes there flowed brooks which moisten the cheeks, without compulsion, spontaneously.

Now, [1]) I know one who even during his sleep was overwhelmed by ecstasy in God through the contemplation of something which he had read in the evening. And while his soul was amazed at this contemplative meditation, he perceived, as it were, that he had meditated for long in the motion of sleep and examined the ecstatic vision. It was in the depth of the night, and suddenly he awoke from his sleep while his tears dropped as water and fell upon his breast; and his mouth was full of glorification and his heart meditated in contemplation for a long time, with a delight which did not come to an end. And through the many tears that, without measure, were shed by his eyes, and through the stupefaction of his soul by which all the members of his body were relaxed, and of his heart in which some delight
493 was astir, he was not even able to accomplish his usual night-service, except some psalm at break of dawn, so overwhelmed was he by the many tears which as a fountain broke forth from his eyes spontaneously, and by the other spiritual things.

Let us also be zealous, my brethren. And before we go to sleep, let us many times meditate upon glorifications and recited psalm and passages of the holy scriptures, guarding ourselves against evil recollections and from bad thought. And let us provide [2]) our treasury with every beautiful thing. Then sleep will overtake us while we are full of the recollection of God, while our soul is glowing with great desire for the things that

1) Cf. Introduction

2) Reading ܢܣܝܡ instead of ܢܣܡ

are good, through the grace of God which surrounds us in our sleep and spends upon us its gifts while we are sleeping, examining us, whether our body is free from any kind of impurity, and the impulses of our heart pure from evil. And through grace it will be impossible for the sons of the prince of darkness to approach us because the sword and lance of grace surround us. But when they find us as they like to find us, when grace has withdrawn from us because it disliked us and has removed us from itself as corpses void of life, then they approach us, with all their evil, and try us by all sordid and fearful impulses, according to the desire of their evil will.

And when such a thing happens to us in our sleep, let us understand at once and recollect and perceive, that in that night God's inspiration [1]) was far from us. And how is it that the
494 demons have not devoured us? Because the divine will in whose hand the soul of all flesh is placed, only allows [them] to approach us, that we should arouse and look at ourselves. It is not possible for them to approach us when [inspiration] is near.

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1) ܪܘܚܐ ܩܕܝܫܬܐ

LXXII

ON TRUE KNOWLEDGE AND ON TEMPTATIONS AND THAT IT IS BECOMING TO KNOW EXACTLY THAT NOT ONLY WEAK AND INSIGNIFICANT AND UNEDUCATED PEOPLE BUT ALSO THOSE WHO HAVE BEEN DEEMED WORTHY OF TEMPORARY APATHY AND HAVE REACHED PERFECTION OF MIND AND HAVE APPROACHED PARTIAL PURITY AS FAR AS THIS IS COMPATIBLE WITH MORTALITY AND HAVE GAINED EXALTATION ABOVE AFFECTIONS — IN SO FAR AS IN THIS WORLD IT IS ALLOWED BY GOD IN COMBINATION WITH LIFE IN AFFECTIBLE FLESH — HAVE TO STRUGGLE AND ARE INJURED BY THE AFFECTIONS BECAUSE OF THE BODY AND THAT TO THEM ALSO ARE CONTINUALLY PERMITTED [TEMPTATIONS] IN MERCY BECAUSE OF THE DANGER OF HAUGHTINESS IN SOME DEGREE AND THAT MANY TIMES THEY TRANSGRESS AND HEAL THEMSELVES BY REPENTANCE GRACE ACCEPTING THEM AGAIN

That every rational nature is liable to deviation without distinction and that varying states pass through all men at all times, the discriminate is able to understand from many [symptoms]; moreover the experiences of each day are wholly sufficient to make him prudent if he is cautious and keeps to what is his domain. [They also show him] how many varying
495 states of rest and unrest work upon the mind every day, so that it suddenly passes from peace to perturbation without any reason from anywhere and falls into unspeakable danger. Even this is clearly described by the blessed Macarius, with great care and devotion, in order to remind and instinct the brethren, lest those who stand in the degree of purity give way to despair at the time of contrary states, when there happens to them an accidental [state] like [a change in] air, provided that this is not due to neglect and relaxation, but that these circumstances contrary to the scope of their mind, happen to them while they are walking in their path.

And also the blessed Euagrius witnessing to this through real experience, has committed it to writing, for the sake of ampler confirmation, as it were lest any one should think that the blessed Macarius wrote this in his letter fortuitously without having examined his words carefully. Thus then by reason of two veracious witnesses like these, the mind may accept, without doubt, its consolation at the time of need.

What then? Varying states happen to every man, like [changes of] the air. Understand it: to every man; for nature is one. Do not think that he is speaking to insignificant men only and that the perfect should be exempt from varying states and that they stay in one class, without liability of deviation and without the impulse of the affections, as the Meṣalleyānē say. Therefore he says: unto every man.

How is this, o blessed man? He says: there are states of
496 cold, and soon after states of heat; and perhaps of hail, and soon there-after of serenity. It is thus for our instruction: strife, then the help of grace. And sometimes the soul runs into a storm and heavy billows assail it; then there comes a different state and it is visited by grace; then joy fills the heart and peace from God and chaste, peaceful deliberations. Grace makes dawn here chaste deliberations on the bestiality and impurity of those whom it had ordered away.

Therefore he warns, saying that after these chaste and peaceful deliberations, accidents will befall the mind, that we should not be sorry or despair; or at the time of rest caused by grace, be puffed up, but that, at the time of joy, we should look at trouble. He says that we should not be sorry when accidents happen; not that we should not resist them, nor that the mind should accept them joyfully as something natural belonging to us, but that thou shouldst not despair even as the man who expected what is exalted above strife, and perfect rest without varying states and without struggles and blows, and freedom from the impulse of any adversity — the which it has not pleased our Lord God to give to our nature in this world so that we should entirely desist from labours and in consequence of this thought thou shouldst be relaxed by despondency and desist from thy course.

But know that all the saints have to face this labour as long as we are in this world, though we have ample con-
497 solation for it in secret. For every day and at all times it is

demanded of us that we give proof of our love unto God by the struggle against temptations. And therefore we should not be sorry; namely, we should not be dejected in our struggle but thus is our way prepared. ‚For he that deviates from this method, becomes a prey of the wolves'. Admirable is that saint, who with a small word confirmed this section that is loaded with significance and absolutely took doubt away from the mind of the reader. ‚For he that deviates from this method, becomes a prey of the wolves'. This means that he, that possesses this intention and is minded to walk out of the way, wishing to go in loneliness a way that has not been trodden by the Fathers, is through this in danger of becoming the prey of old wolves who are clad in lambs' clothes in order stealthily to turn back foolish souls to their evil under the pretence of truth. That at the time of joy we should look at trouble, means: when by the influence of grace, suddenly mighty emotions and amazement of the intellectual vision of what is above nature, fall on the soul; as the holy Euagrius says: when the holy angels approach us filling us with spiritual sight, and all those who were in opposition to us vanish, and there comes peace and unspeakable stupefaction; when thou art in this state; when grace envelops thee, and the holy angels are near and around thee and, therefore, all those who tried thee, have withdrawn from thee, then do not
498 extol thyself and do not think that thou hast reached now the undisturbable harbour and the unchangeable air and that thou art altogether exalted above this bay and the contrary storms and that there is no fiend and no evil accidents. For there were many who have thought thus and have fallen into danger, as Euagrius says, namely: the danger of thinking that thou art greater than many others, and that thou deservest these [spiritual distinctions] and that others, on account of their insufficient knowledge, are destitute of the like; but I possess [those distinctions] duly, and therefore I have reached perfect chastity and the degree of spirituality, and definite renovation.

On the other hand recollect the impure deliberations and the unclear images which printed themselves in thy mind in the winterperiod, and the disturbancies and the disordered deliberations which assailed thee shortly before, during that gloomy darkness; and how easily thou deviatedst towards the

affections and hadst intercourse with them, when thy mind was troubled, without being ashamed before the divine sight and on account of the gifts and presents thou hadst received.

And know that all this was brought upon thee, in order to humble thee, by the care of God, which provides for every one of us as is profitable to him. But when thou exaltest thyself on account of its gifts, it leaves thee, and thou wilt wholly relapse into the practice of those things by which thou wert tried in thy thoughts.

Know, therefore, that the fact that thou art standing, is not due to thee nor to thy excellence; but that it is grace which
499 bears thee on its handpalms so that thou art not moved.

These things thou hast to recollect at the time of joy, when thy deliberation exalts itself, says our holy Father, and then thou hast to weep and shed tears. And humble thyself at the recollection of thy transgressions committed when [temptations were] admitted to thee; perhaps thou wilt be saved by acquiring humility through them. Be not, however, dejected, but expiate thy sins by deliberations of humility. Humility, even without labours, expiates many sins. Labours without humility on the contrary, are not only destitute of profit, but cause us many evils. Therefore, expiate thy sins, by humility, as I have said. As salt is to all kinds of meat, so is humility to all virtues. The force of many sins is able to break this. Therefore it is necessary for the mind to suffer continually by humiliation and by pain borne with discernment. If we possess this, it makes us a son of God; even without service, it allows us to stand before God rich in virtues. Without it, every service and every virtue and all labours are vain.

Therefore God demands the alteration of the mind. By the mind we acquire improvement and by the mind we become despicable. So this alone is sufficient, without [any further] help, to stand before God and to speak in our behalf.

Thank God without break on account of the fact that, notwithstanding thy so weak and easily deviating nature, from time to time thou art lifted up by the aid of grace to such a height and to such gifts and remember in which sphere
500 thou then art — above thy nature, and how when [temptations] are admitted to thee, thou art brought low and possessest a brutish mind. And recollect the wretchedness of thy

nature and how easily thou becomest subject to varying states, as also one of the saintly Fathers has said: When thou art assailed by the deliberation of haughtiness which desires to enumerate thy virtues; then say: Father, look at thy fornication. He means the fornication by which the deliberations are tried at the time of the admittance [of temptations] and with which man is provided by grace, be it as a means of strife or as a means of help, according to the degree in which grace helps us. Seest thou how clearly this admirable Father explains the matter? ‚When thou art approached by the deliberation of haughtiness, because of the elevation of thy behaviour, then say: Father, look at thy fornication!' It is manifest that this Father was speaking to a great one, because it is impossible that deliberations of haughtiness should assail other people than those who occupy a high degree and are behaving in a praiseworthy way. For this affection attacks the soul when virtue has been exercised, in order to bereave it of its performance.

Also from one of the letters of Macarius thou canst learn, if thou desirest, which degrees those saints occupy unto whom temptations are admitted. That letter was written by Macarius to all his beloved sons, showing clearly how struggles and the help of grace are provided by God, through which it has pleased His wisdom to train them as long as they abide in
501 this life, struggling against sin, in behalf of excellence. This He does in order that at all times their looks may be fixed upon Him and that, by continually looking at Him, His holy love may be augmented in them. So that, when they seek continually refuge with Him against the ardour of the affections and the fear of deviations, they are confirmed in faith, hope and love.

So these things are not said to those who continually are in contact with men and wander about everywhere, participating in impure actions and passions [and living] in a state of relaxation. Nor are they said to those who perform righteousness in works which have nothing to do with solitude and who at every moment are captured by the senses, and who at all times are in danger of falling on account of the compulsion exercised on them by the things which happen to them involuntarily, through circumstances which they have not foreseen, so that they are unable to guard completely not

only their deliberation but even their senses. But they are destined for those who by the great watchfulness with which they guard their bodies and their deliberations, keep altogether aloof from the perturbations and conversations of men, and who by having given up all, even their soul, are able to guard their mind in prayer and to receive various provisions from grace, in perfect solitude. And under the arm of the knowledge of the Lord they are brought up and secretly made wise by the spirit, while they have rest from works and the sight of things and possess a mind dead to the world. The affections do not die; but intercourse [with them] dies, because they keep aloof from things and because they are helped by grace.

LXXIII

502 THE CONCISE SENSE OF THE [FOREGOING] SECTION TOGETHER WITH EXPLANATIONS OF WHAT HAS BEEN SAID

The concise sense of the foregoing section is to communicate to us that at every moment[1]) of the four and twenty hours of the day, we are in want of repentance. The explanation of the denotation of repentance, in its real practical sense, is continual mournful supplication in contrite prayer, offered to God for the forgiveness of previous sins; and petition to be guarded against future ones[2]). Therefore our Lord also has sustained our weakness by prayer: Watch and pray, that ye enter not into temptation[3]). And: Pray, and do not faint[4]). And: Watch ye therefore, and pray always[5]).

Ask, and it shall be given unto you; seek, and ye shall find; knock, and it shall be opened unto you; for every one that asketh receiveth; and he that seeketh findeth; and to him that knocketh it shall be opened[6]). And he corroborates His word strongly and exhortates us strongly by the parable of the friend who went to his friend in the middle of the night and asked him for bread. ,Verily, I say unto you, though ho will not rise and give him, because he is friend, yet be-

1) Introduction
2) Cf. *Book of the Dove*, p. 6 and note 3
3) Matthew 26, 41
4) Cf. Luke 18, 1
5) Luke 21, 36
6) Matthew 7, 7 sq.

cause of his importunity he will rise and give him as many as he needeth[1]). And ye also: Pray and do not faint[2]). Blessed is the unspeakable encouragement of the Giver, who exhorts us saying: Ask from me and I will give you gifts.
503 And He will also provide you with all that is profitable, according to His knowledge. These words are full of encouragement and great confidence.

And as our Lord knows that He does not take away liability of deviation before the cup of death [is drunk], and, this being so, that man is near to a change from excellency to deterioration, and nature susceptible of accidents — therefore He urges us to continual beseechings. For if there were in this world a place of security whereto a man could go and thenceforth his nature would be exempt from need and his service from fear — then He would not have exhorted us towards prayer nor would He have urged us diligently. In the world to be men will not offer prayers unto God, with beseechings concerning various things. For in that place of freedom our nature will no longer be susceptible of variation, nor bound by the fear of opposition, but perfect in every way. Therefore His care not only drives us unto prayer and watchfulness, but even scourges us with the whip of temptations, in view of the subtlety and incomprehensibility of those things which continually happen to us and superate the power of our knowledge, things among which we are found continually and involuntarily. And even although our mind be firm and willed to the good, yet often His care scourges us with temptations, as the blessed Paul says: Lest I should be exalted through the abondance of the revelations, there was given me a thorn
504 in the flesh, the messenger of Satan to buffet me. For this thing I besought the Lord thrice that He might take from me temptation (namely that I might in freedom perform the work which He had ordered me). And He said unto me: My grace is sufficient for thee: for my strength is made perfect in weakness[3]).

Therefore[4]), my Lord, if this is thy will, and our childish nature so much needs a master who rules and exhorts that even a man who is so fond of thy love as I am and so zea-

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1) Luke 11, 8 2) Luke 18, 1 3) 2 Corinthians 12, 7 sqq.
4) The following passage is put into the mouth of Paul.

lous a follower of good that he does not see the world at all because of his drunkenness in thee, so that thou hast brought me so far as to see revelations and visions which a fleshly tongue is not allowed to interpret, and to hear the sound of the service of the spiritual orders, so that I am deemed worthy of sight full of spiritual sanctities, that such a man as I with all this is not able to guard his own person, I who am a man perfect in Christ, — because there is still something which because of its subtleness resists the power of my knowledge — I that possess the mind of Christ — [if all this be so] then, my Lord, I rejoice at my illnesses, at troubles, reclusions, bonds, compulsions, on the part of nature or on the part of natural beings, or on the part of the fiend of nature.

Joyfully, therefore, I will bear my illnesses, namely my temptations, which the power of Christ brings upon me. If, with all these, I still require the rod of temptations in order
505 to augment thy influence upon me and that I may be guarded by thy presence, I known that there is none whom thou lovest better than me.

And because thou hast made me greater than many others and hast not given to any of my fellow Apostles what thou hast given to me — namely to know the glorifications of thy powers; and because thou hast called me an elect vessel and hast entrusted me with the guardianship of thy love; because of all these and that I know that the preaching of thy gospel has made excellent progress, while I am free from the bonds of temptations on account of all these things I know that thou wouldst have given men freedom, if this were profitable to me. But thou hast not wished that I should be without trouble and without care in this world; and thou werst not anxious to promote the preaching of thy gospel to the same degree as thou werst anxious that I should profit by my temptations, and my soul be kept healthy with thee.

Therefore, o thou who art discriminating, if the gift of the temptations be so great that a man, even if he be as exalted and advanced in spiritual state as Paul's degree was, still requires fear and watchfulness and gathers profit by meeting temptations, who then can reach a place of security in the world of mortality full of robbers, and receive stability[1]) (which

1) ܗܘ ܕܢܬܩܘܡ ܒ

was not given to the holy angels, lest they should become perfect before us), thus receiving before all people, — spiritual and bodily ones — such a gift that, according to his wish, he should be without varying states at all, without a temptation even approaching to his deliberations?

The order of this world, according to the conception of all
506 holy writings, is this, that even if we received a thousand blows every day, our mind would not become humble and we would desist from the course in the arena; but that on account of one small cause, we gain the victory possibly and win our crown. This world is an arena and a running place. And this time is a time of struggle. And the time and the place of the struggle are not subject to a law. This means: the King does not set a terminus to his warriors, till the struggle is ended and all the world is gathered within the gate of the king of kings and it is examined there who has been constant in the war and has not been defeated, and who has taken to flight. How often will it happen that a man who was good for nothing and constantly beaten and thrown down because of his want of training, and who was always in a state of weakness, will snatch the banner from the hand of the valiant warriors and make his name famous above that of the doughty ones, the able and knowing battle-troops, and receive the crown and gifts which are honoured by all his fellows.

Nobody, therefore, should give way to despondency. Only: he should not despise prayer, nor neglect to ask help from our Lord. And let us take this to heart, that, as long as we are in this world and dwelling in this body, even if we are lifted up unto the vault of heaven, it is not possible to be free from toil and injury and care. This is the sum of it all. Pardon me. What exceeds this is superfluous.

LXXIV

507 ON THE DISCRIMINATION OF VIRTUES AND THE SCOPE OF THE WHOLE COURSE AND THE GREATNESS OF THE LOVE UNTO MANKIND AND THE SPIRITUAL AIM WHICH IT REACHES IN ALL THE SAINTS CREATING WITHIN THEM A DIVINE LIKENESS BY THE RICH LOVE WHICH HE POURS OUT UPON MANKIND

The scope of the whole course consists in these three: Repentance, purity and perfection. What is repentance? To desist from former [sins] and to suffer on account of them. And what is the sum of purity? A heart full of mercy unto the whole created nature. And what is perfection? Depth of humility, namely giving up all visible and invisible things. Visible things: all that which is sensible. In visible things: all thinking about them. Another time the same Father was asked: What is repentance? He answered: A broken heart. And what is humility? He replied: Embracing a voluntary mortification regarding all things. And what is a merciful heart? He replied: The burning of the heart unto the whole creation, man, fowls and beasts, demons and whatever exists; so that by the recollection and the sight of them the eyes shed tears on account of the force of mercy which moves the heart by great compassion. Then the heart becomes weak [1]) and it is not able to bear hearing or examining injury or any insignificant suffering of anything in the creation. And therefore even in behalf of the irrational beings and the enemies of truth and even in behalf of those who do harm to it, at all times he
508 offers prayers with tears that they may be guarded and strengthened; even in behalf of the kinds of reptiles, on account of his great compassion which is poured out in his heart without measure, after the example of God.

And what is prayer? He replied: The mind's being free from all that is earthly and the heart's turning its gaze completely towards the desire of future hope. Who deviates from this, is as one who sews in his furrow mixed seed and as one who ploughs with ox and ass together.

1) litt.: small

How is humility acquired? He replied: By constant recollection of trespasses, by expectation of near death, by dressing meanly, by always choosing the lowest place and by always undertaking low and humble work, without compulsion, by constant silence, by disliking crowded meetings, by being unknown and disregarded, by choosing distincly one occupation, by hating intercourse with other persons, by disliking profits. All his qualities are based upon these.

And his mind must be exalted above vituperating and reproaching anyone and above zealotism. And his hand shall not be against all. Nor the hand of all with him. But he shall be a solitary, only occupying himself with his own things, and lonely. And he shall not take upon himself the care of any one in the world except himself. In short: abiding abroad and poverty and lonely dwelling give birth to humility and purify the heart. As to those who have reached perfection, their token is, that if ten times every day they are delivered to burning for the sake of the love of mankind, they are not
509 saturated with it. As also Moses said to God: If thou wilt not pardon the children of Israel, blot me out of thy book which thou hast written [1]). And as also the blessed Paul said [2]): I could desire to be removed afar from Christ [3]), if thereby the children of Israel would come near to the faith of life. And if it be thus that it is possible that they, for this reason, will believe in Christ and will come to life everlasting and will not be alienated from the living God. Then, as is written: I rejoice in my sufferings for you, o peoples [3]). Even so the other Apostles have undergone all kinds of death, for the sake of the love of the life of mankind. The sum of all is God, the Lord of all, who from love of His creatures, has delivered His son to death on the cross. For God so loved the world, that He gave his only begotten son for it [4]). Not that He was not able to save us in another way, but in this way it was possible to show us His abundant love abundantly, namely by bringing us near to Him by the death of His son. If He had anything more dear to Him, He would have given it us, in order that by it our race might be His. And out of His great love He did not even choose to urge our freedom by compulsion, though He was able to do so. But His aim was, that

1) Cf. Exodus 32, 32 2) The text has some words which give no sense here and are wanting in the Greek translation. 3) Cf. Col. 1, 24 4) Cf. John 3, 16

we should come near to Him by the love of our mind.

And our Lord obeyed His father out of love unto us, taking upon Him scorn and suffering joyfully, as Scripture says:
510 Who for the joy that was set before him endured the cross, despising the shame [1]). Therefore our Lord said in the night in which He was betrayed: This is my body which is given for the salvation of the world unto life. And this is my blood which is shed for all for the remission of sins [2]). In behalf of them I offer myself.

And so all the saints have reached this accomplishment when they became perfect, so that they resembled God in effusion of love and compassion for mankind. And they asked for themselves as a token of their resembling God, that they should be perfect in the love of their fellows. So did also the solitary Fathers, that they might bear in themselves constantly this likeness full of the life of Christ, the Lord of the Universe.

The blessed Antonius thought that he never could do anything so useful to himself as that which was profitable to his neighbour, in the opinion that the profit of his neighbour was his excellent service. Analogous is a saying concerning the blessed Agathon: ‚I wished that I could find a leper, and give him my body and take his'. Doest thou see the perfect love? Even in outward things he could not bear to displease his neighbour rather than himself. He possessed namely a knife, which a brother saw and liked it. And he did not allow him
511 to leave his cell till he had taken it. And when he possessed a thing and saw some one who wanted it, he did not lay any further claim to it.

What do I mean by these things [which include] that many of them have given their bodies even to the beasts and the sword and the fire on behalf of their neighbours? It is not possible that a man should reach this degree of love, with the exception of that one who secretly perceives his faith. And it is not possible that those who love this world, should acquire the love of mankind. When a man has acquired love, he is clad with God at the same time. He that has put on God, never can be persuaded to acquire any other thing except Him, but he puts off his body even. And if he is clad with the world or with love of his life, these will not allow

1) Hebr. 12, 2 2) Cf. Matth. 26, 26, 28

him to put on God. For he is witness: he that does not forsake and hate all, even himself, cannot be my disciple[1]). Not only that he should leave them, but that he should ever hate them. And if he cannot be a disciple, how can He dwell in him?

The interrogator. How is it that the service of hope is so delightful, and its labours so few and its work so easy to the soul?

The Father. This is because it excites the natural longing in the soul and gives them this cup to drink and makes them drunk. And from this moment they nevermore perceive fatigue but become apathetic against troubles. And during the whole of their course it is to them as if they were moving in the
512 air without bodily motion, without seeing anything of the difficulty of the road or the streams and hills that are before them; but the crooked becomes to them straight and rough places plain[2]), because they always see the bosom of their Father; and all those things which are far and invisible it makes to them clear in themselves, so that they gaze at them mysteriously with the hidden eye of faith. For all the parts of the soul become hot as by fire, on account of the expectation of those things which, though far, become as near; for towards them is tended the whole direction of their deliberations; and they hasten to know when they will reach [their aim] and when they will approach unto every single virtue by practice. They do not practice them partly, but all of them together, at the same time. For they do not take their course along the king's way, as the generality of men, but choose short paths along which a few heroes move, who easily reach the Apartment. For hope warms them as with fire, and they cannot pause in their incessant course, on account of their joy. And to them happens as in the word of Jeremia: I said: I will not make mention of him, nor speak any more in his name. But his word was in mine heart as a burning fire shut up in my bones[3]). Such is the recollection of God in the heart of those who move in the expectation of the promise. Short
513 paths I call the concise virtues, because in them there is no winding nor the long space of many ways of discipline leading from here to there, nor place nor time nor distraction. But they stand on the way and accomplish it at once.

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1) Cf. Luke 14, 33 2) Isaia 40, 4 3) Jeremia 20, 9

The interrogator. Wat is apathy?

The Father answers. Apathy is not [the state] that does not perceive the affections, but that which does not accept them, so that on account of the many virtues possessed, manifest and hidden ones, the affections have become weak and cannot easily assail the soul. Neither does the spirit want to look at them every time, because at all times its emotion is filled with meditation and intercourse with excellent thoughts, which move with insight in the mind. And when an affection is beginning to move, the spirit at once hastens away from it through some insight which it perceives in the mind, and the affection remains idle. As also the blessed Euagrius says: the mind which by the grace of God performs works of excellence and approaches unto knowledge, perceives little of the foolish part of the soul. For its knowledge drags it on high and alienates it to all things in the world; this happens also because, on account of their purity, their mind has become subtle and light and swift. Forther the mind is purified by asceticism, because the body is desiccated, and also in consequence of the fulness of solitude and the long space of time passed in it. Therefore it swiftly alights on several things towards which
514 their contemplation draws them in ecstasy. Therefore they are rich in contemplation, and are never in want of abundant insight in their spirit, apart from the fact, that the Spirit ripens its fruits in them. And in the course of time also the eye loses sight of the recollections that come from the heart and which stir the affections in the soul and are a principal power of Satan. But when the soul does not associate with the affections by meditating upon them — because it is continually occupied by other care — the power of their nails cannot take hold of the soul's spiritual senses.

The interrogator: What are the characteristics of humility?

The Father answers: As presumption dissipates the soul by phantastic distraction on account of the power inciting it to fly round the whole creation in the cloud of its deliberations, so humility is the power which concentrates the soul's being by the peace of its deliberations and the reclusion of the soul within its self. And as the soul is unknown and invisible to the fleshly eye, so the humble is unknown amongst mankind. And as the soul in the body is hidden from sight and from mingling with every man, so the truly humble not

only does not desire to be seen and known among mankind, because of his being hidden and recluded from all, but it is even his desire — if possible — to be shut off from his soul and to be within himself in total quiet and rest of his emotions and senses, as something that does not exist in the
515 creation and has not come into existence and is not at all, so that he does not even wish for himself to be known and perceived. And as long as he is hidden and shut off from the world, he is wholly with his Lord.

The humble is never pleased to see crowds and gatherings of people, noise and rumour, nor riches and finery, nor the luxury which is a consequence of them, nor speech and intercourse, rumour and distraction of the senses. But above all he chooses concentration and reclusion with himself alone, to be quiet and shut off and lonely and left to himself in a solitary place void of all beings and separated from the whole creation. And in every respect smallness and limitation and want and poverty is beloved by him. And he is not occupied with many things and labours, but at all times he is satisfied and without care, without troublesome mingling with worldly things, so that his deliberations do not wander from his self, because he knows that if he alights upon many things it is not possible for him to remain without confused emotions. For many practices cause many cares. And many cares are a gathering-point of varied thoughts and deliberations. Then he would have to give up his being exalted above the care of earthly things, in peace of deliberations — except for the small necessary things which are inevitable — with a spirit occupied with a single care, the emotions being in a state of peace. And then necessary things would not allow him to keep silent
516 and so he would be injured and would cause injury. Thus there would be opened a gate for the affections and discriminating quiet would disappear, humility would flee, the gate of salvation would be shut. And because of all this, he continually keeps his soul away from the many things, and at all times thou findest him quiet and at rest and humble and peaceful.

In the humble there is never violence nor terror nor confusion, nor hot nor quick emotions. But at all times he abides in rest. If heaven should fall on the earth, the humble would not be moved.

Not every one who is quiet, is humble. But every one who

is humble is also quiet. There does not exist one who is humble without being submissive. Those who are submissive without being humble are found in large numbers. This is the meek and humble concerning whom our Lord has said: Learn of me, that I am meak and lowly in heart; and ye shall find rest unto your souls [1]). The humble is content at all times, because there is nothing which moves his spirit. As it is not possible for a man to move a mountain, so the spirit of the humble is unmoved, if it is possible to say so. And perhaps it is not even foolish to say that even the humble does not belong to this world, because he is not destroyed nor moved by distresses: even [emotions] of joy cause ecstasy and effusion to him. But all his joy and true excultation is in the things of his Lord.

Connected with humility are patience, a concentrated self
517 — which is [real] humility — a low voice, little speech, self-contempt, mean clothes, a modest gait, bashful looks, effusion of mercy, easily flowing tears, a lonely soul, a broken heart, the not being moved by anger, absence of distraction of the senses, moderate wishes, moderate wants in every respect, willingness to bear, patience, intrepidity, manliness of heart born from hatred of temporal life, endurance of temptations, few emotions which are not swift, extinguished deliberations, keeping of secrets, chastity, bashfulness, modesty, and above all: continual silence, continual having recourse to ignorance. The humble is never approached by necessity which makes him confused. The humble, even when he is alone, is shameful for his soul.

I wonder whether there exists a truly humble man, who ventures to pray to God when he approaches unto prayer, or who is worthy of this, or of asking Him anything, or who knows what he shall pray. But when all his emotions are quiet and he only hopes for mercy, [being uncertain] which order will be given concerning himself by the adorable Majesty; when his face is bent towards the earth and the inner gaze of the heart lifted up towards the door of the holy of holies of the Highest, the cloud of whose dwelling-place blinds the eyes of the Seraphs, and whose splendour terrifies the legions of their orders, when silence lies upon all their classes and

1) Matthew 11, 29

518 they expect the rising of mysteries from the domain of invisible things, in an airless womb, with emotions without voice, with unbodily senses, with apperception without resemblance[1]), without seeing the revelations which reach them, the vehemence of their emotions being too weak to endure the waves of His mysteries; then he does not venture to say anything, but: According to thy will, my Lord.

These things so far I have endeavoured to write to thee in plain words, which the spirit could attain without scrutiny on account of their manifest sense; things by the reading of which alone the mind forgets the ways and the dealings of this world and its fleshly life, migrating then with the spirit unto its true and profitable world. [I have written this], asking thy love that, when thou comest in contact with these mysteries, thon shalt not leave them without profit, so that they should be found with thee to be dead sentences; lest it should happen to thee as it happened to those who were invited to the spiritual meal but excused themselves. Behold, the table is prepared, spiritual ideas are ranged upon it, and all delightful things are ready; and the bridegroom expects that we shall enter and rejoice with him. Let us, therefore, not excuse ourselves, lest there be said to us also the word that was said concerning them. What then? Verily, I say unto you, that none of those invited, shall eat from my meal.

LXXV

519 ## ON HIDDEN STATES AND THE POWERS AND INFLUENCES WHICH ARE IN THEM

This may be taken for true by thee, that the practice of marvellous things, and the foreseeing of future things, and temptations, and rest from strife, and victory over every one of the affections, and the presence of every one of the vritues, and consolation, for a certain time, from grace, and purity of prayer, and warmth of spirit, and spiritual joy, and all the other things with which a man fatigues himself for a certain time, with a good intention and a mournful heart — that in

1) The: in the text to be placed after ܫܡܝܐ

all these God will condescend to accomplish man's will at any time. And when He sees his intention and longing He grants him his wish and satisfies him.

As to the mysteries which belong to the spirit, namely the emotions during spiritual prayer, and the entering of the mind behind the curtain of the holy of holies, and the apperception of the indestructible inheritance — if a man does not pay their duty, God is not willing to grant them, even if the whole creation should beseech in behalf of him. Their duty is purity of the soul. When a man has reached purity from the affections, what no eye has seen and no ear has heard and what has not entered into the heart of man to ask in prayer, is revealed to him by purity, which during no moment ceases from mysteries and spiritual visions. And what the force of
520 spring is wont to work unto the nature of the earth, this grace works unto the soul by purity. The power of spring makes even the smallest roots in the valleys bud, warming the earth as fire does the cauldron, so that it sends forth the treasures of the plants which God has laid in the earth's nature, to the gladness of the creation and to His glory.

So grace makes manifest all the glory which God has hidden in the nature of the soul showing the soul this glory and making it glad because of its own beauty. So that when it sees the great and unspeakable treasures which God has laid in it and which were hidden from it by the defiled mantle of affections and ignorance, but which now that it has torn asunder the garment of the affections, He has shown to it — it is captured on account of its gladness by His love and turns its back on earthly things.

Moreover it does not remember the body which hid its own beauties from its sight. Then it sees heavenly beauties in itself as the exact mirror which by its great purity shows the beauty of faces. Holiness suits those who are holy. All excellence whatever and all service by which righteousness is accomplished, may be performed and acquired and accomplished without solitude; but apathy and purity cannot be acquired without solitude.

LXXVI

521 ## SHORT SAYINGS

The blessed Paul teaches us saying: Put off the old man and put on the new man, which after God is created in righteousness and holiness [1]).

He does not say: Put on the new man over the old man. For he knows that this is not possible. Look, how wisely he gives his order. He does not say: Put on the new man who is renewed by the knowledge of God, but he says, first put off this, and then put on the new. Also he says definitely in another place: Flesh and blood cannot inherit the kingdom of God, neither does corruption inherit incorruption [2]). By incorruption he means the knowledge of the other world. By corruption and flesh and blood he designates the corruptible affections of soul and body, which have the place of their motion in the fleshly mind. Purity he calls the new man, and by the kingdom of God he means the exalted and intelligible contemplation of the blessed motions of the essential rays into which the saintly soul only is allowed to enter when its incorruptible emotions are lifted up above corruption and flesh and blood.

If [3]) the apple of thy soul's eye has not been purified, do not venture to look at the sun, lest thou be bereaved of thy usual visual power and thou be thrown into one of those intel-
522 ligible places which are Tartarus and a type of Hell, namely darkness without God, whither those who with the impulses of their mind leave nature, wander by the cognitive nature which they possess. Therefore he that ventured to go to the banquet in sordid garments, was ordered to be thrown out into that outer darkness. By the banquet is designated the sight of spiritual knowledge. The institutions in it are the manifold divine mysteries, full of joy and exultation and delight of the soul. The garment of the banquet he calls the mantle of purity; the sordid garments the emotions of the affections in the soul which are defiled, the outer darkness, the state with-

1) Cf. Ephes. 4, 22, 24 2) 1 Cor. 15, 50
3) The following passage occurs also p. 16 sq. Cf. the Introduction.

out any delight of true knowledge and communion with God. He that is clad with such garments and ventures to think phantastically with his intellect on the heights of God and to introduce and to settle his soul within the spiritual contemplations of that holy banquet which is made to dawn in the pure only, and who, partaking only of the delight of the affections, wishes to mingle in the delight of that banquet — is suddenly overwhelmed, as it were by some hallucination, and expelled thence unto the place without rays, which is called Hell and destruction, which is ignorance and oblivion of God.

For it has been said that the things of God come of their own, if there is a pure and undefiled place. That they come of their own, means that it naturally belongs to purity that heavenly light shines in it, without investigation and labour
523 on our part. For in the pure heart, the new heaven is stamped; of which the sight is light and the room is spiritual. As also in another place it is said: As the magnet-stone has the natural faculty to attract atoms of iron, so has spiritual knowledge [the faculty to attract] the pure heart.

Though it has been handed down rightly by the true ones that no mind is absolutely steadfast against the allurements of the affections in this life, yet I say with confidence without being afraid of the truth of experience, that he who is clad with the garment of mourning in his mind, is not only invincible against the allurements of the effections, but a hero in the war against them and a victor, because they absolutely do not venture to show themselves with the intention of strife, nor do they even venture to appear from afar where there is a mourning soul which has made itself a wailing-place with various lamentations on account of its sins. As it has been said by the blessed Jacob: It makes its abode in the grave, till it meets the beloved Joseph. Where there is the bitterness of mourning, I do not believe that the above-mentioned pleasure of the affections is admitted.

But I say that in watchfulness lies this service and confidence, exalted above fear. He that is constantly in a state of mourning because of his fear — as he does not know what the end of his course will be — is more excellent than he that is con-
524 stantly in the way of gladness, because he perceives the hope of his service.

O thou whose town is vanquished by inward affections, put

on the armour of mourning and persecute them and save thy soul from their hands. For always invincible is this weapon and that of confidence, and tried by the true ones.

LXXVII

THIS CHAPTER IS FULL OF LIFE

O thou wretched man, wishest thou to find life? Take faith and humility in order to find by them mercy and help and consolation from God, and protection secretly and openly. Desirest thou to acquire these, which are the fountain of life? Put on sincerity, from the beginning. In sincerity walk before God, and not in knowledge. Sincerity is combined with faith; subtlety and the reflections of knowledge, with presumptuous thoughts; presumptuous thoughts, with being removed from God.

When thou liest before God in prayer, then be in thy consideration as a an ant and as the reptiles of the earth and as the beetle. And stammer as a villager and speak not before Him with knowledge. With a childlike mind approach unto God and walk before Him, that thou mayest be worthy of the paternal care which fathers entertain in behalf of their young children.

525 It has been said: The Lord guards the children. A child may approach a serpent and take it at its neck; and the animal will not bite. A child may go naked during the whole winter. And while others are clad and covered — yet the cold penetrates all their members — he sits down naked in the day of frost and ice, without suffering, because the body of their childhood is covered by a different, invisible garment, by that hidden care which guards the frail members of childhood, lest injury from any side approach them. Doest thou now believe that there is a secret care in behalf of the tender body which is expecially liable to all kinds of injuries on account of its tenderness and the weakness of its joints, so that it is guarded from obnoxious influences so that they do not cause suffering? For the Lord guards the child. Thou must not only apply this and believe it in the case of children, but also in the case of those who, being wise in the world, leave their knowledge, and relying upon that wisdom which is

all-sufficient become children by their own will. Then they learn wisdom, which is not to be learnt by labours of exercise.

Also the blessed Apostle, who was wise in divine things, has beautifully said in an admonition: If any man seemeth to be wise in this world, let him become a fool, that he may be wise [1]). But beseech God, that He may grant thee to reach the degree of faith. If thou perceivest the delight of faith in thy soul, it is not difficult for me to say that there is nothing further which withholds it from Christ. And it is not difficult
526 for it to be always captivated and not to perceive earthly things but to forget this weak world and the recollection of its things. On behalf of this pray without dejection; and ask it with tears and beseech fervently; and supplicate with great earnestness, till thou hast received it. Further no fatigue will be necessary.

Thou wilt be deemed worthy of this, if beforehand thou compellest thy soul to cast thy care on God, in faith, and so thou wilt change thy care for His care. Then, when He sees that in utter serenity of spirit thou art willed to believe God in things which concern thee and that thou compellest thy soul to confide in God more than in thyself, that power with which thou art not acquainted, will take hold of thee, so that thou wilt be affected in an apperceptible way by the power which works in thee, no room being left for doubt.

By this power which they perceived, many went into the fire without fear, and walked on water without thinking of the possibility that they could be drowned in it, because faith strengthened the senses of their soul so that it felt an inward conviction that resolution could not be weakened nor look on terrible things except with a gaze exalted bove the senses.

Take care not to think at all, that spiritual knowledge can be received by psychic knowledge. It is not only that spiritual knowledge cannot be received by psychic knowledge, but it is even impossible that those who zealously try to acquire training in psychic knowledge should be deemed worthy to
527 perceive spiritual knowledge. And if any of them should desire to approach unto spiritual knowledge, before having denied psychic knowledge and all its subtle orders and intricacies and before having reached childhood of spirit — it will not be

1) 1 Cor. 3, 18

possible for him to approach even a little way towards it. But its customs and perverted impulses become to him many hindrances, before he gradually forgets them.

Spiritual knowledge is simple, not illuminated by psychic deliberations. Before the mind has been freed from manifold deliberations and has reached the unified simplicity of purity, it is not able to perceive spiritual things.

This order of knowledge, consisting therein that man here already perceives the delight of the life of the world to be, rejects much deliberation. And psychic knowledge is not able, apart from the gatherings of many deliberations, to know anything which is received by serenity of spirit. And the word of our Lord is not denied: Except ye be converted and become as little children, ye shall not enter into the kingdom of heaven [1]). Indeed, many are those who do not reach this innocence; but on account of their beautiful works a portion is kept for them with our Lord in the kingdom of heaven, as can be recognized from the understanding of the blessings which He especially pronounced in His gospel. In these blessings He has touched a variety of ways of behaviour [from which it appears] that for every man who walks to Him, in whatever measure on whatever way, the gate of the kingdom of heaven is open. But the word 'Except ye be converted
528 and become as little children' means that here man perceives the delight of the kingdom. The kingdom of heaven is said to be spiritual contemplation. And this is not found by the labours of the deliberations, but it is tasted by grace. And before a man has become pure, he is not able even to hear. Because it is not acquired by learning. If thou reachest purity, my son, which is acquired through the faith of the heart and by reclusion from men, and thou forgettest the knowledge of this world and doest not perceive it, then [spiritual contemplation] suddenly is found within thee, without inquiring after it. Erect a pillar and pour oil upon it [2]), and thou wilt find thy treasure within thee.

If, however, thou art entangled in the snares of psychic knowledge, I have no objection to say that it will be easier to thee to escape from iron bonds than from it. And thou wilt never be far from the snares of seduction, and thou wilt

1) Matth. 18, 3 2) Cf. Gen. 28, 18

never be able to find and to have freedom of speech and confidence unto our Lord. And at all times thou wilt walk on the edge of the sword and thou wilt not be able absolutely to be without suffering [1]).

Take refuge with weakness and sincereness, that thou mayest live beautifully before God, and that thou mayest be without fear. For as the shadow follows the bodies, so does mercy follow humility. Therefore, if thou wishest to be connected with these,
529 do not give room any-how to weak deliberations. If all injuries and evils and dangers surround thee and make thee fear, do not care to look at them or to think of them. If once thou believest that God is able to guard and to govern thee, and if thou followest him, then do not further care for anything like these. But say to thyself: All-sufficient is He to whom thou hast once entrusted thyself. I am not near [to anything], but He knows it.

Then thou wilt see indeed the wonders of God, namely how near His salvation always is to those who fear Him; and that His care surrounds them, though it is invisible. And though the guardian which is with thee is invisible to the bodily eyes, yet thou shalt not doubt his existence. Sometimes he reveals himself also to the bodily eyes, for the sake of thy confirmation. But when man has thrown away all visible help and human hope and clings to God in faith and with a clear heart, then at once grace will cling to him and reveal in him its force by various [acts of] help. At first it shows its help in manifest things, also in bodily ones, by its care of him, in order that by these things he may the better be able to perceive the power which is in God's care of him, and that by insight in manifest things he may become confirmed in hidden ones, as is becoming to his childlike mind and his lack of training. How then?

It is to be compared with this, for instance, that a man's want is prepared for him without labour, without his bestowing care on it. So grace causes him to escape many accidents
530 which often come near him and which are full of danger. And while he has no anxiety before them because he does not perceive them, grace disposes of them in a very wonderful way, as also the other things which suddenly assail him, without his thinking how often injury to the soul and also to the

1) Affection?

body may proceed from them. And it preserves him against them, as a nurse who gives him shade and spreads her wings over her sons, that no harm may approach unto them. And at the same time it causes him to perceive that which happened, showing him what threatened to destroy him, by the yees of the body, and the actual help of God, in a clear way; and the dissolution of his life which was near and from which God saved him.

So [grace] instructs him, also in hidden things. And it reveals to him the ambushes of thoughts and of deliberations difficult to understand. So he will easily attain to their understanding and their mutual relation and seduction, which is related to which, and how one is born from the other and destroys the soul. And the whole ambush of the demons is laid open before him, and the cover of their deliberations, and what is related to every one of them.

And [grace] provides him with insight, so that he understands what will happen. Then in his sincereness dawns a hidden light so that he perceives everything and the force of the emotions of subtle deliberations. It shows him as it were with its finger — if he did not know this — what is going to happen to him. And then this is born in him, that he asks from his governor, in prayer, all things small and great.

531 And when grace, by all these things, has confirmed his mind in confidence on God, then it begins to introduce him gradually into temptations. And it admits unto him those temptations the difficulty of which his degree is able to bear. And by such a temptation it adduces unto him its help in an apperceptible way, in order to strengthen his courage, till, gradually, he acquires training and wisdom and despises his enemies through confidence in God.

For it is impossible for a man, without these, to become prudent in spiritual struggles and to recognize his governor and to perceive his God, and to become secretly confirmed in his hope, by the force which he has received personally through experience. And as often as [grace] sees that the deliberation of presumption begins to move somewhat in him, and that he begins to think great things of himself, it allows the temptations to become strong and powerful against him, so that he recognizes his weakness and flees and seeks refuge with God in humility.

By these things man reaches the degree of perfect man, through

faith and hope in the son of God to whom he is lifted up in love. For in a wonderful manner God's help unto man is recognized when he is surrounded by circumstances full of despair, and God shows there His power by delivering him from them. Never has man experienced the divine power in rest and comfort, and never has He shown His action in an apperceptible manner except in a lonely place or in the desert or in places not visited by men and free from the disturbance of their habitation.

532 Be not astonished if, when thou beginnest [to practice] excellence, severe troubles rise against these from all sides. For excellence is not to be deemed to involve that its practice is not combined with difficulty and labours. Excellence has received its denomination from this, says the holy Euagrius. Usually difficulties make front against this alertness, and excellence is to be rejected when it is combined with comfort, says the blessed Marcus, the solitary.

All excellence whatever, is called the cross, because it accomplishes the order of the spirit. For all those who desire in the fear of God to live in Jesus Christ, are assailed by troubles. If any man will come after me, let him deny himself, and take up his cross and follow me. Whoever would save his life in comfort, loses it; and who gives up his life for my sake, finds it[1]). Therefore our Lord has placed before thee the cross, that thou mightest pronounce death on thy soul and thereupon cause it to follow Him.

There is nothing so strong as despair. It does not know how it can be defeated by anything belonging to those of the right or to those of the left hand. When a man in his mind has given up his life, none is more courageous than he is, and there is no enemy who is able to meet him, and there is no trouble the fame of which can weaken his mind. For any trouble whatever is inferior to death, and he has resolved to take death upon himself.

533 If in every place and in every work and at all times concerning all things which thou art going to perform thou placest labour and pain as an example for the mind, thou wilt not only be found always courageous and undaunted to thwart all reputed difficulty, and by the vigour of the deliberations to put timidity to flight which usually rises therefrom that deli-

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1) Matth. 16, 24

berations look for comfort, but also all hard and difficult things which meet thee will seem to thee easy and light.

How often thy will is thwarted by what thou expectest, though perhaps these things do not reach thee. For thou knowest that the expectation of comfort always withholds men from great profit and from excellent good, so that even those who live in the world with their fleshly dealings cannot accomplish their wish if they do not resolve in their mind to bear difficulties. And because experience is witness to this, persuasion with words is not necessary. And in all preceding generations till now there is nothing which makes men despair of victories and checks them from exellent practice and which makes them — to say it in one word — despise to enter into the kingdom, as the expectation of the small comfort which is near. And not only this, but many times this aspect is the cause of severe accidents and hard temptations to every man whose mind is directed towards it and whose deliberations move unto it;
534 because his governor is the will of desire. Who does not know that also the bird by the aspect of comfort draws near the snare? Perhaps our knowledge, as compared to that of a bird, is much inferior, concerning the hidden things and the accidents which are hidden in things and actions and places and various things. And also Satan, from the beginning, tries to ensnare us by promises and the prospect of comforts.

Now that my mind is occupied with the subject of desire, by the words I have written, I have erred away from the scope which I had indicated above, viz. that at all times we must place the aspect of troubles before our mind, in all that we wish to begin in the path of our Lord, so that it reach its end duly.

How many times, when a man wishes to begin some work for the Lord, he asks whether there is comfort in the thing, or whether it is possible to accomplish it easily, without labour, or whether there is any thing in it to trouble the body. Are not above and beneath names of comfort? What doest thou say, o man? Doest thou wish to ascend unto heaven and to receive the Kingdom which is there and communion with God and spiritual comforts and that blessedness and mingling with the angels, and immortal life? And doest thou ask whether there is trouble in this way? How astonishing are those who desire the things of this world and the riches which are to be destroyed and the dominion which will be dissolved. They

walk on the difficult waves of the sea; and they tread frightful ways; they bear a long course full of labours and troubles,
535 and other mournful things which men are wont to perform for the sake of their desire; and they do not deliberate at all whether there is labour in the matter or vexation in what they wish to do; whereas we always inquire after comforts.

If we always in our mind take upon us the way of crucifixion and always comply with the crucifixion, what difficulty then should not be easier than it? Does there exist any one at all who is not acquainted with this, that no man has ever won a victory in battle and received a perishable crown, or has administered divine actions, or has succeeded in any of the glorious things of excellence, or has got the desire of his will even in things not laudable, without having undertaken first labours and troubles or without having pushed away alluring thoughts of comfort that gave birth to dejection and pusillanimity and caused relaxation in all things? But when the mind is zealous in behalf of excellence, the outward senses — smell, touch, hearing, sight and taste — do not know what it means to be vanquished by the severe shocks caused by foreign influences lying outside the course and dominion of the power of nature.

When anger influences [a man] naturally, then bodily life appears more despicable than dung. When however the heart is spiritually zealous, the body does not suffer by troubles, nor does it shrink from terrible things. But the mind faces all temptations being like diamond in its endurance.

536 Let us also be zealous with a spiritual zeal for the sake of the will of Jesus, then all dejection which causes relaxation in the mind will be driven away from us. For zeal causes courage and firmness of soul and soundness of body. What power is there in the demons when the soul moves its zeal against them with natural vigour?

Resolution too is said to be the offspring of zeal. And all immoveable vigour which is born in the soul when it sets its powers to work, is implanted in it by zeal. Also the crowns of confessorship which the victorious martyrs receive on account of their endurance are born by this twofold influence of zeal and resolution which have their origin in the power of natural anger, [and thus the martyrs] become apathetic against the vehement suffering in vexations.

LXXVIII

ON THE PROFIT [ARISING] FROM THE FLIGHT FROM THE WORLD THE METHOD OF WHICH HAS BEEN THOUGHT OUT BY THE FATHERS THROUGH PRUDENT EXAMINATION

Strong indeed and difficult and very hard is the struggle which arises when things are near. And though a man may be excellent and vigorous, when things causing battles and strife are near, fear clings to him. Then he falls easier than when Satan personally meets him in battle. For when a man
537 is not far from those things which the heart is afraid of, the fiend has constantly the opportunity [to assail him]. And if it happens that he sleeps a while, the fiend can easily destroy him. For there the body is in danger of being injured, at any rate it has to be kept afar from sin. But here it is the soul that receives an invisible blow and it cannot fatigue the fiend so that he gives up fighting against it. For these things are of themselves able to move against it the disturbance of struggle at any time. And willingly it lets itself be captivated by them, without any one arousing strife against it from without. But the soul is in strife with itself through the allurements of those things which are arranged before the senses of the body, as has been said somewhere; for as soon as the soul is captivated by the injurious meetings with the world, these meetings become stumbling-blocks to it; or, as has also been said: The soul is naturally vanquished, when it meets those things.

Therefore, because the ancient saints who have walked in these ways knew that the mind is not always healthy so as to be able to remain in one attitude, without deviation, and vigilant, because there is a time that the soul becomes enveloped in darkness without being able to look at those things which cause injury — they have examined prudently and [resolved to] put on renunciation, as a weapon. For it frees from many struggles, as has been written. For some have escaped from sins, through their poverty and have migrated towards the desert where there is nothing to cause affections,

so that, when a time comes when they are weak, nothing is found to give occasion to fall.

538 I say: anger and desire and rancour and glory and the like are slight, because of the desert, and by it [those solitaries] were protected as by an invincible tower. Then every one of them was able to accomplish his strife in solitude, there where the senses found no support so as to become fiends by injurious meetings. Better for us is death in our struggle, than life with falling.

LXXIX

HOW THE HIDDEN IMPULSES VARY ALONG WITH THE VARIATION OF OUTWARD BEHAVIOUR

As long as a man clings to renunciation [the thought of] departure from this life is continually alive in his mind. And every hour he meditates on the life after resurrection, contriving to prepare what is necessary for that state. And a contempt for all honour and comfort of the body is sown in his mind, and the thought of the baseness of the world moves in him at all times. And he is courageous and always possesses the heart of a hero in all fear and danger threatening death. For he is not afraid even of death, because he perpetually looks at it very near from a short distance and expects it. And his care is cast on God, with full, undoubting confidence. And when troubles oppose him, he, as a man that knows assuredly that they will prepare crowns for him, bears them with perfect joy, while his soul rejoices and exults when receiving
539 them. For he knows that it is God who sends them, because of the profits of things which remain unknown, in the hidden acts of providence. But when it happens that on account of some cause some transitory thing falls to his lot by the action of him that cunningly devises all evils, at once love of the body begins to stir in his soul and he thinks of a long life and deliberations connected with bodily comfort germinate in him every moment. But, if possible, he witholds his body from being hurt by anything. And he contrives all things which can be utilized for the comfort of the body, and becomes wanting in that freedom which is not subject to any deliberation of fear, and consequently bestows his care and deliberation on

all these things, namely the emotions that cause fear and the things that produce terror. For the courage of the heart has been taken away from him, which he possessed in his soul while he was exalted above the world by his renunciation. And now that he has become an inheritor of the world, in accordance with the quantity of his possession he also has received fear for the law and the provision allotted to him by God.

For the side to the service of which we prepare our members, is that to which we become servants with a submission involving total fear, according to the word of the Apostle [1]).

Anterior to all affictions is self-love. Anterior to all virtues is that a man despise comforts. He that feeds his body with comforts, is troubled in the place of peace. He that indulges in luxury in his youth, will become a slave and sigh at the end.

540 As it is impossible that he, whose head is bound within the dark [2]) bosom of the water, should smell the subtle air which is poured out into this empty bosom, so it is not possible that he whose mind is immersed in earthly care, should perceive with the smell of his soul the clear air of the new world. As the smell of a deadly poison disturbs the constitution of the body, so does pernicions sight disturb the peace of the mind.

As it is not possible that health and illness should be in one body without one being destroyed by the other, so it is not possible that money and love be in one house without one destroying the other. As it is not possible that glass remains whole in the neighbourhood of stone, so it is not possible that a saint should continually seek the sight of or discourse with a woman and that his purity should remain immaculate. As trees are eradicated by the perpetual blows [3]) of violent waters, so is the love of the world [eradicated] from the heart by the violence of temptations assailing the body. As [4]) solvent drugs purify the body from bad humours, so does the force of troubles purify the heart from affections. As it is not possible that a dead man should perceive the things of life, so the soul of a solitary, who is buried in solitude as in a grave, is exempt from the storm which usually blows on account of the apperception of things which pass among men. As it is not possible for him that spares his adversary in the field of

541 battle to avoid blows, so it is not possible that a champion

1) Cf. Rom. 8, 15 2) litt.: thick 3) ܫܕܦܐ 4) Introduction

should spare his body and that his soul should be saved from destruction. As childhood, when terrified by frightful sights runs to seek refuge at the skirts of its parents, so the soul, when troubled by the terror of temptations, hastens towards God to seek shelter in perpetual beseechings. And as temptations assail, to the same extent it multiplies its beseechings. But when it has free-space, it expands itself in distraction.

As those who are handed over to the judges in order to be scourged on account of their evils, become humble and immediately confess their faults, when they come suddenly before the scourges, so that their punishment is lessened and they are soon delivered through the agency of small troubles, but others of them are foolish and obstinate and their scourging is augmented and at last, after much scourging, with lacerated backs, they confess against their will, without gaining any profit; so when we are handed over from divine mercy unto justice, for the faults to which we have become accustomed without returning to the [good] direction, and the Judge of the world orders us to stretch ourselves before the rod of temptations, lest our scourging in the world to be, become heavy; if, as soon as the rod of the Judge approaches us, we humble ourselves and recollect our forfeits and confess before the avenger, we shall soon be saved by small temptations; but if we become obstinate in troubles, and confess not that we were the cause of them ourselves and that we have de-
542 served even more than these, and if we vituperate men and sometimes demons and sometimes even God's justice and assume the attitude of victors though we do not think and say that our works are like theirs, and if we do not think of the fact that God knows and recognizes us better than we do ourselves, and that the judgment of the Lord is over the whole earth and that no man is chastised without His orders, then our distresses assail us as they come, and our trouble becomes violent, and they hand us over the one to its fellow as in a chain, till we know ourselves and become humble and perceive our sins; for without apperception it is not possible for us even to come to [good] direction; then at last when we have suffered many troubles, we confess our sins in a confession without profit and without gathering from it any consolation. And also this that a man perceives his sins, is a gift which is allotted by God to the mind, when He sees that one

has been fatigued by various temptations, lest he depart this world under all these distresses and troubles, without profit; and [also this is a gift: to perceive] that we have not lacked insight on account of obstinacy, but on account of ignorance.

Some depart this world under these circumstances, without confessing that they are guilty, but litigating and vituperating. God, however, who is compassionate, looks to whether they humble themselves, that He may forgive them and give them expansion. Not only that He will put an end to their temptation, but He will even forgive their sins at a faint confession of their heart.

As a man who offers a large offering to the king and tries
543 to make his face benignant, so he that sheds tears in prayer before God, the king of all the worlds, makes to pass away all the degrees of his sins, and is even granted to see His face beingnant. As the lamb that leaves the pen, and in its error comes before the den of the wolves, so is the solitary who separates himself from the communion of his fellows under the pretext of lonely dwelling, and constantly visits spectacles and the distraction of the town.

As a man who bears on his shoulder a pearl of great price and goes on an ill-famed way so that he is in perpetual fear of being robbed, so is he that bears the pearl of chastity and walks in the world the way of the enemies. Before he enters the chamber of the grave, which is the place of confidence, it is not to be expected that it will escape robbers and pluderers. Perhaps he that is not afraid, is able [to go that way]; even this man does not know either, on which spot or from where or at which moment he will suddenly be assailed and robbed of his hope. Some are robbed at the gate of their house, namely in old age.

As a man who drinks wine at the time of mourning and gets drunk and forgets all the suffering of his sorrow, so is he that, having got drunk by the love of God in this world which is a place of wailing, forgets his sorrow and all his distress and, through his drunkenness, becomes apathetic against all the affections of sin.

Whose heart is supported by hope in God, his soul is a swift beast of wings. He whose spirit is at all times exalted above the earth and who flies above the sky with the thoughts
544 of his deliberations, and is in continual prayer, is as a man

who has the wind as his driving animal, so that his enemy cannot reach him. Every time the latter seeks to join him, he flies away from him.

As a man who has an advocate in the court of justice, so is he that is compassionate to the troubled ones.

As a man who is amidst dangerous storms on the ocean and casts his utensils from the ship, so is he that despises the hindrances on his godly way in this world which is an ocean ready to suffocate him.

Hindrances will not fail. What doest thou in a house which is not thine? The sight of a corpse ought to be for thee an instruction coneerning thy departure from here. Why doest thou multiply bonds to thyself? Gain thy life before thy light grow dim and thou seek help without finding it. This life has been given thee for repentance; do not spend it with various things.

The cross is the gate of mysteries; here takes place the entrance of the mind unto the knowledge of the heavenly mysteries. The knowledge of the cross is hidden within the sufferings of the cross. And in accordance with communion with them is the apperception of the cross, according to the word of the Apostle[1]). The greater place the suffering of Christ takes in us, the greater becomes our consolation in Christ. Consolation means contemplation, which is psychic sight. Sight gives birth to consolation. It is not possible that our soul produce spiritual fruits, except when our heart is dead to the world. For the Father quickens the soul that has died the death of Christ, in contemplation of all the worlds.

Another observation. If thou diest not to the world, the
545 spiritual Adam will not be quickened in thee. When a man, by being offered spiritually, dies to all dealings of this dwelling-place, and trusts his life to the life after the resurrection, Grace will dwell with him. And his behaviour is spiritually strengthened. And when he hates the world, he perceives the behaviour of the new man who is exalted above the filth of human habitation and is deemed worthy of divine revelations.

It is not possible for us to be dead to the world in the world, as long as our mind desires comforts, and the world, by its affairs, is placed before our senses and by apperception

1) Cf. Philipp. 4, 10

renews recollection and incites the body unto seeking what it wishes, by close contact with [worldly] things, by sight, hearing, touch, smell and taste.

The soul's being dead to the world is the heart's being free from the thought of its recollections and the soul's being void of the deliberations concerning [worldly] things and the will being cut off from the love of thinking upon them.

For it is not possible that our heart be in peace exalted above disturbance and in serenity of love lifted up above the world, when there are poured out into it recollections that renew through meetings with things by the senses, their receptacles. The mortification of the soul to the world cannot be acquired, if not the body be also beyond apperception and sight of things.

LXXX

546 ON VIGILS AND ON THE MANY DIFFERENT KINDS OF LABOURS DURING THEM AND THAT IT IS NOT BECOMING THAT THE AIM OF OUR LABOURS SHOULD BE THE FULFILLING OF A QUANTITY BUT [TO WORK] IN FREEDOM AND WITH DISCRIMINATION AS CHILDREN OF GOD WHO WORK WITH THEIR FATHER IN THE ALERTNESS OF LOVE AND HOW PRECIOUS THE LABOUR OF VIGILS IS MORE THAN THAT OF ALL OTHER DUTIES AND WHAT THIS LABOUR IMPOSES ON THOSE WHO CHOOSE IT AND HOW THEY HAVE TO WALK IN IT AND ON THE GIFTS OF WHICH THEY ARE DEEMED WORTHY BY GOD AND ON THE BATTLES AGAINST THEM ON THE PART OF THE PRINCIPAL OF THIS WORLD

When thou desirest to rise for the service of thy vigils, then, with the help of our Lord, do as I say to thee. Bend thy knees as usually, and rise. Then do not begin with thy service at once. But when thou hast prayed and concluded and signed thy heart and thy limbs with the living sign, rise for a short time, in silence, till thy senses are at rest and thy emotions in peace. Then lift up thy inward gaze towards our Lord and beseech Him passionately that He may support thy

weakness. And let the words of thy tongue and the emotions of thy heart be to the pleasure of His will. And say thus, quietly in the prayer of thy heart: My Lord and my God, maker of thy creation, to whom our affections are revealed as well as the weakness of our nature and the strength of our fiend, do Thou guard me against his wickedness, for his power is strong and our nature is wretched and our strength is weak. Thou art benignant who art acquainted with our
547 weakness and bearest the difficulties of our illness; guard me from the disturbance of deliberations and the vehemence of affections and make me worthy of this holy service. Lest I spoil its taste by my affections and be found audacious before Thee. But with pure deliberations and in clearness of thought let me stand before Thee, as is beautiful to Thy holiness, for the splendour of which the chariot with the Seraphs, who sanctify and praise the holiness of Thy being with vibrating hot emotions to their delight, are not sufficient.

And with these deliberations thy heart will suddenly be opened by grace and thou wilt shed tears at the beginning of thy prayer. And thy deliberations will be purified by the recollection of the Lord. And thy soul will receive quiet and pure chastity. And while thy spirit is concentrated and pure, thou wilt begin thy service, without disturbance, and thou wilt continue it till the end, with delight.

It is becoming for us to continue our service, with complete freedom, apart from all disturbing thoughts of youth. If we see however that there is not much time and light dawns before we have finished, we should leave out on purpose and consciously one or two of the usual eulogies rather than to let perturbancy spoil the taste of our service and disturb also the Psalms of the morning.

If during thy service, a deliberation says to thee whisperingly: Hasten somewhat, let us do much work, then thou wilt soon be ready — do not look at it. If, however, it urges thee, recite in inverse order some marmita's [1]) of the Psalter; and every sentence, the sense of which involves the sign of the
548 cross, repeat it many times; and if it disturbs or troubles thee again: then cease reciting Psalms, and kneel in prayer, and say: I do not wish to count milestones, but I seek to enter

1) tenth part

the Apartment. Every way which leads me quickly to the aim, I will go. The people who fashioned the calf in the desert, walked forty years erring in the desert, went up and down mountains and hills, but the promised land they did not even see from afar.

And if, during thy vigils, long standing overcome thee by its duration, and thou become weak by fatigue, and deliberation say to thee, or rather that cunning one who speaks through it as through the serpent: Finish now, because thou hast no strenght to stand — then answer: Not so, but let us sit down, this is much better than to sleep. For even though I do not recite a Psalm, let my tongue be silent, while my mind is occupied with prayer and intercourse with God. To be awake is at any rate better than sleep.

Vigils do not wholly demand standing nor solely the reciting of Psalms. But some spend the whole night with the recitation of Psalms; some with kneelings and passionate prayers and humble prostrations on the earth; some with weeping and tears and bewailing of their sins.

It is said concerning one of our Fathers, that for forty years his prayer consisted in one sentence: I have sinned, as man; do Thou as God forgive me. And the Fathers and bethren
549 heard him repeating this sentence, weeping passionately, without ceasing. And this prayer alone, during night and day, took for him the place of service.

Some pass a small part of the evening with the recitation of Psalms and the rest of the night with songs and glorifications and hymns and other mournful melodies. Others assign the hours of the night to liturgical recitations; and between every two parts they enliven and enjoy themselves by reading the Scripture. Others impose upon themselves the rule, that they never shall bend their knees, not even in the prayer forming the conclusion to a marmita [1]), though this is the custom of those who practice vigils. But they pass the whole night in one attitude.

Concerning one of the saints, therefore, it is said that because the demon of fornication made war against him and did not neglect to use against him any means, he gave himself to the labour of vigils and imposed upon himself the rule,

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1) See above, p. 357, note

that he would never bend his knees, but stood the whole night, his eyes open, without bending his knees, till morning.

All these distinctions are in the labour of vigils, and by them the virtous put off the old man who is depraved by the desires of seduction and put on Christ and are saved. On account of these kinds of labour performed in wisdom, the saints are deemed worthy of ecstasy caused by divine revelation, which is exalted above fleshly thought.

While the virtuous in their vigils enjoy such various kinds
550 of things, they pass, without dejection the whole space of the long hours of night, while their soul exults and rejoices and forgets the coat of flesh, woven from affections, with which it was clad. And on account of the delight and the joy of their heart, they do not remember sleep. For they imagine themselves to have put off the body and to be already in the state which comes after the resurrection. And in consequence of their great joy, they leave their Psalms from time to time, and they fall on their faces on account of the power of the gladness which moves in their soul. And the whole long night is to them as the day, and darkness as sunrise, on account of the hope which elevates their heart and makes them drunk with its thought and by the blazing of their mind which burns by the recollection of future good. And while the tongue continually plays on the spiritual harp, mind is occupied with its own things; sometimes it turns towards the understanding of the sentences, sometimes it pushes away the foreign [1]) deliberation which tries to enter in. Sometimes, when it becomes weary, it turns towards the contents of the daily recitation. And the recollection which it has gathered from it and collected in its treasury, causes at these times emotions at which the mind delights, so that there is no room at all for foreign deliberations.

And then quickly the mind is drawn towards the understanding of prayer and Psalms, lest, by abiding too long in this state — profitable though meditation upon them may be — it should be bereaved of discourse with God and the light of contemplation which the mind is wonted to receive from prayer without distraction in which it speaks in loneliness with its Lord
551 through the secrecy of the heart, in humility of deliberations.

1) ܪܓܫܐ = proselyte

In these and similar things they pass their whole lifetime, every one of them pleasing his Lord by his labours in accordance with his degree and his power, in total application of will.

If anyone, however, desire to give his body some rest, he may finish and sit down [turned] towards the East. As long however as he is sitting, he shall not allow his mind to be idle; but he shall meditate and think and deliberate on the greatness of this duty; and on what his performance is; and how it is done, and how great his crown, and how glorious the fruit of his labour is; and what watchfulness it demands; and how the ancients have dealt with it, and of what things they have been deemed worthy through the fulfilment of their struggles; and how by the mercy of Jesus he was turned from the world, he that was occupied with vain labours the end of which is destruction from God and reprehension through sins; and how this mercy brought him to this performance of the angels, the hope of which is a veracious hope, and its joy is a joy which is beyond the power of distress and its confidence a confidence which cannot be fallacious. For a man may work ever so much, his labours are small compared with that which he will receive at his end in the pledge of good things, to the delight of his soul.

While these and similar deliberations are in his heart and he is astonished at them he places his mind in the spiritual chariot and lets it fly and be occupied with all the holy Fa-
552 thers of all generations, the inheritance of whose behaviour he possesses, [thinking of] how every one of them has accomplished, with various districtions, this spiritual service; and of how they have abandoned the inhabited world and mankind and have withdrawn themselves from the allurements of the world and from the disturbancies of life and have gone and hidden themselves in mountains and caverns and removed and and lonely places, because they saw that this course of life cannot be accomplished among men, on account of the many hindrances; and have become dead in their lifetime for the sake of life in God, erring through desert places and between rocks as those who have lost their way; people [of such worth] that every single one's glory is not equalled by the whole world. Some of them lived on rough and steep rocks, some at the foot of mountains, or in deep valleys; some in the

caves of the ground and in caverns, as those who dig after foxes in order to surprise then; some in graves and on mountain cliffs. Some have constructed a small hovel in the desert and passed there the rest of their life; some have built a small pen on the top of a mountain, viz. a small cell, and have dwelt therein with pleasure as if in a royal palace. And because they did not care for their livelihood, they only thought of how each of them should please God and accomplish his struggle beautifully.

And what kind of a life did these saints lead in these places?
553 Did they live with the body, or a life above flesh and blood? Did they not become pusillanimous in that total desert? Did the power of endurance not abate during that long time, did the body not become weak during that prolonged period, through their being deprived of the use of natural needs? How was human life preserved in them? And in all this, what struggles have they endured and what troubles! How strenuously and without perturbance did they endure various difficult wars in which the evil spirits assailed them! How did they not in their life time — even till the end — become relaxed so as to neglect their difficult and wearying labours? How did their spirit not become sorry through this utter loneliness, cut off from all visible consolations? Is there really all this strength in human nature; and how did divine power preserve them without injury, under all those various temptations; and how did it prepare for every one of them by various provisions, in accordance with one's dwelling place, the fulfilling of the need which was necessary for him? Some of them were sustained by a bird. Behold, these last sixty years I have the half of my bread from such a bird. Others are sustained by some tree or palm in a supernatural way, as one of them has said, viz. the bishop who repented in the desert. I am now in this desert nine and forty years. God has granted me life
554 through this palm. And so it was with the saint who was in his monastery, in a fallen state, for six months; and who fled and went unto the interior of the desert in order to repent his sin. When his stomach ached through and through, the angel came and cured him. Some are sustained by the beasts; as that blessed one who dwelt in a cavern in the desert of Sodom. Some, who are dwelling in the desert near the inhabited world, are furnished by men, as that strenuous man whom

Serapion visited; and as the blessed Martinianus who dwelt in a lonely island and was visited by a merchant two times a year.

Where no habitation was near and there were no ways whatever, [divine power] visited them through an angel, as is said concerning the blessed Apelles who dwelt in the declivity of a mountain in a small grotto. His work consisted therein that he offered prayer to God during the whole day and a hundred times during the night. His food, without care on his part, came in the desert through an angel. He was clad in a shirt, and on his head he wore a small cowl; and these remained on him in the desert, without becoming worn out. Doest thou see, how God cares for his soldiers in every respect?

Others fed upon roots; others upon eatable greens, which grow of themselves; others upon crops which had to be watered and upon dried vegetables, which are sown on purpose; others upon the fruits of trees. To others a bed of parsley and a
555 streaming well were sufficient for the wants of this ephemeral life, in so far as the body is maintained by them, apart from profitable recollections, which at these times are stirred by grace, to the consolation of man.

When a man is occupied in his mind with these and similar things, he becomes drunk as it were with living wine, and forgets himself. Then he sees himself again and wonders that during the whole of this travel through the desert and during the meeting with saints, no injury at all has met the mind. And now it seems to him as if he were with those saints and saw them manifestly. And on account of this recollection of the behaviour of the saints which the mind imagines to itself through the remembrance of their tales, and through meditation upon them, dejection vanishes; and languor is driven forth; the limbs are strengthened; sleep is driven away from the eyelids; the spirit is strengthened and throws fear away; distraction is crushed heroically; the mind is concentrated; a fervent heat burns in the heart and unspeakable joy arises in the soul. Further sweet tears moisten the cheeks; spiritual exultation makes the mind drunk; inexplainable consolations are received by the soul; hope supports the heart and strengthens it. Then it is to him as if he dwelled in heaven, during his vigils that are so full of good things.

By these and similar ways those proceed who perform vigils with discrimination. For there is nothing which makes the mind

556 pure and glad and enlightens it and expels evil deliberations so that the soul exults, to such an extent as continual vigils do.

For this reason all the Fathers were persevering in this labour of vigils, and clung to the rule of abiding awake in the nights, during the whole course of their behaviour; especially because they heard our Saviour in several places warning us earnestly, by His living word: Watch ye therefore and pray always [1]). And: Watch and pray that ye enter not into temptation [2]). And again: Pray and do not faint [3]) and so on. And it was not sufficient to warn us by words only, but He gave us even an example in His person thereby that He always honoured the practice of prayer above all other things. And therefore He perpetually separated Himself, also for prayer, not arbitrarily, but chose for time, night, and for place, the desert; that we, avoiding all crowds and tumult, might be able to pray in solitude, as is becoming.

Also all the revelations which happened to the saints, on various subjects, — whether they served to make them prudent or to common instruction — usually happened to them during the night and at the time of prayer. Therefore our Fathers have received this elevated instruction concerning prayer as it were from Christ; and the state of waking during prayer they chose in the first place, according to the order of the Apostle,
557 for solitude and reclusion from the whole world, in order that they might be, without a break, in the vicinity of God, through continual prayer. They fled into solitude not only lest anything should prevent them from constant prayer, but lest any foreign thing from without should hurt them and disturb their pure mind, and their gladdening vigils should be troubled, which are the light of the soul. They also fed themselves moderately lest the vapour which rises from a full stomach should obscure the mind so as to deprive it of its discriminating quiet and take away the spiritual delight which is granted through prayer. In short: they were zealous in every respect that they might be able to speak with God without a screen, as much as possible, the mind not being hindered by anything at all.

Therefore, because Satan knows, that all these good things are collected in this wonderful performance which occupies the place of the soul with regard to all the sundry members of

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1) Luke 21, 36 2) Matth. 26, 41 3) 1 Thess. 5, 17

the body of excellence, he envies it more than all other duties the which all men know by experience and there is nothing in man at which he aims and against which he directs his zeal, and which he prepares himself to combate more than vigils — whether those of a solitary, or of a coenobite, or a layman. Here he cannot but show himself openly, in manifest war against man, without an intermediary, without perceiving
558 at all the gifts which those receive who perform vigils; but he envies them on account of their chaste habit of standing, and through their perseverance, against sleep, in waking, and glorifications, and singing of Psalms, and prayers and inclinations, and stretching [of the hands], and prostrations, and lying down on the earth, and beseechings of the heart during the whole night. He is especially envious because others lie on their beds as dead at whom he makes mock, according to his pleasure, by sordid visions and impure phantasies, and immerses them during the whole night as it were in mire by various phantasies during the heavy sleep that has its origin in a full stomach — whereas these depart hence with their soul unto the waking state of resurrection. And he sees them, though still bound under the curtain of the body, while perpetually waves of mortality assail them and they are confined by a life limited under the government of the air of this world — still showing in their mortal nature a type of future behaviour.

A great power possesses prayer which is offered at night-time, more than that offered in the day. Therefore all the saints used to pray during the night, while they were combating against the heaviness of the body and the sweetness of sleep, and expelling bodily nature. As also the Prophet says: I am weary with my groaning; all the night make I my bed to swim [1]), while he was sighing in passionate prayer, from the depth of his heart. And further: I rose in the midst of night to praise Thee because of Thy judgments, Thou righteous one [2]). For every request which they demanded from
559 God with power, they armed themselves with prayer in vigils, and at once they received what they had asked.

There is nothing so feared, even by Satan, as prayer which is offered during vigils. And even if it takes place with distraction, it does not return fruitless, unless that which is asked,

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1) Ps. 6, 6 2) ?

should be what is not becoming. Therefore he engages himself in severe battle with them, in order to turn them away from this performance, if possible, namely those who are constantly at it. Those who are somewhat strengthened against his evil stratagems, and have tasted the gifts of God which are granted during vigils, and experienced personally the greatness of God's help which has presented itself to them, despise him utterly, him and all his devices.

Therefore, more than the whole community of the church, the order of the solitaries wages war with them, in the struggle of prayer and vigils, in the first place, because they are free from visible things; in the second place, because of their continual solitude. For, because they are free from incitements, he is not able to turn away their deliberations from the thought of God and to detain them from continual beseechings, in their war against him, so that from the beginning of their apprenticeship till their old age they do not neglect the labour of vigils in any way, but it is a performance well known to them, to stand during the whole night; even as we learn from the written stories of every one of them.

560 For Mar Athanasius, says in his story on the mirror of the solitaries[1]), that he kept vigils plentifully, so that he passed the main part of the nights without sleep. And it was in this point that Satan found an occasion to wage his first battle against the victorious one; and this happened while he was still a boy. We often read in many stories, that he did not neglect vigils during his whole lifetime, as he did not even when he visited others; as for instance, when he went to see the blessed Father Paul, when they ate their meal [furnished to them] through a bird, and stood in prayer during the whole night. Which of the saints, though possessing all the virtues together, could neglect this duty, and not be rockened to be idle without it? For this is the light of the mind. By it the intellect is elevated and the spirit concentrated, the mind flies [on high] and gazes at spiritual things and becomes young and illuminated in prayer. By it the goods of future life, and the presents the mysteries of which are indicated in the holy scriptures are given as a pledge. Therefore our Fathers did not

1) Athanasius in his *Epistola ad Monachos* does not speak of vigils. Or is Euagrius' work meant here?

neglect this labour from the beginning of their apprenticeship till [they reached] the measure of perfection, so that, even at the time of old age which when a man can hardly stand on his feet, they did not let languor gain power over themselves so as to detain them from continual vigils by giving their
561 bodies rest in a short sleep; as we also learn from the stories which are told concerning that perfect image of excellence and of all spiritual beauties, I mean the blessed Arsenius. When that famous man of Skete had withdrawn himself from all intercourse with men and removed his dwelling-place to a long distance even from the brethren, he gave himself wholly to the wonderful performance of vigils. His standing during vigils differed also from that of all the Fathers of his time. To which also his story is witness. On the evening before Sunday he set his back to the sun and stretched his hands unto heaven, till the sun rose before him. Again in another place: he passed the whole night in vigils; and when, towards morning he wished to take rest, because nature demanded it, while he struggled with sleep, he said: Go and leave me, evil maid. And so he expelled sleep quickly and remained awake. And this happened at that high age, concerning which it is said that it had bent him.

And in order that his assiduity in vigils may better be known, let us hear another story concerning him; how he persevered during all his old age and weakness, a man ninety
562 years old. Once he called two of his disciples, who were highly esteemed Fathers, and said to them: Because the demons struggle with me and I am not sure that they will not betray me during sleep, [come and] labour with me this night in vigils, and guard me and look whether I fall asleep during vigils. So one sat down at his right hand and one at his left, from the evening till the morning. [Afterwards] they said: We have slept and waked, but we have not seen him sleeping at all. And when dawn began, whether he assumed such an attitude as to make us believe that he slept, or whether sleep really overwhelmed him, we do not know. Three times [we heard] his breath leave his nostrils, then he rose and said to us: I have slept, did I not? We answered and said to him: We do not know it, for we have slept.

In these delightful labours of vigils those rejoiced who were the leaders of our course. What then was the delight which

the glorious Arsenius gathered from this vexation with which he tortured his body to such an extent? It is clear that he did not vainly persevere in all these things. For we see that not only his inner man became enlightened on account of his delight, by the exalted ray, but also his outward man, which is material and corruptible nature, was clad with the glory with which all the saints will be clad in the end, on account of the variation which the whole inner nature of men undergoes.

563 Wherefrom do we learn this? Once one of the brethren went to the cell of Aba Arsenius and looked through the window and saw the Father standing who was wholly as burning fire. For this brother who had gone to see the Father, was worthy of this sight: he did not belong to the small but to the great ones. The blessed one was famous on account of his exalted behaviour and all Fathers desired to see him. And because they especially desired to see him, [it was] as Aba Macarius said to him: Why doest thou flee from us! Therefore the strangers who came to Skete desired chiefly to see him and to receive his blessing. — When that brother knocked at his door, the Father came outdoors. And when he saw that his visitor was astonished at what he saw, he said to him: Was it time for thee to knock? Hast thou seen anything? The other answered: No. So he dismissed him.

And what shall I say concerning the blessed Pacomius? The counterpart of the former, and among others the chief, the valiant in strife, the fervent and heroic in his vigils, the man who passed a long time fighting against the demons as a glorious champion, in the way of the holy Antonius, who, because many demons used to come to him during the nights, asked God during his vigils that He might free him from sleep, so that night and day he should be without sleep, so as to be able to subdue the power of the Fiend. As it has

564 been said: Let me not turn my back before having crushed them, for they are powerless against the faith of the Lord. — Then this gift was granted him, as he had asked, for a long time. And be cause his heart was pure — the sight of his soul having been purified through vigils and solitude and prayer — he saw God, who is invisible, as it were in a mirror.

These are the fruits of vigils, and these are the boons of those who perform them, and these are the crowns [granted on account of persevering in] this struggle.

Thou also, o brother, if thou desirest to be the fellow of these saints and an heir of their behaviour, cling to solitude, without dejection, that thou also mayest persevere in the work of prayer without a break. Bear its troubles, in order to acquire its good. And if thy body should be bent down by different reasons and desist from labour, and thou shouldst not be able to accomplish the works of solitude as usual, and thou shouldst begin to be despised by thy heart and to become dejected and worried — because this is the work of the heart, especially for those who have the right intention: not to desist from reprehending and reproving — do not say: Woe to me, that I am idle, and it would be better for me to be in the world and to perform any work whatever, and not possess an idle reputation of solitude and reclusion, and yet to cease from performance, being a solitary and lonely, yet afar from duties.
565 Do not say this. For God's lovingkindness bears the load of our weakness; He asks man from what he has, and He knows us better than we do ourselves what our strength is.

When thy strength is sufficient, work. And even if thou art not able to perform but little, thou must bear with joy the laziness of thy solitude and be patient. And thou must know that, if thou leavest solitude, even the thought will not stay with thee which causes thee to be chastised by thy conscience on account of laziness. On the contrary: many circumstances will injure thee on account of distraction and laxity of the senses, which destroy even that which has been performed by thee before, because the grace of solitude has been taken from thee. And thou wilt fall into temptations and many circumstances will befall thee, of which thou didst not think.

If thou doest fall into temptations, do not despair. For there is no merchant who travels on seas and roads without suffering losses; and there is no husbandman who simply reaps the whole; and there is no champion who suffers not blows and strokes even if he gains victory in the end. So in the things of God, in the things of the merchants who go this invisible road, there are profits and losses, blows and victory. When thou art hit, do not turn thy back. Pardon me.

LXXXI

566 AN ANSWER TO A BROTHER WHO HAD ASKED HIM WHY WHEN OUR LORD HAS DEFINED MERCY AS SIMILITUDE TO THE GREATNESS OF THE FATHER IN HEAVEN THE SOLITARIES HONOUR SOLITUDE MORE THAN IT? AND AN APOLOGY OF THIS POINT AND THAT IT IS NOT BECOMING TO NEGLECT THE DISTRESSED AND SICK WHEN THEY ARE NEAR

It is well that thou hast brought forward from the Gospel a comparison and a tested example for the great duty of solitude, as if we were opponents to it or tried to reject it as something superfluous. For our Lord has defined mercy as the similitude to the Father by which those who perform it, can approach Him. This is true. And we, the solitaries, do not honour solitude without mercy, though we try to remain far from care and trouble, as much as possible. Not that we deny necessary things, when they present themselves, but we care for solitude, because in it we are constantly with God in lonely intercourse, by which it is more possible to be purified from perturbance and to approach unto quiet of mind, though such cases are rare. But when it is necessary, we will not neglect mercifulness, compelling ourselves perpetually to be inwardly full of mercy toward all kinds of rational beings, at all times.

For so the doctrine of our Lord orders, and this is the distinction of our solitude, and it is not due to fortune. So
567 none of us neglects to show this inward virtue, — when the time corresponds with the work and the necessity — making known his love openly, by deeds; especially those who have not laid themselves wholly under the rule of solitude do so. But solitude to such ones means that they never meet anyone, except once a week. They have not cut themselves off, by the definition of their rule, from showing their fellow man deeds of mercy; only that one does so who is very devoted and solitary so that he avoids the sight of men. For we know, that without love of the fellow-man, the mind is not able to become illuminated by intercourse with and love unto God. Therefore, which of the says solitaries, who possessed food and

clothing, could see his neighbour hungry and naked and persevere in withholding his hand?

Or which of them, when his brother according to the flesh was sick and tormented and destitute of visitors, has honoured the rule of his reclusion more than the life of his fellow, on account of love of solitude?

Where, however, such circumstances, are not at hand, we keep in mind love and mercy unto the fellow man. Where practice is near, God demands from us plainly that we perform it actually.

568 This is well known, that if we have acquired nothing, we are not allowed to expose ourselves to care and disturbance for the sake of the poor. But it is demanded of us [to give] from what we have.

And when our dwelling place is far from the habitation of men and from intercourse with and sight of them, it is not necessary for us to leave our cell and our solitary and lonely dwelling-place and proceed erring through the world in order to visit the sick and to be occupied with similar practice. For it is known that he that does so descends from greatness to smallness.

If however the recluse live in the dwelling place of many and is near to men through his constant dwelling with them, and he can take rest when others are fatigued — be he healthy or ill — it is incumbent upon him to occupy himself with practice, without asking largely from others. But if he see the brother according to the flesh and to profession, in trouble, or rather: Christ rejected and vexed, and he flee and hide himself, pretending a sham solitude — he that acts thus, is without mercy.

Do not remind me of John of Thebais and Arsenius and the like. For who has given himself to such deeds and cared for the sick or the poor, and has despised solitude? Do not approach unto their stories. For if thou art far from all comfort and all meeting with men as they were, thou art allowed to despise such works of [practice]. If however thou art far
569 from the state of the perfect and continually occupied with bodily labours and occupations, why then doest thou despise a commandment which suits thy measure, taking refuge with the grand behaviour of the saints, a behaviour to which thou art not near?

As to me, I will not neglect to cite the example of Macarius the Great, which was written, as it were, to rebuke those who despise their brethren. One day he went to visit some one who was sick. When he asked him whether he desired anything, he answered: I want some fresh bread. Those solitaries, namely, usually baked bread for a year; so was the custom of those places. Then that blessed man, who was ninety years old, went from Skete the town of Alexandria, forty miles and more, carrying with him dry bread in his cowl. There he changed it and brought the sick what he desired.

And an other, who was his equal, did what is still greater, a certain Agathon, exquisite above all the solitaries of his time, a man who loved silence and solitude better than all others. Once he went to a festival, in order to sell what he had made with his hands. There he found a stranger, lying in the street, sick. He hired a house and stayed with him, working with his hands and making expenses on his behalf and paying the hire of the house. So he served him for six months, till the sick had recovered. Then he said, as the story runs, I wished that I could find a leper and give him my body and take his. — This is perfect love; let us resemble our Fathers, that we may be thought worthy of grace, as they were.

Those who fear God, my beloved, are provided for so that they keep the commandments of our Lord without difficulty, even although that seems possible to them only through labours, and danger is thought to be incurred for its sake. Christ has defined and limited their totality to two commandments, which make up the sum of them all. I mean the love of God, and what He taught to be the like of this: love unto His image. The possession of the former is the aim of spiritual contemplation; that of the second, of contemplation and practice. Now, because God's nature is simple and not composite and invisible and not subject to want, the heart in its occupation equally does not require practice, nor bodily performance, nor material motion. Its performance is simple, and, on account of partial union in the [human] intellect, is in accordance with the simple nature of its adorable cause, which is exalted above the apperception of the senses and the flesh.

The second commandment, love of mankind, is to be accomplished in a double way, in accordance with its double nature. I mean, that we accomplish it with the heart, invisibly, and

at the same time with the body, manifestly; but those things which are accomplished by practice, happen also in secret and in cooperation with the heart.

For, as man's nature is composed of two parts, — namely body and soul — so all things regarding him are provided
571 in a double way, in accordance with the double character of his constitution. As everywhere practice is anterior to contemplation, so it is impossible for man to elevate himself unto that elevated part, unless he has accomplished before, by practice, that which is lower.

Therefore, let no one venture to speak concerning the acquisition of love of his fellowmen, as if he possessed it already in his soul, if the part is still wanting which has to be accomplished by the body, according to the opportunity for practice granted by strength, time and place. Then by faith has to be acquired that part of love which is received and recognized by the heart. When, on account of these things, we have been made ourselves known as faithful and true, as far as possible, then power is given to the soul to stretch itself towards the grand part of exalted and divine contemplation, by means of simple emotions and without comparison.

Where man has no opportunity to fulfill love of his fellow man practically by visible and by bodily things, it is sufficient in the eyes of God, that we keep love of our fellowman with our mind only, especially if we are able constantly to administer the service of that universal part, that is more excellent. If however we are destitute of the totality of that universal part, we should fill up this gap by the lower commandment, namely by apperceptible practice, consisting therein that, according to the time happening, we should provide for the comfort of our brethren, by wearying our body; lest our liberty
572 become an opportunity for the flesh, in that we should occupy ourselves with idle things under the pretext of lonely intercourse. For it is known, that it is not allowed to demand from him who is wholly deprived of human intercourse and who is wholly occupied with God, being dead to all beings because of his being deprived of them — that he should serve men.

He, however, whose rule of solitude forbids intercourse except on one day every week, and who, after the completion of his rule, meeting and mingling and consoling himself with

man, neglects the trouble of his brethren and pretends to keep the rule of his week of prohibition, is anathema. For it is manifest that it is through a lack of mercy and on account of presumption and fallacious deliberations that such a one does not condescend to occupy himself with such things.

He that neglects the sick, shall not see light. And who turns away his face from one in distress, may his day be dark. And who despises the cry of the vexed, may the sons of his house grope in darkness.

Let us not dishonour the great name of solitude by our ignorance. Every duty has its time and place and distinction. And then its service is accepted by God who knows all. The service that deviates from this, is idle; for all measures have to be brought to completion.

He that hopes that he will be consoled and visited in his misery by others, has to humble himself, so that he may be of use to his fellow man when the latter is tempted. Then during his service in solitude he may be joyful and free from presumption and the seduction of the demons.

573 It has been said by one of the holy Fathers, Euagrius, one of the initiated, that there is nothing which frees the solitary from the demon of haughtiness and aids to the attainment of the domain of chastity when the passion of fornication is burning, as to visit those who are thrown on their bed and vexed by bodily troubles. Great is the angelic service of solitude, when it is mingled with such a discrimination, for humbleness is needed. For we are plundered without our knowing it.

We have not said these things, my brethren, that we should despise the duty of solitude; for we have everywhere insisted upon it. We are not now found to contradict our own words, and no one should pick out a single word from our argumentation and take this in his hand without discrimination, neglecting the rest. For I remember that in several places I have said with emphasis, that if a man should happen to be in his cell in total idleness, on account of the necessity of weakness, even then he should not choose to leave it completely and to perform his service outside it rather than to be idle, within. I have spoken of leaving the cell completely; but if a necessary practice presents itself, which demands some weeks, during which he may gain relief or the life of a fellow-man, he should not deem this idleness. If there is anyone who thinks

himself to be one of the perfect and exalted above all that is here, on account of his continually being with God, and his
574 being far from all visible practice, he rightly withdraws himself even from these things. Great is the labour of discrimination, to him that is spoken to by God. May He in His mercy, give us to accomplish the work of Him that has said: Therefore all things whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them [1]). To whom be glory and honour from the whole creation for ever and ever. Amen.

LXXXII

HOW MUCH HONOUR HUMILITY POSSESSES AND HOW HIGH ITS RANK IS

I dessire to open my month, my brethren, to speak on the elevated place of humility; but I am filled with fear, as a man who is conscious of the fact, that he will speak concerning God in a tale of his own speech. For humility is the garment of divinity; for the word which became man, put it on and spoke in it with us, through our body. And every one who puts it on in truth, by humility takes the likeness of Him that has descended from His height and concealed the splendour of His majesty and hidden His glory, lest the creation should perish by the sight of Him. For the creation was not able to see Him without His being united to a part of it which He should assume and speak with them through it; then the creation was able to hear the word of His mouth, face to face.

The children of Israel were not able to listen to His voice, while He spoke with them from within the cloud; then should the creation be able to bear the sight of Him openly? For the children of Israel were so troubled that they said to Moses: Let us speak with thee, and listen thou to His words for us;
575 but let Him not speak with us, lest we die [2]). And so terrible was the sight, that even the intermediary said: I fear and tremble. For on mount Sinai the splendour of His glory revealed itself, and the whole mountain smoked and was shaken from

1) Matthew 7, 12 2) Exodus 20, 29

fear of His revelation that took place on it, so that even the beasts which approached the foot of the mountain, died. And all the children of Israel, on the order of Moses, prepared themselves, every one purifying himself for three days in order to be worthy of listening to the sound of God's speech and of seeing His revelation. And when the moment came, they were not able to bear the sight of His light, and the vehemence of the sound of His thunder.

But now that He has poured out His grace on the world by His coming, not in earthquake nor in fire, nor with a terrible and vehement sound — but descending as the rain upon the lamb's fleece, and as the soft dew drops which softly descend upon the earth — it has pleased Him to speak with us in a different way, concealing His majesty in the cover of flesh, speaking to us while being in us, in the garment which Providence had woven from the womb of the virgin, so that we, seeing Him speak with us as one of our race, should not be terrified by the sight of Him. Therefore, every one who puts on the garment in which our Creator appeared, by means of a body full of holiness, puts on Christ. For with the likeness in which He appeared to His creation and in which He dealt
576 with us, He desired to clad His inner man and in it He desired to appear to His fellow men, and with it [He desired] to be adorned in stead of with the garment of honour and outward glory. And therefore the creatures prostrate themselves as to a lord before every one whom they see being clad with this likeness, silent or speaking, on account of the honour of their Lord with which they saw Him clad and in which He wandered about.

Which of the creatures should not be intimidated by the sight of the humble? Yet before the glory of humility revealed itself to all, this sight full of holiness was despised by them. But now that He has caused its majesty to dawn before the eye of the worlds, every man honours this likeness, wheresoever it shows itself. For through the mediation of it, the creation became worthy of receiving the sight of its Creator. And therefore [humility] is not despised even by the enemies of truth. And though he that has acquired it, should be a beggar in comparison with all creatures, yet he that has learned it, is honoured on account of it as if he were clad with crown and purple. No one will ever hate the humble nor assail him

with a word, nor despise him. And because his Lord loves him, he is beloved by every one. Every one loves him, every one cherishes him. And wherever he comes, he is looked upon as an angel of light and distinguished by [signs of] honour. When the sage and the learned speak, they are ordered to be silent in order to give the humble an opportunity to speak. The eyes of everyone look on his mouth [in order to know] which word will come forth from it. Every one awaits his
577 words, as words from God. The sense of his few words is investigated as the words of a philosopher. Sweet are his words to the ear of the sages, more than honeycomb is to the palate of those who taste it. And by everyone he is reckoned as a God, though he be simple in his words and of mean aspect. He that speaks of the humble in a despising way, is not reckoned as one living, but as one who opens his mouth against God. And the more despicable he is in his own eyes, the more honour is shown to him on the part of the creatures.

The humble approaches the beasts of prey and as soon as their eye rests on him, their wildness is tamed and they come to him and accompany him as their master, wagging their tails and licking his hands and his feet. For they smell from him the smell which spread from Adam before his transgression, when the beasts gathered near him and he gave them names, in Paradise — the smell which was taken from us and given back to us anew by Christ through His advent, which made the smell of the human race sweet.

And when the humble approaches the deadly reptiles, as soon as the touch of his hands attains to their bodies, the virulence of their deadly poison is cooled and with his hands he crushes them as if they were locusts [1]).

And when he approaches the children of man they look upon him as upon their lord. Why do I mention the children
578 of man? Because, notwithstanding all the evil and stubbornness of the demons and all the pride of their own mind, as soon as they meet the humble, they become as dust: all their hardness becomes weak, their tricks become craftless, their cunnings idle.

Now that we have shown in how great honour humility

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1) With this passage is to be compared the *Book of the Dove*, p. 80

stands with God and how great a power is hidden in it, we will clearly show what humility is, and when a man will be deemed worthy of receiving it in its fulness, as it is. And we shall make a distinction between him who is humble in some respects and him that has been deemed worthy of veracious humility.

Humility is a mysterious power, which the perfect saints receive when they have reached accomplishment of behaviour. And this power is not granted except to those who, by the power of Grace, have personally accomplished the whole of excellence, in so far as nature in its domain is able to do this. For humility is all-comprehending excellence. And therefore we cannot deem every man humble, without discrimination, but only those who have been deemed worthy of the rank mentioned. Not every one who in his nature is peaceful or quiet or discrete or without blame, has reached the rank of humility.

But a humble one in truth is he that, possessing inwardly something worthy of being proud of, does not extol himself, but is as dust in his own thoughts. Nor do we call humble him that humbles himself on account of the recollection of his low characteristics or trespasses, which he remembers in order that his heart may become contrite and his mind with-
579 drawn from impulses of haughtiness, however praiseworthy this may be. For he still possesses deliberations of haughtiness. Humility however he does not possess, but, by various means, he seeks to draw it towards himself. And however praiseworthy this may be, as I have said, he does not yet possess humility; he asks for it, but it is not his.

A perfectly humble one is he that does not need to find out a cause which should make his mind humble. But he has fulfilled all these, and possesses humility as something natural, without bestowing any labour upon it; so that, even though he has received within him the great gift of which all creatures are not worthy — namely his [humble] nature — yet he is deemed a sinner and a simple man in his own eyes. And though he has penetrated into the mysteries of all spiritual kinds [of beings], and possesses great wisdom concerning all the creatures, he knows with perfect certainty that he knows nothing. And this he is not by any intermediary; but without compulsion he is so in his heart.

Can it be possible that man should be so, that nature can thus change him? No. But do not doubt for this reason. For this mysterious strength which he has received, which makes him perfect in all excellence, without labour, is the strength which the blessed Apostles received under the aspect of fire. And on account of it our Saviour ordered them that they should not leave Jerusalem before having received the strength from on high, namely the Comforter which is the Spirit.

And this is the spirit of visions. And this is what is said concerning them in the Scripture: To the humble the mysteries are revealed [1]). This means that the humble are deemed worthy
580 of receiving within them this spirit of revelations which explains the mysteries. And therefore it has been said by holy men, that humbleness makes the soul perfect by divine revelations. Therefore, no one should venture to think concerning himself that he has personally reached the rank of humility, on account of a single thought of contrition which has once risen [in his heart], or on account of a few tears which he has shed, or on account of one beautiful attribute which he possesses by nature or which he has acquired by compulsion; for he would in that case have acquired that which is the summit of all mysteries and the sum of all excellence in the domain of small labours and reckon these as the whole gift. But if a man has vanquished all contrary spirits, and if none of all the works of excellence fails him, for which he has not laboured in order to possess them, and if he has vanquished and subdued all forteresses of resistance, and if he then perceives with his spirit that his soul has received the gift, while the Spirit witnesses to his spiritaccording to the word of the Apostle, then this is the summit of humility. Blessed is he that has acquired it, for he at all times embraces Jesus' bosom.

But if a man asks: What shall I do? How can I acquire it? By what means shall I become worthy of receiving it? For, if I compel myself and think that I have acquired it, I see that unperceived contrary impulses err through my mind, and, consequently, I fall into despair.

581 He that asks this, is to be answered thus: It is expedient for the disciple to be as his master, and for the slave as his lord. Look at Him who has commanded this and who grants

1) Cf. Ps. 25, 9

the gift, how He acquired it; and strive thou to become like Him; then thou canst do it. For He has said: The prince of this world cometh, and hath nothing in me[1]). Doest thou see how humility is to be acquired by the accomplishment of all excellence? So that we have to imitate Him that has commanded it. ‚The foxes have holes and the birds of the air have nests, but the son of man hath not where to lay his head'[2]). To whom be glory from all those who have become perfect and have been sanctified and become accomplished, in all generations, with the Father who sent Him and the Holy Ghost, now and always and for ever and ever. Amen.

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1) John 14, 30 2) Matt. 8, 20

GENERAL REGISTER

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DIE BALTISCHEN UND SLAVISCHEN AKZENT- UND INTONATIONSSYSTEME

DIE BALTISCHEN UND SLAVISCHEN AKZENT- UND INTONATIONSSYSTEME

EIN BEITRAG ZUR ERFORSCHUNG DER BALTISCH-SLAVISCHEN VERWANDTSCHAFTSVERHÄLTNISSE

VON

N. VAN WIJK

VERHANDELINGEN DER KONINKLIJKE AKADEMIE VAN WETENSCHAPPEN TE AMSTERDAM
AFDEELING LETTERKUNDE
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UITGAVE DER KONINKLIJKE AKADEMIE VAN WETENSCHAPPEN TE AMSTERDAM 1923

BUCHDRUCKEREI vormals E. J. BRILL. — LEIDEN.

VORWORT

Diese Arbeit wurde in den ersten Tagen des Jahres 1922 abgeschlossen. Die Literatur, welche mir erst später unter die Augen kam, konnte ich für dieselbe nicht mehr verwerten. Glücklicherweise war nichts dabei, was mich zu einer Revision der in diesem Buche ausgesprochenen Gedanken oder zu einer eingehenden Bekämpfung veranlassen könnte. Um aber den Lesern meiner Schrift die Vervollständigung des von mir entworfenen Bildes der baltischen und slavischen Betonung zu erleichtern, zähle ich diejenigen Arbeiten des letzten Jahres auf, welche mir am wichtigsten vorkommen. Ich mache dazu einige kurze Bemerkungen, übergehe aber alles was ich für nebensächlich halte.

Baranowski, A. *Litauische Mundarten, gesammelt von —. Bd. II: Grammatische Einleitung mit lexikalischem Anhang, bearbeitet von* Dr. Franz Specht. *Leipzig, 1922.* S. 1—250 dieses jetzt 544 Seiten starken Bandes waren schon in 1920 als Doktordissertation gedruckt und durch die Güte des Verfassers konnte ich diesen ersten Teil des Buches noch vor der Einreichung meines Manuskriptes benutzen. Abgesehen von zahlreichen Details und dem reichhaltigen neuen Materiale ist der vollständige Band speziell deshalb wichtig für mich, weil er uns über die geographische Verteilung der Quantitätssysteme von Baranowski und Kurschat (s. unten § 8) belehrt. Soviel ich sehe, weicht Baranowskis Auffassung von dieser Verteilung von den Resultaten von Ekbloms Untersuchungen nicht unbedeutend ab.

Ekblom, R. *Manuel phonétique de la langue lituanienne* [*Archives d'études orientales, vol. 19*]. *Upsala, 1923.* Beschreibung der Aussprache eines gebildeten Litauers aus der Gegend zwischen Wilna, Kowno und Ukmergė. Der erste Abschnitt: „quantité et accent" bildet eine Ergänzung zu dem von mir § 5 ff. mitgeteilten Materiale.

Ekblom, R. *Zur Physiologie der Akzentuation langer Silben im Slavobaltischen* [*Skrifter utgifna af K. Humanistiska Vetenskaps-Samfundet i Uppsala. 22 : 1*]. *Uppsala, 1922.* E. setzt die slavo-baltischen Grundformen **vôrnos* : **voŕnā* an. M. E. plausibel (s. bei mir § 12). Freilich gilt auch für diese Rekonstruktion die allgemeine Wahrheit, dass prähistorische Intonationen nur annähernd bestimmt werden können.

Endzelin, J. *Lettische Grammatik. Riga, 1922.* Enthält eine Beschreibung des lettischen Intonationssystemes, welche im Wesentlichen auf dasselbe hinauskommt wie diejenige in den frühern Arbeiten des Verfassers. Dasselbe gilt von dem Aufsatze:

Endzelin, J. *Des intonations lettonnes. Revue des études slaves II* (1922), 56 ff.

ENDZELIN, J. *Zur baltischen Deklination der „ablautenden" (i)jo-Stämme. Kuhns Zeitschrift* L (1922), 13 ff. Dieser Aufsatz enthält auf S. 18 folgende Modifikation des Leskienschen Auslautgesetzes (s. unten S. 13 und S. 62): „in Endsilben zwei- und mehrsilbiger Formen sind die akutierten langen Vokale und *ie* und *uo* gekürzt, während in allen einsilbigen Wörtern (soweit sie nicht in proklitischer Stellung gekürzt wurden) und in *i*- oder *u*-Diphthonge (*ai, ei, au*) enthaltenden Endsilben zwei- und mehrsilbiger Wörter der Akut lautgesetzlich zum Zirkumflex wurde (daher also *jũs, tiẽ* u. a.)". Bereits in 1911 hatte Endzelin dieses Lautgesetz aufgestellt (*Slav'ano-baltijskie et'udy*, S. 143 ff.); leider war mir das, als ich meine jetzt erscheinende Arbeit schrieb, entgangen. Eines endgültigen Urteils über diese Modifikation des Leskienschen Gesetzes enthalte ich mich einstweilen; auf jeden Fall ist diese Modifikation plausibeler als diejenige Specht's (s. unten S. 62 f. Fussnote 6) [1]). Es dürfte feststehen, dass der Zirkumflexus von lit. *jẽ, jũ* usw. mit der Einsilbigkeit zusammenhängt; auf Proklisis beruht er nicht. Was den Übergang von Akut in Zirkumflexus in mehrsilbigen Wörtern anbetrifft, diese Annahme würde speziell für *vilkaĩ* eine einfache Deutung ermöglichen. Wenn *-ai* keine Neutralendung ist — und das halte ich für bewiesen —, so liegt Identifizierung mit gr. *-oí* nahe; in dem Falle wäre litauische Intonationsumlegung anzunehmen; es gilt bloss, für diese Umlegung ein plausibeles Gesetz zu formulieren. Die Hypothese Endzelins verdient Beachtung, speziell wenn wir sie mit Nieminen (s. u.) im Zusammenhang mit der von diesem Gelehrten angenommenen Regel: hochton. *-ai, -ei* > *-ẽ*, nebenton. *-ai, -ei* bleiben unverändert — betrachten. Eines endgültigen Urteiles über diese Regel enthalte ich mich noch. Es gilt hier, mehrere jedes für sich schwere Probleme in ihrem gegenseitigen Zusammenhang zu betrachten; was das Metatoniegesetz anbetrifft, so lässt sich die Formulierung von Endzelin und Nieminen nicht beurteilen ohne eine erneuerte Prüfung der Chronologie des De Saussureschen Gesetzes auf baltischem Boden (s. unten § 17).

KUL'BAKIN, S. *Akcenatska pitanja. Južnoslovenski filolog II* (1921), 80 ff. Erster Teil einer kritischen Besprechung neuerer Untersuchungen über den slavischen Akzent, speziell über Metatonieprobleme.

NACHTIGALL, R. *Akzentbewegung in der russischen Formen- und Wortbildung. I. Substantiva auf Konsonanten* [*Slavica, 7*]. *Heidelberg, 1922.* Weil der Verf. 1. das De Saussuresche Gesetz in die litauslavische Periode verlegt, 2. das litauische „mobile" Paradigma für altererbt hält, 3. die slavischen Akzentstudien der letzten zehn Jahre grösstenteils unberücksichtigt lässt, versteht es sich, dass ich über manche Erscheinung anders urteile als Nachtigall. Eine Polemik ist aber unnötig, erstens weil dieses Buch in 1912 geschrieben und in 1913 und 1914 gesetzt wurde, so dass der Verf. erst in den weitern Teilen, welche u. a. einer Vergleichung des russischen Materiales mit demjenigen anderer Sprachen gewidmet werden sollen, imstande sein wird, die Resultate neuerer Untersuchungen

1) In den Nachträgen und Berichtigungen zu seinem Buche nimmt Specht das von ihm aufgestellte Auslautgesetz „zum mindesten für das Gemeinbaltische" an.

zu benutzen, zweitens weil N. diesen ersten Band in erster Linie zu den „kritischen Sammlungen und Beobachtungen von dialektologisch-akzentologischem Material" rechnet. Als eine solche kritische Sammlung betrachtet, hat diese Arbeit einen grossen Wert. Im Zusammenhang mit meiner eigenen Arbeit möchte ich speziell auf Nachtigalls Ausführungen über die Intonation der *i*- und *u*-Stämme hinweisen. Richtig bemerkt er, dass *volȗ* ein oxytonierter *u*-Stamm ist; s. S. 183 (ausserdem *Zbornik filol. i lingv. studija A. Beličú*, 1921, S. 93).

Nieminen, E. *Der urindogermanische Ausgang -āi des Nominativ-Akkusativ Pluralis des Neutrums im Baltischen. Helsinki, 1922.* Für die in meiner Monographie behandelten Probleme haben in erster Linie die Ausführungen des Verfassers über die Auslautmetatonie (u. a. S. 99 f.) eine grosse Bedeutung; s. oben. Es freut mich, dass in zahlreichen Punkten Nieminen früher von mir ausgesprochene Ansichten akzeptiert. Wenn er mit frühern Forschern für lit. *kélmas* u. dgl. ein Akzentgesetz $-\acute{-} > -\acute{\smile} > \acute{-}\smile$ annimmt, so hat er mich nicht überzeugt. Auch ich gehe von einer oxytonierten Grundform aus, trenne aber diesen Fall von Akzentzurückziehung nicht von *dárbo* (: *darbõp*), *dẽvo* (: *dẽvõp*), wenn auch die Ursachen der Betonungsänderungen nicht ganz klar sind (s. unten § 24). Dieses Buch enthält auch wertvolles neues Material.

v. d. Osten-Sacken, W. *Das litauische langvokalische Präteritum in seinem Verhältnis zum Infinitiv und Präsens. Idg. Forsch.* XL (1922), S. 145 ff. Enthält u. a. einiges über zirkumflektierte lit. Länge bei langen Monophthongen (s. bei mir § 36); vgl. auch Endzelin, Lettische Gramm. S. 673 ff.

Trautmann, R., *AfslPhil.* XXXVIII (1922), 129 weist darauf hin, dass die Intonation von lit. *dirvà*: Akk. *dir̃vą* nicht zu der Gruppe *ūr* des ai. *dū́rvā* stimmt. Trotzdem möchte ich diese Wörter nicht voneinander trennen. Die baltische Intonation ist wohl sekundär. S. § 39, speziell die letzte Alinea.

Zur „nowocyrkumfleksowa" (s. S. 95 f.) ist jetzt mein Aufsatz *Die aus altem Akutus entstandenen sekundären slavischen Intonationen, Idg. F.* XL (1922), 275 ff. zu vergleichen.

Die Arbeiten De Saussures habe ich noch nicht nach der neuen Gesamtausgabe *(Recueil des publications scientifiques de Ferdinand de Saussure. Genève, 1922)* anführen können.

Leider ist mir die während des Krieges in Russland erschienene litauische Grammatik von Jaunis nicht zugänglich gewesen.

An all denjenigen Stellen, wo ich meinen in XI. Bande von *Le Monde Oriental* gedruckten Aufsatz *Zur litauischen Nominalbetonung* zitiere, ist die Nummer des Jahrganges unrichtig angegeben (XII anstatt XI), infolge eines Fehlers auf dem Umschlage der S.-AA.

Leiden, Februar 1923 N. VAN WIJK

EINLEITUNG.

§ 1. In den letzten Jahren ist über das Verwandtschaftsverhältnis zwischen dem Baltischen und dem Slavischen manches geschrieben worden. Am verbreitetsten ist noch wohl immer die in den Brugmannschen Handbüchern [1]) vertretene Schleichersche Ansicht, dass nach der indogermanischen Periode Baltisch und Slavisch noch eine zeitlang éine Sprache gebildet haben, weshalb Brugmann und viele andere Gelehrte von einem „baltisch-slavischen Zweig" des Indogermanischen reden, wie von einem griechischen oder italischen Zweige. In der letzten Zeit ist diese Ansicht von Porzeziński [2]), Rozwadowski [3]), Šachmatov [4]), Brückner [5]) und mir [6]) verteidigt worden. Dagegen hat Meillet widerholt eine baltisch-slavische Periode geleugnet [7]); die zahlreichen Übereinstimmungen zwischen den beiden Sprachzweigen, in welchen andere Forscher den Beweis einer gemeinschaftlichen Entwicklungsperiode erblicken, glaubt er einfach durch Parallelismus erklären zu dürfen [8]): der Ausgangspunkt sei für die beiden Sprachzweige eine und dieselbe indogermanische Mundart gewesen, und in einem solchen Falle sei bei ungestörter Entwicklung ein weitgehender Parallelismus zu erwarten [9]). Eine Zwischenstellung zwischen den beiden

1) K. Brugmann, *Grundriss der vergleichenden Grammatik der indogermanischen Sprachen* I² (1897), S. 18 ff., *Kurze vergleichende Grammatik* (1904), S. 16 ff.

2) W. Porzeziński, *Rocznik Slawistyczny* IV (1911), 1 ff.

3) J. Rozwadowski, *RS.* V (1912), 1 ff.

4) A. Šachmatov, *Izvěstija* XVII (1913), 1, 281 ff.

5) A. Brückner, *Kuhns Zeitschrift* XLVI (1914), 217 ff.

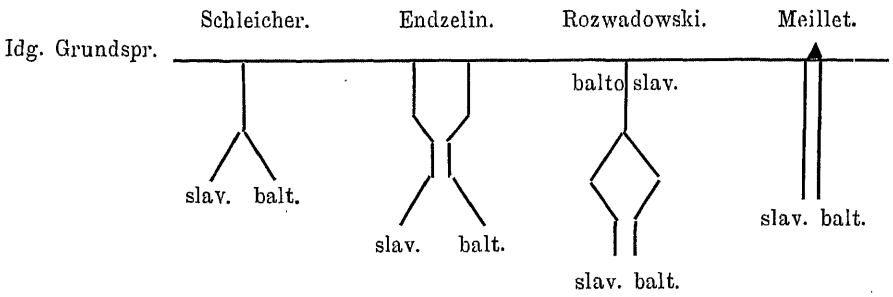
6) N. van Wijk, *Balties-slaviese problemen* (1913), S. 10 ff.

7) A. Meillet, *Etudes sur l'étymologie et le vocabulaire du vieux slave* II (1905), S. 201 ff., *Les dialectes indo-européens* (1908), S. 40 ff., *RS.* V (1912), 153 ff., *Introduction à l'étude comparative des langues indo-européennes*⁴ (1915), S. 51.

8) Meillet behandelt der Reihe nach die acht von Brugmann in seiner *KVG.* (s. Fussn. 1) aufgezählten Übereinstimmungen zwischen dem Baltischen und Slavischen. Bei andern Forschern hätte er eine noch grössere Anzahl solcher Übereinstimmungen finden können, s. J. Hanusz, *O dobie litewsko-słowiańskiéj w stosunku do prajęzyka indoeuropejskiego*, *Rozprawy filol.* XI (1886), 249 ff. Diese grössere Anzahl würde aber Meillets Ansicht kaum modifiziert haben.

9) Vgl. auch A. Meillet, *Convergence des développements linguistiques*, zuerst in der *Revue philosophique* von Februar 1918 (Bd. LXXXV), später (1921) in dem Buche *Linguistique historique et linguistique générale*, S. 61 ff. erschienen. Vgl. das. S. 65: „Quand une langue se différencie en parlers distincts, celles des innovations réalisées dans chaque parler qui ne tiennent pas à des conditions propres à ce parler sont ou identiques ou du moins orientées en une même direction".

erwähnten Ansichten nimmt diejenige Endzelins [1]) ein, der Baltisch und Slavisch für zwei ursprünglich von einander getrennte Dialekte der Grundsprache hält, welche aber nach der Sprachtrennung eine gemeinschaftliche Entwicklungsperiode durchgemacht haben sollen. Weingart, der sich, hauptsächlich auf grund der zusammengesetzten Deklination der Adjektive, der Meinung Meillets angeschlossen hat, hat die verschiedenen Hypothesen folgenderweise ganz klar graphisch dargestellt [2]):



Zwischen Schleicher und Rozwadowski besteht kein prinzipieller Unterschied; beide nehmen eine „baltoslavische Periode" an. Aber auch Meillets Ansicht entfernt sich nicht so weit von der Schleicherschen wie es bei dem ersten Blicke aussieht. Man wird sich wohl kaum das Ende der indogermanischen Periode so vorzustellen haben, dass an einem gewissen Tage das indogermanische Volk, welches bisher éine Nation mit éiner Sprache gebildet hatte, sich in sprachlich differenzierte Gruppen gespaltet hat. Bereits die Annahme indogermanischer Dialekte, deren Existenz gerade Meillet energisch betont hat, setzt ein allmähliches Auseinandergehen der Grundsprache voraus. Die eine Gruppe des indogermanischen Volkes wird etwas länger, die andere etwas kürzer in dem Stammlande geblieben sein, und die am längsten zurückgebliebenen Indogermanen werden auch nach der sogenannten indogermanischen Periode noch eine zeitlang eine ethnische und sprachliche Einheit gebildet haben. Nun ist es nicht auszumachen, wo die indogermanische Heimat gelegen hat; auf jeden Fall aber wird sie irgendwo in der mittel- oder osteuropäischen Ebene, möglicherweise ganz oder teilweise noch etwas östlicher zu suchen sein [3]), und aus geographischen Gründen ist es wahrscheinlich, dass diejenigen Dialekte der Grundsprache, aus welchen das Slavische und das Baltische entstanden sind, noch nach der Abtrennung des In-

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1) J. Endzelin, *Slav'ano-baltijskie et'udy* (1911).

2) M. Weingart, *Praslovanský vokalismus* (1919—20), S. 17 f.

3) In diesem Zusammenhange begnüge ich mich mit der Erwähnung einiger Werke allgemeiner Natur, welche dem Probleme der idg. Urheimat gewidmet sind oder Kapittel darüber enthalten: M. Much, *Die Heimat der Indogermanen im Lichte der urgeschichtlichen Forschung*[2] (1904); H. Hirt, *Die Indogermanen* (1905—07); O. Schrader, *Reallexikon der indogermanischen Alterlumskunde* (1901; ein 2ter Druck erscheint jetzt in Lieferungen), *Sprachvergleichung und Urgeschichte*[3] (1906—07), *Die Indogermanen* (1911); S. Feist, *Kultur, Ausbreitung und Herkunft der Indogermanen* (1913).

disch-Iranischen, Armenischen, Albanesischen, Griechischen, Italischen [1]) ein zusammenhängendes, wenn auch wohl dialektisch differenziertes Ganzes gebildet haben. Diese Kontinuität braucht aber nicht lange gedauert zu haben, sie braucht in den historisch überlieferten Sprachen keine sichtbaren Spuren hinterlassen zu haben, und wenn das tatsächlich nicht der Fall ist, so dürfen wir die theoretisch wahrscheinliche baltisch-slavische Einheitsperiode in der Praxis ignorieren. Nur dann haben wir mit derselben zu rechnen, wenn sie durch eine induktive Arbeitsmethode erschliessbar ist [2]). Die nächste Aufgabe der Wissenschaft ist es also, durch eine detaillirte Untersuchung derjenigen sprachlichen Erscheinungen, welche für die Bestimmung des Verwandtschaftsverhältnisses am wichtigsten sind, ein reicheres Material zu sammeln als bisher vorhanden war und auf diese Weise das Problem so vielseitig wie möglich ist zu beleuchten. Einen Schritt in dieser Richtung hat Brückner *KZ.* XLVI (1914), 217 ff. getan, wo er dem Probleme speziell von lexikologischer Seite näher getreten ist; die von Brückner versprochene Fortsetzung ist aber bisher noch nicht erschienen.

Ich werde in dieser Arbeit ausschliesslich dem Akzente und der Intonation meine Aufmerksamkeit widmen. Selbstverständlich müssen wir bei der Bestimmung des Verwandtschaftsverhältnisses zwischen Baltisch und Slavisch auch mit diesen Faktoren, welche bekanntlich gerade in den baltischen und slavischen Sprachen eine so wichtige Rolle spielen, rechnen. Tatsächlich ist das widerholt geschehen, aber leider nicht auf eine gebührende Weise.

§ 2. Der einzige Forscher, der ausführlich die baltischen und slavischen Intonationen und Akzente miteinander verglichen hat, ist Hirt in seinem Buche über den indogermanischen Akzent [3]). Auf S. 55 dieser Arbeit behauptet Hirt, dass die litauische Betonung in vielen Fällen mit der slavischen übereinstimme, und für ihn „unterliegt es weiterhin keinem Zweifel, dass diese litauisch-slavische Betonung der indogermanischen zum Teil entspricht". Hirt verfügte in 1895 über eine geringe Anzahl guter Vorarbeiten, und es versteht sich vonselber, dass viele von seinen damaligen Bemerkungen jetzt veraltet sind. Widerholt werde ich in dieser Schrift einzelne Paragraphen des Hirtschen Buches zitieren und besprechen.

Bereits im Jahre 1880 hatte Brandt seinen Untersuchungen über den slavischen Akzent ein Kapittel über die litauische Betonung hinzugefügt [4]). Dieses Kapittel enthält aber keine systematische Vergleichung des Akzentsystemes der beiden Sprachzweige, der Verfasser erörtert bloss das

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1) Germanisch und Keltisch sind möglicherweise noch nach der Abtrennung der andern Sprachen in der Urheimat in der Nähe des Slav. und Balt. gesprochen worden. Engere Verwandtschaft mit diesen Sprachen ist aber unannehmbar.

2) Vgl. Meillet, *Les dialectes i.-e.* (1908), S. 48: „peut-être même y a-t-il eu une période de communauté plus ou moins longue, mais où le slave et le baltique, qui sont les langues indo-européennes les plus conservatrices, n'ont pas introduit d'innovations notables". Es gilt, durch eingehende Einzeluntersuchungen die Richtigkeit dieser letzten Behauptung zu prüfen.

3) H. Hirt, *Der indogermanische Akzent* (1895), passim.

4) R. Brandt, *Načertanie slav'anskoj akcentologii* (1880), S. 213 ff.

Allernötigste zur Rechtfertigung der hie und da in seinem Buche vorkommenden Vergleiche von slavischen Wörtern mit litauischen. Brandts Erörterungen sind jetzt noch viel mehr veraltet als das Hirtsche Buch; ein wichtiger Umstand ist dabei, dass Brandt das Gesetz von De Saussure noch nicht gekannt hat. Durch denselben Umstand wird der sonst nicht geringe Wert von Maretić' Untersuchungen im 102. Hefte des Agramer *Rad* [1]) bedeutend beeinträchtigt; dasselbe gilt von Fincks Doktordissertation [2]).

In den jüngeren Arbeiten über das Verhältnis zwischen dem Baltischen and dem Slavischen spielen die Akzentfragen eine geringe Rolle. Meillet, *Les dialectes i.-e.*, S. 45 f. versucht nachzuweisen, dass das De Saussuresche Gesetz im Litauischen, Altpreussischen und Slavischen unabhängig voneinander gewirkt hat; weiter geht er auf Akzent- und Intonationsprobleme nicht ein. Porzeziński *RSl.* IV, 16 ff. begnügt sich mit einer Bekämpfung der Meilletschen Auffassung des Akzentverschiebungsgesetzes, weiter lässt auch er die Betonung ausser Betracht. Genau so verfährt Rozwadowski *RSl.* V, 9 f., 29.

Ausser diesen Forschern hat auch Endzelin dem gegenseitigen Verhältnis des baltischen und des slavischen Betonungssystems einige Worte gemidmet [3]). Das De Saussuresche Gesetz dürfte nach seiner Meinung urbaltoslavisch sein; weiter glaubt er, dass auch andere Akzentuationserscheinungen für die Beurteilung des Problemes der baltisch-slavischen Grundsprache wichtig seien; weil aber ohne eingehende Spezielluntersuchungen sich nichts machen lasse, begnügt er sich damit, dass er auf die Schwierigkeit und Verwickeltheit der baltisch-slavischen Betonungsprobleme hinweist.

In den letzten Jahren ist über die slavischen Betonungsverhältnisse ziemlich viel geschrieben worden, über die baltischen weniger, aber doch jedenfalls einiges. Für eine Vergleichung der beiden Sprachzweige sind die Bedingungen also bedeutend günstiger geworden. Oft haben wir noch einen sehr lockeren Boden unter den Füssen, trotzdem aber habe ich mich dazu entschlossen, dem Probleme der baltisch-slavischen Akzentuierung näher zu treten.

§ 3. Diese Arbeit zerfällt in zwei Hauptabschnitte, welche dem Ursprunge der Silbenintonationen bezw. der Stelle des Wortakzentes gewidmet sind. Diese zwei Probleme hängen eng miteinander zusammen; so versteht es sich z.B., dass die Vergleichung einer slavischen Wortform mit ihrem baltischen lautlichen Äquivalente unmöglich ist, solange wir nicht wissen, ob die ältest erreichbare baltische und die ältest erreichbare slavische Form den Akzent an derselben Stelle gehabt haben. Wie schwer und wie wichtig dergleichen Probleme sind, hat Meillet in seinem bekannten Aufsatze in der Fortunatov-Festschrift [4]) gezeigt, wo solche Fälle

1) T. Maretić, *Slavenski nominalni akcenat s obzirom na litavski, grčki i staroindijski. Rad* CII (1890), 30 ff.

2) F. N. Finck, *Über das Verhältnis des baltisch-slavischen Nominalaccents zum indogermanischen* (1895).

3) J. Endzelin, *Slav.-balt. et'udy*, S. 105 f.

4) A. Meillet, *O nĕkotorych anomalijach udarenija v slav'anskich imenach, Russkij filol. Věstnik* XLVIII (1902), 193 ff.

wie slav. *synъ* (baryt.): lit. *sūnùs* (mobile) besprochen werden. Ich glaube, dass meine Ausführungen am klarsten sein werden, wenn ich dem Kapittel über die Intonationsqualitäten dasjenige über die Akzentstelle vorangehen lasse; deshalb habe ich diese Reihenfolge gewählt.

Für die zwei Intonationen langer Silben verwende ich die Namen Zirkumflex und Akut, welche m. E. weniger Verwirrung und Unsicherheit hervorrufen können als etwa „steigender Ton", „fallender Ton"; denn bekanntlich entsprechen einem litauischen steigenden Tone im Lettischen und Altpreussischen Intonationen, welche vielmehr fallend genannt werden dürfen, und umgekehrt. Wie die zwei Intonationen der langen Silben im Urbaltischen gesprochen wurden, darüber sind die Forscher nicht einig, indem ein Teil derselben die litauische Aussprache, ein anderer Teil die lettisch-altpreussische Aussprache für altertümlicher hält. Unter solchen Umständen sind die Namen „Zirkumflex" und „Akut", welche über die Tonbewegung nichts aussagen und bloss das Vorhandensein zweier Intonationen konstatieren, vorzuziehen [1]). Für das Slavische liesse sich mit den Namen „fallender, steigender Ton" besser operieren; weil wir aber das Slavische im Zusammenhang mit dem Baltischen besprechen, sind auch hier die Wörter „Zirkumflex" und „Akut" besser.

Zum richtigen Verständnis der Kapittel über die Akzentstelle und über die baltisch-slavischen Silbenintonationen halte ich es für angebracht, diesen Kapitteln ein orientierendes Kapittel über die Akzent- und Tonbewegung der einzelsprachlichen Intonationen voranzuschicken, wobei auch das Verhältnis des Litauischen zum Lettischen und Altpreussischen erörtert werden muss.

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1) S. J. Endzelin, *Izvěstija* VI (1903), 4, 142, S. Agrell, *Intonation und Auslaut im Slavischen* (1913), S. 1 Fussn. 1, Verf., *Altpreussische Studien* (1918), S. 5 und I.

DIE AKZENT- UND TONBEWEGUNG DER BALTISCHEN UND SLAVISCHEN INTONATIONEN.

I. Die baltischen Intonationen.

§ 4. Am wichtigsten sind die litauischen Verhältnisse. Das schon längst ausgestorbene Altpreussische ist uns aus einigen Katechismen und Wörterverzeichnissen bekannt. Im dritten Katechismus, d. h. im Lutherschen Enchiridion, hat der Übersetzer Abel Will oft lange, betonte Vokale von einem horizontalen Strich versehen, so dass uns in vielen Fällen die Stelle des Wortakzentes bekannt ist; auch die Doppelkonsonanten haben für die Bestimmung der Akzentstelle einen gewissen Wert; der horizontale Strich über dem ersten oder zweiten Komponenten eines Diphthonges gestattet uns ausserdem, die Tonbewegung innerhalb der „tranches vocaliques" [1]) annähernd zu bestimmen, und dann lassen sich die auf diese Weise gewonnenen Ergebnisse weiter mit den uns viel besser bekannten litauischen Verhältnissen vergleichen. Auch das Lettische hat eine gewisse Bedeutung für uns. Zwar hat es eine systematisch durchgeführte, sekundäre Anfangbetonung, aber die Akzentqualitäten gestatten gewisse Schlüsse bezüglich der ältern Akzentstelle; weiter können wir die Ton- und Akzentbewegung der einzelnen Intonationen mit derjenigen des Litauischen vergleichen. Wir fangen am besten unsere Besprechung von dem Litauischen an.

A. Das Litauische.

§ 5. Das Litauische kennt nur éine Intonation kurzer Silben; dafür gebraucht man das Zeichen `; über ihre Qualität ist in den meisten Handbüchern wenig zu finden [2]). Eine lange Silbe kann zweierlei Intonation haben, den gestossenen Ton oder Stosston (frz. „intonation rude") und den geschleiften Ton oder Schleifton (frz. „intonation douce"); wir nennen den Stosston am besten Akut, den Schleifton Zirkumflex [3]). Der Akut wird durch das Zeichen ´, der Zirkumflex durch das Zeichen ~ bezeichnet. Die litauischen Intonationen ruhen auf dem Vokale der Silbe, oder, wenn auf diesen ein *i*, *u*, *l*, *r*, *m* oder *n* folgt, auf dem Vokal +

1) S. darüber den folgenden §.
2) S. die letzte Alinea von § 6.
3) S. oben § 3.
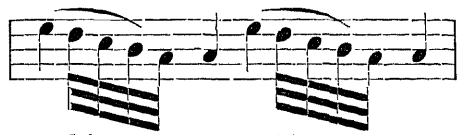
i, *u*, *l*, *r*, *m*, *n*. Für diese intonierbaren Teile der Silben hat De Saussure den Namen „tranche vocalique" (oder „tranche intonable" oder einfach „tranche") eingeführt [1]).

Bei dem Unterschiede zwischen ´ und ˜ spielt die Quantität keine Rolle, auch nicht in solchen Mundarten, welche mehr als zwei Quantitäten unterscheiden. Wir dürfen daher die Qualität dieser Intonationen besprechen, bevor wir dem Quantitätssysteme des Litauischen näher treten.

§ 6. Die Intonationen haupttoniger Silben.
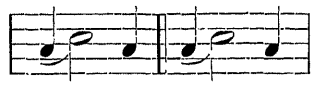
Über die Ton- und Akzentbewegung der litauischen Intonationen, speziell des Zirkumflexes, gehen die Ansichten der Gelehrten nicht unbedeutend auseinander. Die wichtigsten Stellen aus der diesbezüglichen Literatur teile ich mit.

Kurschat bespricht in seiner Grammatik [2]) bloss die Tonbewegung. Zum Akute bemerkt er u.A. Folgendes: „Der Ton schiesst dabei geradezu von oben herab, wie wenn es, in Noten gesetzt, also lautete:



kó - tas lún - gas
driú - tas mél - das

„Doch wird dabei besonders in manchen Gegenden von dem gestossen ausgesprochenen Vocal am Ende gleichsam ein Atom abgebrochen und an das Folgende ganz wie mit einem Spiritus lenis angehängt oder genauer: angestöhnt". Dieser „Vocalbruch" sei bei den *ī*- und *ū*-Lauten am schwächsten, bei *ė* und *ů* am stärksten hörbar. Den Schleifton, den er „geschliffenen Ton" nennt, beschreibt Kurschat folgenderweise: „Bei dem geschliffenen langen Vocal ruht der Ton anfangs auf einer niedern Tonstufe und erhebt sich dann wie mit einem Sprunge auf eine höhere, so dass bei einer solchen Betonung der Vocal wie aus zwei Theilen zusammengesetzt erscheint". Kurschat vergleicht damit die deutsche Tonerhebung, welche eintritt, „wenn etwa eine Frage mittels eines einzelnen Wortes ausgedrückt wird ....., wie etwa in der deutschen Frage: „Ruhm?" „Ruhm sucht er?" ..... In Noten würde der geschliffene Ton so auszudrücken sein:



bũ - das bũ - das
Dĩẽ - was pỹ - was ".

In den „Erläuternden Vorbemerkungen" zu seinem deutsch-litauischen Wörterbuche [3]) gibt Kurschat eine etwas abweichende Beschreibung des Zirkumflexus, indem er der sprunghaften Tonerhebung eine Senkung

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1) F. de Saussure, *Mém. Soc. Ling.* VIII (1894), 426.
2) F. Kurschat, *Grammatik der littauischen Sprache* (1876), S. 58 f.
3) F. Kurschat, *Deutsch-littauisches Wtb.* (1870), S. XIII.

vorausgehen lässt, wodurch die Aussprache zweigipflig wird: „Bei der geschliffenen Betonung einer Sylbe verweilt der Ton anfangs in einer niedern Lage, senkt sich dann auch wohl noch etwas und erhebt sich schliesslich auf eine höhere Stufe, etwa so, wie bei uns sich im Deutschen der Ton in solchen Fragen erhebt, wo das gefragte Wort am Schluss des Satzes steht". Dass die Tonsenkung mitten in der geschleiften „tranche vocalique", wenn Kurschat sie richtig wahrgenommen hat, so doch jedenfalls sehr gering ist, das ergibt sich daraus, dass in dem Abschnitte über die „Betonung der Diphthongen" [1]) von demselben Kurschat kein Wort über dieselbe gesagt wird: beim zirkumflektierten Diphthonge „herrscht stets der zweite Vocal der Lautverbindung vor, so dass der Ton über dem stets kurzen ersten in niedrigerer Schwebe leicht hinweggleitet und, auf den zweiten gelangt, sich auf eine höhere Stufe erhebt und so ruhen bleibt".

Für Eingipflichkeit des litauischen Zirkumflexus hat sich auch Masing ausgesprochen [2]). Dieser hat auch die expiratorische Seite der Intonation in Betracht gezogen, indem er meint, „dass der geschliffene Ton des Lit. auch nach den von Kurschat beschriebenen Eigenschaften nicht als bloss musikalischer aufgefasst werden darf, die beschriebene Tonbewegung vielmehr wesentlich nicht Anderes ist, als der im Ganzen gerade entsprechende Tonreflex einer bestimmten Expirationsbewegung". Masing bekämpft die Ansicht von Sievers, der den litauischen Zirkumflexus als in expiratorischer Hinsicht zweigipflig bezeichnet hatte [3]). In den spätern Auflagen seiner „Grundzüge" hat Sievers Masing gegenüber an seiner ursprünglichen Ansicht festgehalten [4]); auch in tonischer Hinsicht zweifelt er an der Richtigkeit von Masings Auffassung [5]).

Sievers hatte an der von Masing bekämpften Stelle den ersten Gipfel des litauischen Zirkumflexes für energischer als den zweiten gehalten. Dadurch erinnert er an die von Leskien im Jahre 1893 ausgesprochene Ansicht, nach welcher sowohl der Akut wie der Zirkumflexus fallende Intonationen seien; sogar hörte Leskien nach der Senkung den von Sievers angenommenen zweiten Gipfel gar nicht [6]). Sowohl den Akut wie den Zirkumflex hielt Leskien für fallend: „der Unterschied besteht nur darin, dass bei jenem [dem Akut] der höhere (stärkere) Theil der Silbe längere Dauer hat als der niedere (schwächere), der letztere nicht ausgehalten wird", bei dem Zirkumflexe dagegen „zerfällt die Silbe, was die Betonung betrifft — nur diese, denn der Expirationsstrom ist continuierlich — in zwei gleiche oder annähernd gleiche Theile, einen höheren

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1) F. Kurschat, *aaO.*, S. XIV.

2) L. Masing, *Die Hauptformen des serbisch-chorwatischen Accents* (1876), S. 47 ff., Fussnote 2 zu S. 47.

3) E. Sievers, *Grundzüge der Lautphysiologie* (1876), S. 116 f.

4) E. Sievers, *Grundzüge der Phonetik*[4] (1893), S. 209, § 571,—[5] (1901), S. 227, § 607.

5) „Zweigipflige Silben mit einfach steigendem oder fallendem Ton sind wohl mehr als problematisch".

6) A. Leskien, *Untersuchungen über Quantität und Betonung in den slavischen Sprachen. I. Die Quantität im Serbischen. B. C.* (1893), S. 26 [552] f.

(stärkeren) und einen tieferen (schwächeren)". Obgleich Leskien selber den Zirkumflex als eine eingipflige fallende Intonation hört, kann er zugeben, dass, vielleicht local, vielleicht überall „eine leise Wiedererhebung oder Verstärkung im zweiten Theile der Silbe stattfindet, ein zweigipfliger Accent eintritt"; dieser zweite Gipfel sei aber tiefer und schwächer als der erste, genau so wie Sievers in 1876 angenommen hatte.

Später hat Leskien seine Meinung über den Zirkumflexus geändert. In seinem Lesebuch [1]) nennt er den gestossenen Ton fallend, den geschleiften steigend, und zur Erläuterung dieser Namen schreibt er Folgendes: „Man kann sich den Unterschied der fallenden und steigenden Intonation versinnlichen, wenn man die langen Silben als zweimorig (= zwei Kürzen) ansetzt. Bei fallender Intonation liegt Tonstärke und Tonhöhe auf der ersten Mora, bei steigender [2]) auf der zweiten:

fallend *sūnų* = *sŭ̄nų*, steigend *būdas* = *bŭ̄das*".

Im Gegensatz zu den bisher zitierten Forschern leugnet Gauthiot [3]) für den Zirkumflexus den Parallelismus zwischen „intonation de hauteur" und „intonation d'intensité". „Dans le cas de la rude, le premier et le second de ces éléments coïncident et sont tous les deux descendants; dans celui de la douce, le premier est simplement ascendant, tandis que le second est descendant puis ascendant. En sorte qu'une tranche rude comporte un sommet de hauteur initial et un sommet d'intensité, initial lui aussi, et qu'une tranche douce se distingue par la présence de *deux* sommets d'intensité, l'un au début, l'autre à la finale, et d'*un* seul sommet musical, à la finale".

Bei Baranowski-Weber spielt der Begriff „More" eine grosse Rolle. Wir begegneten diesem Worte bereits bei Leskien, dieser gebraucht es aber bloss als eine bequeme Formel um das Wesen des steigenden bezw. fallenden Tones begreiflich zu machen. Für Baranowski-Weber aber hat die More eine grössere Realität: eine Silbe bestehe aus einer, zwei oder drei Moren, und was man oft die Akzentbewegung oder die Intonation nennt, sei nichts Anderes als die Hervorhebung einer der Moren einer Silbe durch den Akzent, der „nicht ein dreifacher, auch nicht ein zweifacher, sondern ein einfacher und ein in allen Formen und in allen Dialekten gleichmässiger" sei [4]); z. B.:

pàs hat den Akzent auf einer einmorigen Silbe,
bādas, *lĩjo*, zweimorig, = *bā̀das*, *lĩ̀jo* [5]),
bérnas, *waikāms* [6]), dreimorig, = *bé̀rnas*, *waikā̀ms*,
stóti, dreimorig: ⏝◡◡, *wõgti*, *szweñtas*, ebenfalls dreimorig: ◡◡⏝.

Wenn wir von den Quantitätsunterschieden zwischen den Dialekten

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1) A. Leskien, *Litauisches Lesebuch mit Gramm. und Wtb.* (1919), S. 127 f.
2) So ist anstatt des lapsus calami „fallender" zu lesen.
3) R. Gauthiot, *Le parler de Buividze* (1903), S. 28.
4) A. Baranowski und H. Weber, *Ostlitauische Texte*, I (1882), S. XXIII. S. jetzt auch F. Specht, *Litauische dialekt. Texte aus Russisch-Litauen nach den Sammlungen A. Baranowskis aus dem H. Weberschen Nachlasse. Grammat. Einleitung* (1920), S. 24 ff.
5) Wegen der Länge des *i* s. § 8.
6) Die Kurschatsche Betonung *waikáms* kennen B.-W. nicht.

abstrahieren und den allzu schematischen Charakter der Baranowski-Weberschen Theorie in unserm Geiste zu mässigeren Proportionen reduzieren, so ist es klar, dass die Auffassung dieser Gelehrten derjenigen von Kurschat und Masing sehr nahe steht. Man beachte noch diese Worte von Baranowski-Weber: „Mit der Tonverstärkung aber ist bei dem litauischen Accente auch eine Tonerhöhung verbunden, von welcher bei gestossener Betonung in mittelzeitigen und langen Vokalen der Ton wieder herabsinkt oder zu welcher er bei schleifender Betonung aufsteigt" [1]).

Wichtig sind m.E. die Resultate von Ekbloms experimentellen Untersuchungen [2]), wenn auch das Material wenig umfangreich ist. Bezüglich der Intensität bietet Ekblom nichts Neues, was dem Fehlen einer „völlig befriedigende[n] und einwandfreie[n] Methode zur Bestimmung der Variationen der Druckstärke" zuzuschreiben ist; bloss wird das Fehlen eines „Tonbruches", wie ihn das Dänische und das Lettische kennen, konstatiert. Was die musikalische Betonung anbetrifft, so ergab sich für den Zirkumflex „ein deutlicher, gleichmässiger Tonanstieg", für den Akut „eine bogenförmige Kurve, die zuerst rasch, dann langsamer ansteigt, um dann in einen meist ziemlich steilen Abfall überzugehen, wobei die Kurve zu Ende des betonten Vokals etwas niedriger liegt als zu Beginn derselben". Diese Definitionen beruhen auf der Untersuchung der Wörter *mãno* und *lýnas*, solcher Wörter also, wo die umgebenden Konsonanten die Tonbewegung nicht beeinflussen konnten [3]). Für den Zirkumflexus konstatiert Ekblom weiter „eine Neigung zur Zweigipflichkeit" und zwar nicht bloss nach einer Tenuis, welche auch sonst den Anfang eines folgenden Vokales hebt *(tỹkus, kãmpas, tàkas, pàdas)*, sondern auch bei dem Worte *vãrnas*. Der Akut wird gewöhnlich als eine einfach fallende Intonation aufgefasst; Ekblom versucht nachzuweisen, weshalb man gewöhnlich die Tonbewegung des Akutes auf eine solche Weise empfunden hat, betont aber, dass er seinem Wesen nach steigend-fallend ist.

Dies sind die Hauptergebnisse von Ekbloms Untersuchung der langen Intonationen bei seiner wichtigsten Versuchsperson, welche aus Liaskowo, ungefähr in der Mitte zwischen Kowno und Mariampol (Senapilė) stammt. In andern Gegenden ist die Aussprache oft eine andere. So konstatiert Ekblom [4]) für eine Person aus der Gegend zwischen Kowno und Wilna einen Akut, dessen steigender Teil „durchschnittlich mindestens ebenso lang wie der fallende" war, während der Zirkumflex „im allgemeinen einen äusserst kräftigen Anstieg" zeigte und kaum zweigipflig gesprochen wurde. Eine dritte Versuchsperson, aus Eiragola, nordwestlich von Kowno, sprach den Akut ungefähr ebenso wie der Herr aus Liaskowo, bei dem

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1) A. Baranowski und H. Weber, *aaO.*, S. XXIX. S. auch die Fussnote daselbst.

2) R. Ekblom, *Zum Wortakzent im Südlitauischen. Le Monde Oriental* XI (1917), S. 227 ff. [Der S.-A. ist datiert: 1918]. S. 229—238 sind der „Intonation", S. 239—243 der „Intensität" gewidmet.

3) S. E. A. Meyer, *Zur Tonbewegung des Vokals im gesprochenen und gesungenen Einzelwort* (*Neuere Sprachen* X, 1897), S. 18, zitiert von R. Ekblom, *aaO.*, S. 229.

4) R. Ekblom, *aaO.*, S. 237.

Zirkumflexe aber war „der letzte Teil entschieden fallend". An die Tonbewegung dieser dritten Person erinnerte diejenige der vierten aus Nordostlitauen; hier lieferten aber die Untersuchungen kaum zuverlässige Ergebnisse. Diese Resultate von Ekbloms Beobachtungen zeigen uns, dass die weit auseinander gehenden Beschreibungen, welche die bisherigen Forscher von den litauischen Intonationen gegeben haben, teilweise aus tatsächlichen Unterschieden in der Aussprache der von ihnen beobachteten Personen zu erklären sind [1]). In diesem Zusammenhange möchte ich noch an die Mitteilung von Jaunys erinnern, dass im Żemaitischen der litauische Zirkumflexus steigend-fallend sei [2]), wozu die Beobachtungen Ekbloms bezüglich der vom żemaitischen Gebiete nicht weit entfernten [3]) Mundart von Eiragola aufs schönste stimmen.

Aus der Arbeit Ekbloms ergibt sich die Wichtigkeit weiterer Untersuchungen über die dialektische Aussprache der Intonationen. Im Allgemeinen kann man sagen, dass bei dem litauischen Akut das Ende der „tranche vocalique" dem Anfange gegenüber bedeutend zurücktritt — was auch aus dem dialektischen Schwunde des zweiten Komponenten akutierter Diphthonge hervorgeht [4]) —, während das bei dem Zirkumflexus nicht der Fall ist, welcher im Allgemeinen als musikalisch steigend betrachtet werden muss. Nach Ekbloms Untersuchungen müssen wir jedenfalls für einen Teil des litauischen Gebietes einen Zirkumflexus mit fallendem letztem Teile annehmen, während auf einem ausgedehnten Dialektgebiete, wenn nicht auf dem ganzen litauischen Sprachgebiet, der Akut mit einer Tonsteigung anfängt [5]). Vielleicht würde eine eingehende Untersuchung der dialektischen Intonationen über das Verhältnis der litauischen Ton- und Akzentbewegung zu derjenigen des Lettischen und Altpreussischen neues Licht verbreiten.

Es wäre erwünscht, dass man auch der kurzen Intonation ˈ etwas mehr Aufmerksamkeit widmete als bisher geschehen ist. Ekblom hat auch das ˈ untersucht, und er gelangte dabei zum Ergebnisse, dass dasselbe einen ähnlichen Verlauf der Tonbewegung zeigt wie der Akut [6]). Dieses Ergebnis ist deshalb sehr auffällig, weil die Kürze sich dem Akzentverschiebungsgesetze De Saussures gegenüber gerade so verhält wie der Zirkumflex und nicht wie der Akut.

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1) R. Ekblom, *aaO.*, S. 238.

2) K. Jaunys, in Gukovskij's *Opisanie Rossienskago učzda* (1893), S. 27.

3) S. J. Rozwadowski's Karte in dem Sammelband *Polska i Litwa w dziejowym stosunku* (1914).

4) S. z.B. A. Leskien, *Unters. üb. Quant. u. Bet. I BC* (1893), S. 27 [553].

5) Bekanntlich gibt es eine altlitauische Grammatik, die Wilna'er *Universitas linguarum Litvaniae* von 1737, welche die Intonationen ganz richtig unterschieden hat; die Beschreibungen der Tonbewegung sind leider vom Standpunkte der jetzigen Wissenschaft ungenügend. Vielleicht war der Zirkumflex zweigipflig: „Accentus circumflexus notat syllabam longam, pronuntiandam quasi duplicando vocalem"; die akutierte Silbe bezeichnet der Verfasser als eine „syllabam longam quidem, sed diversae longitudinis a circumflexa et cum attenuatione quadam vocis efferendam" (S. 4; S. 2f. der Ausgabe von Rozwadowski v. J. 1896).

6) R. Ekblom, *aaO.*, S. 229 und 237.

§ 7. Die Intonationen nichthaupttoniger Silben.

Nicht bloss in haupttonigen, sondern auch in nichthaupttonigen Silben ist das Vorkommen von mehr als einer Intonation sehr gut möglich. Für eine ältere Periode des Litauischen (bezw. des Baltischen) sind zwei verschiedene Intonationen nichthaupttoniger Silben sogar nachweisbar. Erstens beweist das De Saussuresche Gesetz, gemäss welchem ein nachhaupttoniger Akut den Akzent in gewissen Fällen herangezogen hat [1]), für die Periode, wo dieses Gesetz wirkte, die Unterscheidung von nachhaupttonigem Akut und Zirkumflex. Zweitens ergibt sich diese selbe Unterscheidung aus der Leskienschen Regel, dass ein auslautender Akut gekürzt wird [2]); denn diese Kürzung ist ebensogut in barytonierten wie in oxytonierten Formen eingetreten, und dem Gegensatze *galvà : galvõs* entspricht bei einem Barytonon der Gegensatz *várnă : várnōs*. Drittens dürfen wir aus der Tatsache, dass das sogen. „mobile" litauische Paradigma vokalischer Stämme auf eine ältere akutierte Flexion zurückgeht [3]), den Schluss ziehen, dass der Intonationsunterschied etwa zwischen *mer̃gai*, *mer̃gą* und *gálvai*, *gálvą* oder zwischen *dẽ̃vas*, *-o*, *-ui*, *-ą* und *kélmas*, *-o*, *-ui*, *-ą* auch damals bestanden hat, als diese Formen noch Endbetonung hatten.

Im jetzigen Litauischen scheinen die Verhältnisse sich geändert zu haben. Jaunys, der bekanntlich ein vorzüglicher Kenner der lebenden litauischen Sprache und ihrer Mundarten ist, hat uns gelehrt, dass im Neulitauischen eine nachhaupttonige Länge unabhängig von ihrer ursprünglichen Intonation fallend und eine vorhaupttonige Länge steigend gesprochen wird [4]): *párplaukė* hat ein fallend intoniertes, m. a. W. stosstoniges (akutiertes) *au*, sowohl als Zusammensetzung von *pláukė* ‘er spross’ wie als Zusammensetzung von *plaũkė* ‘er schwamm’; anderseits werden sowohl *varpẽlė* (von *várpa* ‘Ähre’) wie *varpẽlis* (von *vaı̃rpas* ‘Glocke’) mit steigendem, d. h. schleiftonigem (zirkumflektiertem) *ar* gesprochen [5]). Auch Baranowski kennt vor dem Haupttone nur die steigende Länge [6]), ebenso Gauthiot [7]), welcher darin von Baranowski abweicht, dass er den sekundären Zirkumflex der Pänultima von *szirdìs*, *burnà*, *sūnùs* für gekürzt hält („tranche brève" = Baranowski's „mittelzeitige Silbe"). Vgl. auch Hirts Bemerkungen über „die Natur des litauischen Akzentes und die Quantitäten" [8]), welche sich auf ostlitauische Mundarten beschränken und, auch was die Quantität van *szirdìs* (mit dreimorigem *ir̃*) anbetrifft, Baranowski vollständig recht geben.

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1) S. § 14. 2) S. § 32.

3) S. § 22 f.

4) K. Jaunys, *Ponevėžskie govory litovskago jazyka*, in Gukovskij's Buch: *Ponevėžskij uězd* (1898), S. 94. S. J. Endzelin, *BB.* XXV (1899), 261 Fussn. 2, A. Leskien, *IFA.* XIII (1902/3), 94.

5) Vgl. damit die von Leskien, *aaO.* S. 94 nach Jaunys angeführten Formen *gỹva* (< *gyvà*), *saulė'tekis* (: *sáulė* mit ursprünglichem *ẽ̃*).

6) A. Baranowski, *Zamětki o litovskom jazykě i slovarě* (im LXV. *Sbornik otdělenija russkago jazyka i slovesnosti*, 1899), S. 32; s. A. Leskien, *IFA.* XIII, 82.

7) R. Gauthiot, *Le parler de Buividze* (1903), S. 29.

8) H. Hirt, *IF.* X (1899), 38 ff.

Eine ganz andere Auffassung der nichthaupttonigen Intonationen glaube ich aus der jüngsten Erörterung dieser Frage durch Leskien [1]) herauslesen zu müssen: „Der Unterschied der Intonationen gilt nicht nur für haupttonige, sondern auch für nebentonige (unbetonte) Silben und tritt hervor, wenn eine solche im Wechsel der Formen haupttonig wird, z. B. *rankà* Hand gen. *rañkos*, *galvà* Kopf akk. *gálvę*". Ich kann diese Worte nicht anders begreifen als so, dass auch die Pänultima von *rankà* und diejenige von *galvà* verschieden intoniert werden; das ist aber für das Neulitauische kaum richtig angesichts des Zirkumflexes bei jüngerer Akzentzurückziehung: dial. *sūnus*, *gỹva* usw. [2]). Künftigen Forschungen sei es überlassen, auszumachen, inwiefern vielleicht dialektisch der ursprüngliche Unterschied zwischen nichthaupttonigem Zirkumflex und Akut bewahrt geblieben ist; auf dem grössten Teile des Sprachgebietes gelten jetzt ohne jeden Zweifel jüngere Regeln [3]).

§ 8. Die Quantitäten.

Im Vorhergehenden habe ich die litauischen Intonationen besprochen, ohne mehr als unbedingt nötig war auf Quantitätsverhältnisse einzugehen. Wegen der mannigfachen Beziehungen zwischen Quantität und Intonation und Akzentstelle kommt es mir aber erwünscht vor, der Quantität eine spezielle Besprechung zu widmen, zumal weil es in den litauischen Dialekten zwei Quantitätssysteme gibt, deren eines von Kurschat, das andere von Baranowski beschrieben wurde, und weil ein Teil der Forscher mit dem einen, andere mit dem zweiten Systeme zu operieren pflegen.

Das System von Kurschat unterscheidet nur zwei Quantitäten, die kurze und die lange. Kurz sind in nichthaupttonigen Silben die Vokale *a*, *e*, *i*, *u*, lang sind in derselben Stellung *o*, *ė*, *y*, *ū*, *į*, *ų*, *ę*, *ę̃*, *ė̃*, *ų̃* und alle Verbindungen eines Vokales mit *i*, *u*, *l*, *r*, *m*, *n*. All diese langen Vokale und sonstigen „tranches vocaliques" sind auch unter dem Hauptakzente lang, ausserdem werden hier *a*, *e* gewöhnlich gedehnt (zu *ā*, *ē*), während *i*, *u* kurz bleiben (*ì*, *ù*), ebenso auch *a*, *e* in gewissen Formkategorien:

kèpti, *kèpsiu*, *kèpczau*, *kèpdavau*, *kèptas*, *kèpdinu*, *kèpdamas*, *kèpk*, — *stàptelėti*,

àt-imu, *àp-riszu*,

geràs-is, — *kàs*, *tàs*, — *àsz*, — *pàs*.

Für die auslautenden Silben gilt eine spezielle Regel, welche Leskien folgenderweise formuliert hat: „Von den ursprünglichen langen Endsilben haben die mit geschliffener Betonung die alte Länge bewahrt, die mit gestossener aber verkürzt" [4]). Daher einerseits *rankà*, *bóbă*, *gerà* (: *geróii*), *sukù* (: *sukŭ-s*), *dúgŭ* (: *dúgŭ-s*), anderseits *rankõs*, *bóbōs*, *gerõs*, *laĩkō*.

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1) A. Leskien, *Litauisches Lesebuch* (1919), S. 128.

2) S. Fussnote 5 der vorhergehenden Seite.

3) F. Specht, *Grammatische Einleitung* (s. S. 9 Fussn. 4), 39: „Gegen die im Preussischlitauen gültige Regel ist jede ursprünglich stosstonige Silbe steigend, wenn auf sie kurze betonte Silbe folgt, z. B. *súnū* aber *sūnùs*, *gátwū* aber *gătwà* (vgl. Leskien I. A. 18, 82 fg.)".

4) A. Leskien, *Die Quantitätsverhältnisse im Auslaut des Litauischen*. *Archiv f. slav. Philologie* V (1881), 188 ff.

Von diesem Kurschatschen Quantitätssystem weicht dasjenige Baranowskis in mancher Hinsicht ab [1]). In den Mundarten, wo dieses System vorliegt, sind betonte *a*, *e* stets mittelzeitig oder zweimorig, betonte *i*, *u* ebenfalls, dagegen sind die alten Längen: *ė*, *o*, *y*, *ū* wie auch *ą*, *ę*, *į*, *ų*, *ë*, *ů* und die diphthongischen Lautgruppen mit zweitem Gliede *i*, *u*, *l*, *r*, *m*, *n* in haupttoniger Silbe lang oder dreimorig. Unbetonte innere mittelzeitige Silben verlieren eine More, d. h. sie werden kurz; ebenso verlieren unbetonte innere lange Silben eine More, d. h. sie werden mittelzeitig; z. B.: *gẽras* hat zweimoriges, *gerà* einmoriges *e*; ebenso mit *i*: *tīkras : tikrà; žmõgų* hat dreimoriges, der Genitiv *žmogaũs* zweimoriges *o*; ebenso die „tranche vocalique" *ar* in *vařpas : varpaĩ*. Dagegen nimmt Baranowski für *žmogùs*, *varpù* usw., wo auf die Länge eine betonte Kürze folgt, eine vorhaupttonige dreimorige Länge an. Im Auslaut unterscheidet er zwei Quantitäten: Kürze und Mittelzeitigkeit und zwar entspricht Kürze sowohl alter Kürze wie altem Akut: *szirdìs*, *burnà*, Mittelzeitigkeit liegt bei altem Zirkumflexus vor: *gaidỹs*, *laĩko*. Baranowski unterscheidet also drei Quantitäten [2]), deren zwei in haupttonigen Inlautssilben vorkommen und zwar die Länge und die Mittelzeitigkeit; in betonten und unbetonten Auslautssilben begegnen uns kurze und mittelzeitige „tranches", in unbetonten inlautenden Silben ebenfalls, nur vor betonter Kürze tritt Länge auf. Was die Vorgeschichte dieses Systemes anbetrifft, so hielt Baranowski die Quantitäten der haupttonigen Inlautssilben für normal, für die unbetonten Inlautssilben nahm er Kürzung an; Leskien hat die Sache umgedreht, indem er das Baranowskische Quantitätssystem folgenderweise darstellt: [3])

„1. Die normaler Weise zu Grunde liegenden Quantitäten sind einmorige Kürze ⏑ und zweimorige Länge ⏑⏑(–). Die Länge kann fallenden oder steigenden Ton haben.

„2. Stehen diese Quantitäten in Endsilben oder unbetonten inneren Silben, so bleiben sie, wie sie waren, die Kürzen einmorig, die Längen zweimorig, z. B. *ãkìs ãkẽmì*, *dẽvė̀*, *gerõs*, *žolės̃*, *akės̃* usw. Die betonte lange Endsilbe hat stets steigenden Ton.

„3. Stehen Kürzen oder Längen in betonten inneren Silben, so werden sie um 1 More gedehnt, also:

„a) die alten Kürzen werden zweimorig und sind stets steigend betont, z. B. *sãko*, *nẽsza*, *wĩsas*, *rũdas;*

„b) die alten Längen werden dreimorig, je nachdem fallend oder steigend betont, z. B. *tẽvas*, *põnas; pĩrmas*, *pĩrsztas; ťdibas*, *waĩkas*".

Ein ähnliches Quantitätssystem wie das Baranowskische liegt nach Gauthiot in der Mundart von Buividze vor [4]). In der Terminologie weicht Gauthiot von seinem Vorgänger ab, indem er die drei Quantitäten „longue,

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1) A. Baranowski und H. Weber, *Ostlitauische Texte* I (1882), — A. Baranowski, *Zamětki o litovskom jazykě i slovarě* (1899), — Referat davon bei A. Leskien, *Aus Arbeiten litauischer Gelehrter über ihre Sprache*, *IFA.* XIII (1902/3), 79 ff.

2) Dies sind die normalen Quantitäten; daneben noch eine anomale, viermorige Länge durch Vokalschwund, z. B. *szakoms* aus *-omus* oder *-omis*.

3) A. Leskien, *IFA.* XIII, 80 f.

4) R. Gauthiot, *Le parler de Buividze* (1903), S. 15 ff.

brève, ultra-brève" nennt. Die „longue" ist „propre aux voyelles longues anciennes ainsi qu'aux diphtongues lorsqu'elles sont sous l'accent", die „brève" ist „propre aux brèves anciennes accentuées et aux longues et diphtongues inaccentuées et abrégées", die „ultra-brève" ist „réservée aux brèves non intenses de quantité réduite". Kürzung tritt ein in „syllabes inaccentuées intérieures", aber wenn eine solche Silbe in andern Formen desselben Paradigmas betont war, kann auch in nichthaupttoniger Stellung die Kürzung unterbleiben.

Insofern weicht Gauthiot von Leskien ab, als er die in haupttonigen inlautenden Silben vorliegenden Quantitäten für ursprünglich hält und für die nichthaupttonigen Silben Kürzung annimmt. Weil wir die Lautdauer weit zurückliegender Perioden nicht bestimmen können, muss diese Sache unentschieden bleiben. Wenn Gauthiot recht haben sollte, so ist seine Terminologie richtiger als diejenige Baranowskis. Noch in einem andern Punkte weicht Gauthiot von Leskien, diesmal auch von Baranowski, ab, und zwar hält er sowohl das *-à* von *runkà*, wie das *-õ-* von *runkõs* für zweimorig: im ersten Falle seien nach dem Vokale noch „vibrations" vorhanden, die man zwar nicht höre, aber die trotzdem existieren. Obgleich Gauthiot sich dabei auf experimentelle Untersuchungen beruft [1]), muss ich gestehen seiner Ansicht skeptisch gegenüberzustehen; ich frage mich, ob Gauthiot nicht allzuviel bestrebt gewesen ist, das Quantitätssystem zu normalisieren [2]).

Baranowskis Quantitätssystem hat bei gewissen Gelehrten, u. A. Hirt [3]), Zweifel an der Richtigkeit von Kurschats Auffassung der Quantitäten hervorgerufen. Es ist aber seit langem klar geworden, dass dieser Zweifel unbegründet war und dass die zwei Systeme beide existieren, das eine in einer Dialektgruppe, das zweite in andern Mundarten. Hirt selber hat das bereits im Jahre 1899 anerkannt [4]) und die Einwände Bezzenbergers gegen seine frühere Ansicht [5]) für richtig erklärt. Etwas später hat Leskien den westeuropäischen Gelehrten die von Jaunys beschriebenen Verhältnisse der Mundart von Velûna mitgeteilt [6]), wo das Kurschatsche System vorliegt; einige Abweichungen sind *gerèsnis*, *k'ãptas*, *k'ãbdinu*. Auch in Chveidany sind, wie in Kurschats Dialekt, haupttonige *i* und *u* kurz [7]). Das Kurschatsche System gilt auch für die von Ekblom untersuchte süd-russischlitauische Mundart, wo einerseits die betonten Vokale *ã*, *ẽ* ebenso lang gesprochen werden wie etwa *ỹ*, *aũ*, *aĩ*, anderseits *ì*, *ù* bedeutend kürzer sind [8]). Auch Ekbloms ostlitauische Versuchs-

1) R. Gauthiot, *De l'accent et de la quantité en lituanien*, *La Parole* 1900, 143 ff.
2) Dieselbe Neigung hatte auch Baranowski; s. A. Leskien, *IFA.* XIII, 84 f.
3) H. Hirt, *Der idg. Akzent* (1895).
4) H. Hirt, *IF.* X (1899), 38 f.
5) A. Bezzenberger, *BB.* XXI (1896), 291 ff. (Anzeige von Hirt's „Akzent").
6) A. Leskien, *IFA.* XIII, 97.
7) A. Leskien, *aaO.*, 96 (nach Jaunys).
8) R. Ekblom, *Le Monde Oriental* XI (1917/18), 244. Die „tranches vocaliques" mit ~ haben durchschnittlich eine Quantität von 27.5 Hundertstel Sekunden, diejenigen mit ' von 27.2 (*ir*, *il* 25.8), *ì*, *ù* dagegen von 9.2 Hundertstel Sekunden. Bei *ìr*, *ìl* ist das *i* beinahe zweimal so lang als *r*, *l*, so dass die Schreibweise *ír*, *íl* genauer wäre.

person sprach ì, ù kurz, ẽ, ã aber ebenso lang wie alte Längen [1]).

Es wäre erwünscht, dass man die lokale Ausdehnung der zwei Quantitätssysteme einmal genau untersuchte. Für die Vorgeschichte der litauischen Sprache könnte eine solche Untersuchung wichtige Ergebnisse liefern. Es ist klar, dass das Baranowskische System in einigen wichtigen Punkten altertümlicher ist als das Kurschatsche; der Quantitätsunterschied zwischen ã, ẽ einerseits und é, ẽ, ó, õ usw. anderseits ist aus der idg. Grundsprache ererbt, und die Aufhebung dieses Unterschiedes ist eine Neuerung. Auch der quantitative Unterschied zwischen ì, ù einerseits und ã, ẽ anderseits, so wie er im Kurschatschen Systeme vorliegt, muss sekundär sein [2]). Eine Art Übergangsetat zwischen den beiden Quantitätssystemen begegnet uns in der Universitas linguarum Litvaniae, welche im Allgemeinen die Baranowskischen Verhältnisse zeigt, aber speziell das e oft von demselben Akzentzeichen versieht, das sonst nur bei alten Längen gebraucht wird: *pažìnote, nusìdedu; bùta, mùdu; àkmenio, kialàwo; règia, sèsuo*, daneben aber *mêdis, arêlis, sêserij* usw. [3]). Bekanntlich bezeichnet in der Universitas das Zeichen ^ die zirkumflektierte Aussprache langer Monophthonge: *arklîs, êjaw, pônas, jûs* usw. während ', welches in auslautenden Silben „notat eas singulari brevitate pronuntiandas", in nicht-auslautenden Silben eine von ^ und dem durch littera antiqua bezeichneten Akut abweichende Länge andeutet; aus den Fällen, wo das Zeichen ' gebraucht wird, geht hervor, dass es in nichtletzten Silben Baranowskis Mittelzeitigkeit andeutet [4]).

B. Das Lettische.

§ 9. Das Lettische hat den freien Akzent durch Anfangbetonung ersetzt. Es unterscheidet lange und kurze Silben, und die Längen können in einem Teil der Mundarten auf zwei, in andern auf drei verschiedene Weisen intoniert werden [5]).

Eine Aussprache mit zwei Intonationen kennen wir aus Bielensteins

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1) R. Ekblom, *aaO.*, S. 247 Fussnote 3. Die Versuchsperson stammt aus Scheiniuni, ungefähr 60 Kilometer östlich von Kowno.

2) Vgl. R. Ekblom, *aaO.*, S. 247 f., wo die neuenglischen Quantitäten verglichen werden.

3) Das vollständige Material führt Rozwadowski *IF.* VII (1897), 244 f. an; s. auch das. S. 264 f.

4) S. Rozwadowskis Übersicht über das Quantitätssystem der Universitas, *IF.* VII, 260 ff.

5) Fräulein A. P. Abel gibt *Izvěstija* XX (1916), 2, 193 f. für die Quantitäten der Gegend um Wolmar folgende Zahlen:

Kürze 8—17,	durchschnittlich	12	Hundertstel	Sekunden,
Dehnton 20—40,	„	30	„	„ ,
Fallender Ton 22—36,	„	28	„	„ ,
Stosston 18—50,	„	25	„	„ .

Diese Zahlen geben uns das Recht, bloss zwei Quantitäten, die Länge und die Kürze, zu unterscheiden. Vgl. damit H. Schmidt-Wartenberg, *IF.* X (1899), 144, wo ebenfalls konstatiert wird (auf grund phonetischer Untersuchungen), dass zwischen den langen Intonationen quantitativ kein Unterschied vorhanden ist.

Buche „Die lettische Sprache" [1]). Bielenstein unterscheidet einen gedehnten und einen gestossenen Ton. Bei dem gedehnten Tone, sagt er, ist die Aussprache kontinuierlich, der Ton liegt in der Mitte; bei dem gestossenen Tone aber „hebt der Ictus das erste Element vor dem zweiten nachdrücklich hervor und lässt das vom ersten gewissermassen abgebrochene, gewissermassen durch ein freilich unendlich kleines Vacuum vom ersten getrennte zweite Element leicht und kurz nachhallen". Bielenstein bezeichnet die gedehnten Längen folgenderweise:

â, ê, î, û; ĕ, ŏ [= ë, ů]; ai, ei, au, ui, iu,

die gestossenen aber:

á, é, í, ú; ĺ [= ë], ů; ái, éi, áu, úi, íu.

Leider hat Hirt diese Bielensteinschen Transskriptionen durch andere ersetzt [2]), indem er für den Stosston das Zeichen ˆ, für den Dehnton das Zeichen ´ verwendet (*á*, *ái* usw.).

Das Intonationssystem mit drei Intonationen, dessen Existenz schon lange bekannt war, ist zuerst von Endzelin in einer von allen Fachgenossen gelesenen Zeitschrift ausführlich besprochen worden [3]). Jetzt liegt es noch in vielen mittellettischen Mundarten vor [4]); wahrscheinlich aber hat es einmal im ganzen lettischen Sprachgebiete bestanden; in vielen Gegenden aber, u. a. in den meisten westlichen Mundarten (Westkurland und Küstendialekte von Livland), wurde der fallende Ton durch den Stosston ersetzt, und in den hochlettischen Dialekten fiel der Dehnton mit dem fallenden Tone zusammen. Die Qualität der drei Intonationen hat Endzelin im Anschluss an die Beschreibung Lindes folgenderweise bestimmt [5]): bei dem gedehnten Tone „nimmt nach Linde die Stimme gegen das Ende des Diphthonges (*au*, *ĭr*, *ân*) oder langen Vocales (*ā*) an Stärke und Höhe zu, was freilich in der alltäglichen Aussprache sich nicht sehr bemerkbar macht, so dass die Angabe Bielensteins, der Ton liege bei gedehnter Aussprache (bei Diphthongen) „zwischen oder auf beiden Elementen in der Mitte" sich begreifen lässt". Beim fallenden Tone ist „der Ton anfangs stärker und höher und sinkt darauf allmählich". Beim Stosstone „ist der Stimmton auch im Anfange stärker, dann aber tritt Verschluss der Stimmbänder ein, worauf (wie Linde sich ausdrückt) der zweite schwache Teil nicht mehr laut, sondern im Flüstertone folgt". Zu dieser Auffassung stimmt im Allgemeinen diejenige Schmidt-Wartenbergs, welcher freilich nur die expiratorischen Eigenschaften der Intonation berücksichtigt hat [6]). Darin weicht Schmidt-

1) A. Bielenstein, *Die lettische Sprache*, I (1863), S. 32 ff.

2) H. Hirt, *Der indogermanische Akzent* (1895), S. 69.

3) J. Endzelin, *Über den lettischen Silbenaccent*, *BB.* XXV (1899), 259 ff.; — einige Berichtigungen enthält der Aufsatz Endzelins *Zamětki k latyńskoj akcentovkě*, *Izvěstija* VI (1903), 4, 140 ff. Über ältere Literatur s. *BB.* XXV, 259 ff., H. Schmidt-Wartenberg, *IF.* X (1899), 117 ff. In 1901 erschien P. Schmidt's Arbeit *Trojakaja dolgota v latyšskom jazykě* im LXVII. *Sbornik otd. r. jaz. i slov.*

4) J. Endzelin, *BB.* XXV, 261 f., hauptsächlich *Izvěstija* VI, 4, 143 ff.

5) J. Endzelin, *BB.* XXV, 259 f. — Lindes Aufsatz *Beitrag zur Phonetik der lettischen Sprachlaute* erschien *Magazin der lettisch-literärischen Gesellschaft* XVI, 2, 43 ff.

6) H. Schmidt-Wartenberg, *Phonetische Untersuchungen zum lettischen Akzent*. *IF.* X (1899), 117 ff.

Wartenberg von Endzelin ab, dass er bei dem Stosston den Glottisverschluss bloss als eine mögliche, aber nicht notwendige Begleiterscheinung betrachtet [1]). Ebenso urteilt auf grund eingehender experimenteller Untersuchungen Fräulein Abel [2]), welche im Allgemeinen zu ähnlichen Ergebnissen gelangt ist wie Linde und Schmidt-Wartenberg. Fräulein Abel hat auch die Kürze untersucht: für diese ist speziell die Quantität charakteristisch, die Expirations- und Tonbewegung sind gewöhnlich steigend, brauchen es aber nicht zu sein. Für den gedehnten Ton (voschod'aščij dolgij) konstatierte sie eine musikalische Steigung; gewöhnlich nimmt auch die Expirationskraft zu. Der fallende Ton (nischod'aščaja dolgota) ist in musikalischer Hinsicht fallend, gewöhnlich auch in expiratorischer; der Senkung geht eine Steigung voran, welche aber nicht das charakteristische Element der Intonation bildet. Der Stosston (udarenie preryvistoje) hat als Hauptmerkmal eine plötzliche Intensitätsschwächung, womit eine Änderung des Stimmtimbre zusammengeht; darauf folgt eine Pause, nach welcher bisweilen die Stimme wieder etwas kräftiger wird. Der bisweilen vorkommende Glottisverschluss ist nur eine „mehr oder weniger zufällige Begleiterscheinung" („javlenie soputstvujuščee, bolĕe ili menĕe slučajnoe") [3]).

Was die Bezeichnung der Intonationen in der Schrift anbetrifft, so bediene ich mich der von Endzelin verwendeten Zeichen:

˜ für Dehnton, z. B. *sveĩks*,

ˈ für fallenden Ton, z. B. *dèvs*,

ˆ für Stosston, z. B. *dzîvs*.

Bielenstein hat nicht nur für haupttonige, sondern auch für nachhaupttonige Silben das Vorhandensein zweier Intonationen angenommen, wenn auch die Intonation „in den stark betonten Wurzelsylben mehr ins Ohr fällt, als in den weniger hervorgehobenen Nebensylben" [4]); auch Endzelin unterscheidet in den nichthaupttonigen Silben zwei Intonationen, „den gestossenen [Silbenaccent], z. B. in *pameîta*, *bèdîgs*, und einen einfach langen, fallenden Ton (wenngleich das Fallen hier nicht so deutlich wie unter dem Wortaccent hervortritt), in den der gedehnte und der fallende Ton des Wortaccentes beraubt zusammenfallen" [5]).

1) Die Resultate seiner Untersuchung der Intonationsqualitäten fasst der Verfasser *aaO.*, S. 144 folgenderweise zusammen: „der gedehnte Ton ist expiratorisch steigend oder eben, der fallende setzt mit stärkerem Ton ein und sinkt gegen Schluss, der gestossene Ton teilt den Vokal resp. Diphthong in zwei Teile, zum Ausdruck gebracht durch Hervorstossen des zweiten Teils, dem ein Glottisverschluss vorangehen kann, der aber meist durch blosse Stimmschwächung ersetzt wird .... Musikalische Momente gestalten die möglichen Varianten ein und desselben Akzents vielleicht akustisch einheitlicher".

2) A. P. Abel, *Ob akcentuacii udarennych prostych glasnych v latyšskom jazykĕ*, *Izvĕstija* XX (1916), 2, 152 ff. Vgl. daselbst passim über die im Texte nicht von mir zitierte Literatur: Bogorodickij, *De l'accent lette* im 3. Bd. der *Revue de phonétique*, — J. Poirot, *Sur l'accent lette*, *Vox*, Heft 5 (1913), — G. Plakis, *Opyt eksperimental'no-fonetičeskago izslĕdovanija latyšskago udarenija*, *Russkij filol. Vĕstnik*, 1914, Heft III u. IV.

3) Ich referiere sehr kurz bloss die akustischen Definitionen von Fräulein Abel. Sie hat aber auch der artikulatorischen Seite der Intonationen ihre Aufmerksamkeit gewidmet. 4) A. Bielenstein, *Die lettische Sprache* I (1863), S. 33.

5) J. Endzelin, *BB.* XXV, 260. S. auch Endzelins Aufsatz *Intonationen der Suffixsilben*, *IF.* XXXIII (1913/14), 105 ff.

§ 10. Das Verhältnis der lettischen Intonationen zu den litauischen [1]).

Solange man bloss mit zwei lettischen Intonationen operierte, blieb das Verhältnis der lettischen Intonationen zu den litauischen vollständig dunkel. Das ergibt sich aus der Behandlung, welche diesem Gegenstande in Hirts Buche über den Akzent zu teil wurde. Bei seiner allgemeinen Charakteristik der lettischen Betonung meint er, dass der lettische Stosston dem litauischen Schleiftone, der lettische Dehnton dem litauischen Stosstone gleichzusetzen sei [2]). Wenn er aber in einem andern Kapittel die Intonationen der beiden Sprachen genauer vergleicht, so stellt er die Regel auf, „dass dem lit. schleifenden Ton im Lett. der gestossene entspricht, dem lit. gestossenen aber nicht nur der gedehnte, sondern auch der gestossene lettische Akzent" [3]). Hirt vermag die scheinbare Regellosigkeit nicht zu erklären, und nur vermutungsweise äussert er die Meinung, dass die Verschiebung des Haupttones nach dem Wortanfange hin hierbei eine Rolle gespielt habe, wobei er speziell auf die *o*-Stämme (balt. *a*-Stämme) der Kurschatschen Klasse IIa, „die den alten Oxytonis, und IIb, die den alten Paroxytonis entsprechen", aufmerksam macht: „Lit. gestossen — Lett. gedehnt findet sich bei IIa 9 mal, bei IIb 13 mal, während für Lit. gestossen — Lett. gestossen sich bei IIa 26 und bei IIb 3 Beispiele finden" [4]). Hirt war hier gewiss auf dem richtigen Wege, und wenn er das lettische Intonationssystem mit drei Intonationen benutzt hätte, so hätte er vielleicht dasjenige gefunden, was jetzt erst vier Jahre später von Endzelin entdeckt worden ist. Inzwischen hatte Bezzenberger in seiner Beurteilung von Hirts Buch auf die Wichtigkeit des Systemes mit drei Tonqualitäten aufmerksam gemacht [5]) und durch ein reiches Material [6]) die Ungenügendheit der Hirtschen Untersuchungen gezeigt. Und in demselben Jahre 1896 hatte De Saussure apodiktischer als Hirt die Ansicht geäussert, dass der Ursprung des lettischen Stosstones in dem mobilen Paradigma zu suchen sei, wo in den meisten Flexionsformen der Akzent zurückgezogen sei [7]). Aber auch De Saussure berücksichtigte nur zwei lettische Intonationen; daher kommt es, dass er auch für die Klasse von lit. *dẽvas*, lett. *dìws* (Endzelin *dèvs*) Stosston infolge Zurückziehung des Akzentes annimmt.

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1) Wenn ich in diesem Abschnitte die Bemerkungen S. Agrells, *Intonation und Auslaut im Slavischen* (1913), S. 2—12 und den Aufsatz von G. Plakis, *K istorii litvolatyšskich intonacij*, *Izvěstija* XX (1916), 3, 41 ff. ausser Betracht lasse, so kommt das daher, dass ich die Erörterungen dieser Forscher für methodisch vollständig unrichtig halte; ich spüre hier Phantasie und Autosuggestion, keine Selbstkritik. Zu Agrell vgl. T. Torbiörnsson, *Le Monde Oriental* VIII (1914), 124 ff.

2) H. Hirt, *Der indogerm. Akzent* (1895), S. 68 f.

3) H. Hirt, *das.*, S. 150.

4) H. Hirt, *das.*, S. 166; das betreffende Material S. 156 f.

5) A. Bezzenberger, *BB.* XXI (1896), 294.

6) A. Bezzenberger, *das.*, 304 f. Bezzenberger bekämpft hier hauptsächlich Hirts Kapittel über den „Silbenakzent der nicht letzten Silben im Lit.-Slavischen" (Hirt, *aaO.*, S. 119 ff.).

7) F. de Saussure, *IFA.* VI (1896), 165.

So war der Stand der Forschung, als Endzelin eingriff [1]). Er ging von solchen lettischen Mundarten aus, welche ausser dem gedehnten und dem gestossenen Ton auch den fallenden Ton kennen, und dadurch gelang es ihm die Brücke zu schlagen, welche dieses Intonationssystem mit dem litauischen verbindet. Die Endzelinsche Auffassung, welche Hirt und vornehmlich De Saussure schon vorausgesehen hatten, ist so einfach, sie hat eine solche innere Wahrscheinlichkeit und das vorliegende Material stimmt zu ihr so schön, dass wir sie für unbedingt richtig halten müssen; auf diese Weise hat Endzelin zugleich bewiesen, dass das System mit drei Intonationen älter ist als dasjenige mit zwei. Endzelin hat nachgewiesen, dass dem litauischen Zirkumflex der lettische fallende Ton (˜) entspricht [2]), während der litauische Akut im Lettischen bald als gedehnter, bald als gestossener Ton auftritt [3]). Gedehnter Ton ist die regelmässige Vertretung des litauischen unbeweglichen Akutes, gestossener Ton entwickelte sich in den Paradigmen mit Akzentwechsel [4]), wo die Zurückziehung des Akzentes diese Intonation der Wurzelsilbe hervorrief. Wie ich bereits sagte, stimmt das Material zu Endzelins Ansicht recht gut, damit soll aber nicht gesagt sein, dass zwischen den beiden Sprachen eine vollständige Übereinstimmung herrsche. Aus dem Endzelinschen Materiale ergibt sich, dass die *a*-Stämme sich ganz glatt unter die Regel fügen; bei den weiblichen *ā*-Stämmen liegen die Sachen insofern etwas anders als von den 24 Wörtern der Klasse von lit. *bóba* („immobile") 14 ˜ haben, dagegen aber die 10 andern ˆ; was die von Kurschat, wie bekannt, übersehene Gruppe von *galvà : gálvą* anbetrifft, so stimmen hier zu der Regel fünf von den sechs Wörtern (*galva* usw.) und bloss eins, *sẽkla*, nicht. Am unbegreiflichsten sind die Verhältnisse bei den Zeitwörtern, wo 30 mal ˆ vorliegt (*aũgt* : lit. *áugti* usw.), dagegen nur 12 mal ˜ (*kraũt* : lit. *kráuti* usw.), ausserdem zweimal ˋ (*kàst* : lit. *kószti*, *zvẽgt* : lit. *žvéngti*). Was die Nomina anbetrifft, so haben wir erstens mit der Möglichkeit zu rechnen, dass gewisse Wörter ursprünglich zu einer andern Betonungsklasse gehörten als jetzt in der Sprache Kurschats [5]); zweitens können ähnliche Übertritte von der einen Klasse in die andere auch auf lettischem Gebiete stattgefunden haben; drittens werden wir für

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1) J. Endzelin, *Über den lettischen Silbenaccent*, *BB.* XXV (1899), 259 ff., — ders., *Zamětki k latyšskoj akcentovkě*, *Izvěstija* VI (1903), 4, 140 ff., — ders., *Weiteres zu den lettischen Intonationen*, *IF.* XXXIII (1913/14), 104 ff.

2) S. das Material *BB.* XXV, 264 ff.

3) S. das Material *BB.* XXV, 267 ff.

4) S. den Schluss von § 17. Sollte das „paradigme mobile" erst litauisch sein, so wäre hier anstatt „Akzentwechsel" zu lesen: „Endbetonung".

5) Vgl. Endzelins Bemerkungen zu *tẽvas*, *BB.* XXV, 274, *Izvěstija* XXI (1916), 2, 300 und den Aufsatz desselben Gelehrten *Zum litauischen Akzent Daukšas*, *KZ.* XLIV (1911), 49 ff. Jetzt liesse sich aus den reichhaltigen Sammlungen Baranowskis *(Litauische Mundarten, gesammelt von A. Baranowski, Bd. I: Texte. Aus dem Weberschen Nachlass hsgeg. von Dr. F. Specht)* neues Material zusammenstellen. In der Leipziger Dissertation von F. Specht *(Litauische dialektische Texte aus Russisch-Litauen nach den Sammlungen A. Baranowskis aus dem Hugo Weberschen Nachlasse. Grammatische Einleitung.* 1920) liegt eine ausführliche Beschreibung der Mundarten R. 5, R. 4, R. 3 vor.

eine ältere Periode des Lettischen vielleicht einen Intonationswechsel Nom. *galva*, Gen. *galvas*: Dat. *galvai*, Akk. *galvu* anzunehmen haben [1]), welche bei einem Teile der Wörter durch eine Flexion mit überall durchgeführtem ˜ ersetzt sein kann; viertens dürfte das soeben zitierte Paradigma mit Intonationswechsel auch bei einem Teil der *bóba*-Klasse einen ähnlichen Wechsel hervorgerufen haben, welcher bei einigen Wörtern zugunsten des Stosstones ausgeglichen sein könnte. Was die Verbalflexion anbetrifft, so meint Endzelin, dass „die feste Anfangsbetonung im Litauischen hier offenbar nichts altertümliches" sei, wobei er an die Partizipialbetonung lit. *augą̃s* erinnert. Ich glaube, dass Endzelin recht hat, möchte aber hauptsächlich aus dem Präteritum den lettischen Stosston erklären; denn meiner Ansicht nach haben Präteritalformen wie lit. dial. *sėdâs*, *stājâs*, *sėdõs*, *stojõs*, *radõs*, *k'ēlės*, Dauksza *stoiós*, *likós* [2]) ebensogut alte Endbetonung wie etwa Dauksza *Diewóp'*, *darbóp'* [3]); ich wüsste nicht, wie man sonst diese endbetonten Präterita erklären könnte; für lit. *sėdo*, *lìko* wird ebenso wie für *dẽvo*, *dárbo* Zurückziehung des Akzentes anzunehmen sein. Diese Auffassung stimmt schön zu der Tatsache, dass offenbar auch sonst, speziell was den Vokalismus anbetrifft, das lettische Präteritum die übrigen Flexionsformen beeinflusst hat [4]). Die Flexionsformen sind also durch die Endzelinsche Intonationsregel sehr gut zu erklären; auch die einsilbigen Formen stimmen gut zu derselben, und ich verstehe nicht, weshalb ein Forscher, der soviel weiss wie Agrell, die Endzelinsche Hypothese durch eine viel weniger einfache und viel schwächer begründete ersetzt hat [5]).

Ursprünglich wird die durch Akzentzurückziehung entstandene Intonation steigend gewesen sein; man beachte die von Endzelin hervorgehobene Tatsache [6]), dass der Stosston im Südosten Livlands „lang gedehnt und mit steigendem Stimmton" gesprochen wird, womit Endzelin den bei Akzentzurückziehung auftretenden steigenden Ton litauischer Dialekte vergleicht. Weiter erinnert er an das Serbische, wo bekanntlich der zurückgezogene Akzent steigend ist (štok. *gláva* < *glāvȁ*). Auch für den fallend gesprochenen Stosston der meisten lettischen Mundarten hätte er eine Parallele aus dem Serbischen heranziehen können und zwar den aus urserbischem (noch čakavisch-posavischem) steigendem Tone entstandenen fallenden Akzent (štok. *pîšēš* < *píšeš*).

Die Tatsache, dass der lettische Stosston bloss bei denjenigen mobilen Paradigmen auftritt, welche in den Kasus mit Wurzelbetonung litauischen Akut haben (bei den Typen *kélmas*, *galvà*, aber nicht bei *dẽvas*, *rankà*:

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1) Bei dieser Vermutung gehen wir von der Voraussetzung aus, dass das mobile Paradigma urlitaulettisch ist. S. § 23.

2) S. J. Endzelin, *KZ.* XLIV, 57.

3) S. Verfasser, *Zur litauischen Nominalbetonung. Le Monde Oriental* XII (1918), 211 ff. und weiter unten § 23.

4) S. H. Osthoff, *Zur Geschichte des Perfects im Indogermanischen* (1884), S. 66 ff., Endzelin, *BB.* XXV, 272 f. Fussn. 1. Anders O. Wiedemann, *Das litauische Präteritum* (1891), S. 121 ff.

5) S. S. 19 Fussn. 1.

6) J. Endzelin, *BB.* XXV, 268, *Izvěstija* VI (1903), 4, 143.

rañką), zeigt uns, dass in derjenigen Periode, als das Lettische in allen Formen die Anfangbetonung durchführte, der vorhaupttonige Akut noch vom Zirkumflex verschieden war [1]).

Es war nötig, ausführlich von dem durch Akzentzurückziehung hervorgerufenen lettischen Stosston zu reden. Ganz kurz können wir die an ihrer alten Stelle gebliebenen Intonationen besprechen. Es ist auffällig, dass dem fallend gesprochenen litauischen Akute der steigende lettische Dehnton und umgekehrt dem steigenden litauischen Zirkumflexe der lettische fallende Ton entspricht. Zur Erklärung dieses Gegensatzes könnten wir auf mehrere dialektische Erscheinungen sowohl des Litauischen wie des Lettischen hinweisen, so etwa auf den steigend-fallenden litauischen Akut (welcher vielleicht nicht bloss dialektisch ist) [2]) oder auf den steigend-fallenden Zirkumflex des Żemaitischen, welcher nach Endzelin im Südostlivländischen wiederkehrt [3]), aber diese und ähnliche Betrachtungen können ebensowenig wie etwa Hirts Annahme eines prähistorischen fallend-steigenden Zirkumflexus [4]) eine endgültige Erklärung des litauisch-lettischen Gegensatzes herbeiführen, solange wir nicht das Material verwandter Sprachen verglichen haben. Deshalb bespreche ich jetzt die altpreussischen Verhältnisse.

C. Das Altpreussische.

§ 11. Die altpreussische Betonung hat Fortunatov einer gründlichen Untersuchung unterzogen [5]). Das Hauptmaterial lieferte ihm das Enchiridion, wo bekanntlich der Übersetzer Abel Will wenn auch nicht stets, so doch sehr oft durch einen horizontalen Strich die haupttonige Länge bezeichnet hat. Wo dieser Strich über einem Diphthonge steht, gestattet er zugleich einen Einblick in die Akzentbewegung innerhalb der „tranche vocalique". Der Strich wird in folgenden Fällen verwendet: [6])

1. auf langen Monophthongen; im Litauischen entspricht sowohl ´ wie ˜: *mūti* = lit. *móte*, *sūlin* = lit. *žõlę*.

2. auf dem ersten Komponenten solcher Diphthonge, welche im Litauischen zirkumflektiert sind: *ēit* = lit. *eĩti* [7]).

3. auf dem zweiten Komponenten von im Litauischen akutierten Diphthongen: *pogaūt* = lit. *pagáuti*.

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1) S. J. Endzelin, *BB.* XXV, 268 f. Fussn. 2.

2) S. oben S. 10 f.

3) S. oben S. 11 und Endzelin, *BB.* XXV, 264, freilich auch S. 274, wo „der steigend-fallende Ton der circumflectierten Silben litauischer Dialecte" als Übergangsstufe vom altererbten lettischen fallenden Tone zum als sekundär betrachteten steigenden Tone des Litauischen betrachtet wird.

4) H. Hirt, *Der idg. Akzent* (1895), S. 112.

5) F. Fortunatov, *Ob udarenii i dolgotě v baltijskich jazykach. I: Udarenie v prusskom jazykě*, *Russkij filol. Věstnik* XXXIII (1895), 252 ff., übersetzt von F. Solmsen: *Über Accent und Länge in den baltischen Sprachen. I: Der Accent im Preussischen*, *BB.* XXII (1897), 153 ff.

6) S. *BB.* XXII, 154 ff.

7) In mobilen Paradigmen unterbleibt der Strich: *ains*, *deiwan*, *deinan* usw. Das hängt wohl mit der ursprünglichen Endbetonung dieser Wörter zusammen; s. *BB.* XXII, 167 f. und unten § 23.

4. auf dem ersten Komponenten von *r*- und *n*-Diphthongen, welche im Litauischen Zirkumflex haben: a. *mērgan* = lit. *mergą*, b. *āntran* = lit. *añtrą*.

5. auf dem zweiten Komponenten der durch jüngere Diphthongierung von im Litauischen akutierten *ū*, *ī* (lit. *y*) entstandenen Diphthonge: a. *boūt* = lit. *búti*, b. *poūt* < **pūti* < **pōti*, c. *geīwan* = lit. *gývą*.

6. auf dem ursprünglich langen Vokale von *α*. *postūi*, *ettrūi*, *peisūi*, *bēi*, *β*. *dāiti*, *attrūiti*.

Am meisten interessieren uns jetzt die Fälle 2 und 4 in ihrem Gegensatze zu 3 und 5. Der Gebrauch des Zeichens ¯ weist darauf hin, dass dem litauischen ˜ ein preussischer fallender, dem lit. ´ ein preussischer steigender Ton entspricht, wenn auch die Qualität der preussischen Akzentbewegung nicht genauer bestimmbar ist. Es besteht also ein grosser Unterschied, sogar ein gewisser Gegensatz zwischen dem Litauischen und dem Preussischen. Dieser Gegensatz wird ziemlich allgemein anerkannt [1]), vor einigen Jahren aber hat Bezzenberger versucht, die altpreussischen Schreibungen *rānkan*, *īmt* usw. anders zu erklären. Er vergleicht [2]) nordlitauische Formen wie *gūñdras*, *trūmps*, żemaitische wie *szuvėñts*, *dūñg* und altlitauische (Universitas l. L.) wie *àntis* und nimmt auch für apreuss. *ēi*, *āi*, *ān*, *īm* usw. steigende Akzentbewegung und einen gedehnten oder mittelzeitigen ersten Komponenten an. Bei dieser Auffassung machen Formen wie *pogaūt*, *boūt* Schwierigkeiten; Bezzenberger hat dieselben zu heben versucht durch die Vermutung, dass Will auf den Gedanken gekommen sei, die „Diphthonge und Semidiphthonge mit kurzem silbebildendem Vokal ..... gegensätzlich [d. h. in ihrem Gegensatze zu den langvokalischen] zu bezeichnen, d. h. den Strich auf ihren zweiten Komponenten zn setzen"; „auf keinen Fall vermag" Bezzenberger „dem Strich über dem zweiten Komponenten eines Diphthongs den Wert eines Längezeichens zuzuerkennen". Diese Konsequenz von Bezzenbergers Auffassung von *rānkan*, *īmt* usw. kommt mir wenig annehmbar vor, zumal weil die grosse Formkategorie von *ains*, *deiwan* usw. [3]) sowohl den ersten wie den zweiten Komponenten durchgehend ohne Längestrich schreibt. Die drei Kategorien von *ēit*, *pogaūt*, *ains* sind m. E. nur dann begreiflich, wenn das Zeichen ¯, welches auch sonst die Länge bezeichnet, ein deutlich hörbares, wohl quantitatives Hervortreten desjenigen Komponenten, über welchem es steht, andeutet. Um so weniger dürfen wir uns über den Gegensatz zwischen dem Altpreussischen und dem Litauischen wundern, als bekanntlich weder der Akut noch der Zirkumflex auf dem ganzen litauischen Gebiete gleich ausgesprochen werden. Der oben besprochene Aufsatz Ekbloms [4]) hat uns klar gezeigt, dass die Definitionen des litauischen Akuts und Zirkumflexes als fallende bezw. steigende Intonation höchstens für einen Teil des Sprachgebietes richtig sind und deshalb für

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1) S. E. Berneker, *Die preussische Sprache* (1896), S. 115 f., R. Trautmann, *Die altpreussischen Sprachdenkmäler* (1910), S. 193 f.

2) A. Bezzenberger, *KZ.* XLIV (1911), 316 ff.

3) S. S. 22, Fussn. 7.

4) S. S. 10 f.

das prähistorische Litauische gar nicht zu gelten brauchen. Wenn sowohl im Altpreussischen wie im Lettischen der Akut steigend und der Zirkumflex fallend ist, so widersetzt sich das Litauische der Annahme ähnlicher urbaltischer Verhältnisse gar nicht. Tatsächlich möchte ich, wie die meisten Forscher es jetzt tun, einen urbaltischen fallenden Zirkumflex und einen steigenden Akut annehmen; damit soll aber bloss der allgemeine Charakter des Akzentes, die Hauptrichtung der Akzentbewegung, angedeutet sein; Genaueres lässt sich kaum sagen.

Bisher besprach ich nur zwei altpreussische Intonationen eingehend. Die dritte, welche in ursprünglich vorhaupttonigen Silben auftritt (*ains, waix, deiwan, deinan* usw.), wird uns später noch beschäftigen [1]). Für die Bestimmung der urbaltischen Intonationsverhältnisse ist sie ohne Belang. Jetzt möchte ich bloss auf einen Unterschied zwischen dieser Intonation und dem lettischen Stosstone aufmerksam machen: der lettische Stosston trifft bloss den ursprünglich vorhaupttonigen Akut, die altpreussische „dritte Intonation" auch den Zirkumflex [2]). Das Altpreussische stimmt darin mit dem Żemaitischen überein [3]) [4]).

II. Die slavischen Intonationen. Vergleichung mit den baltischen.

§ 12. Unter den slavischen Sprachen gibt es bloss eine, welche den Akzent im Allgemeinen an der alten Stelle bewahrt hat und zugleich noch die urslavischen Intonationen unterscheidet. Dies ist die serbokroatische Sprache, oder vielmehr sind es nur diejenigen serbokroatischen Dialekte, welche die štokavische Akzentzurückziehung nicht kennen. Aber auch in den zentralen Mundarten und in der Schriftsprache, wo der Akzent um eine Silbe zurückgezogen worden ist, liegen wenigstens in den von alters her betonten Anlautssilben die allgemein-serbokratischen Unterschiede noch vor. Glücklicherweise hat auch das Russische, welches sonst alle Intonations- und Quantitätsunterschiede aufgegeben hat, in den Wörtern mit Polnoglasie (*oro* < *or*, *olo* < *ol*, *el*, *ere* < *er*) ein wichtiges Zeugnis bezüglich der urslavischen Intonationen bewahrt [5]).

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1) S. § 23. Auffällig ist gegenüber dem regelmässigen Fehlen des Striches bei *deiws, deinan, dangun, swints, waix, wargs, wirds, ains, deickton* (samt sonstigen Flexionsformen dieser Wörter) das Vorkommen desselben bei *ālgas* (: lit. *algõs*) und *mērgan* (: lit. *mergõs*). Sind diese Wörter im Preussischen alte Barytona? Auf keinen Fall widerlegen sie Fortunatovs Auffassung von *deiws* usw.; dafür sind die Belege von akzentlosen Formen dieser Klasse zu zahlreich. In *geīwans* (: lett. *dzīvs*), *soīns* (: lit. *sūnùs*), wo *eī*, *oū* auf *ī*, *ū* zurückgehen, überwiegt möglicherweise das *i*-, *u*-Element in der Aussprache.

2) S. das Material bei Fortunatov *BB.* XXII, 167 ff. Ob *ains*, das Fortunatov zu den akutierten Wörtern rechnet, Akut oder Zirkumflex hat, lässt sich nicht entscheiden: für Zirkumflex würde der idg. Kurzdiphthong sprechen, für Akut das lit. *vẽnas*; dieses ist aber auch was den Anlaut betrifft nicht ganz mit apr. *ains* identisch.

3) S. J. Endzelin, *BB.* XXV, 268 f. Fussn. 2.

4) Sig. Agrells Abschnitt über das Altpreussische, *Inton. und Auslaut*, S. 12 ff. hat keinen grösseren Wert als derjenige über das Lettische S. S. 19, Fussn. 1.

5) Vgl. A. Leskien, *Untersuchungen über Quantität und Betonung in den sla-*

Wenn wir die russischen Wörter *vóron* 'Rabe' und *voróna* 'Krähe' miteinander vergleichen, so ist es klar, dass das erste ein fallend betontes, das zweite ein steigend betontes *or* voraussetzt. Bei dem ersten dieser beiden Wörter hat auch das Serbokroatische eine fallende Intonation: *vrân* [1]), und die Annahme, dass der slavische Zirkumflexus fallend gewesen ist und zwar sowohl in musikalischer wie in expiratorischer Beziehung, dürfte kaum einen Bestreiter finden. Der alte Akut ist im Serbokroatischen verkürzt; er tritt als ˋ auf, welches man nicht eine steigende Intonation nennen darf. Zwar ist nach Ekbloms experimentellen Untersuchungen der Expirationsdruck steigend, aber die Tonbewegung ist zwischen solchen Konsonanten, durch welche dieselbe am wenigsten beeinflusst wird, vielmehr fallend. Trotzdem ist es klar, dass der Akut vor seiner Kürzung steigend gesprochen wurde; darauf weist nicht bloss das Russische hin, welches *voróna* betont, sondern auch die Tatsache, dass im Čakavischen und Posavischen in einigen Fällen neben der Kürze eine Länge vorkommt, welche eine steigende Intonation (das sogenannte „čakavische ′ ″) hat, z.B. čak. *brimenú*, *mestá* neben sonstigem *-ȁ* in demselben Kasus (N.-A. Plur. Neutr.) [2]).

Das slavische Intonationssystem bietet ein bunteres Bild dar als das baltische, infolge des Vorhandenseins sekundärer, durch Metatonie entstandener Akute und Zirkumflexe, welche in mehreren Einzelsprachen in anderer Gestalt auftreten als der alte Akut und Zirkumflex. Auch bei kurzen Vokalen kommt ein sekundärer Akut vor; weil aber an dem sekundären Ursprunge dieses Akutes sowie der sonstigen vom altererbten Akut und Zirkumflex abweichenden Intonationen von keinem gezweifelt wird, dürfen wir dieselben ausser Betracht lassen und neben einer kurzen bloss zwei lange Intonationen, einen Akut und einen Zirkumflex, unterscheiden.

Weiter unten [3]) wird es sich uns ergeben, dass der slavische Zirkumflex genetisch mit dem baltischen identisch ist, und ebenso der slavische Akut mit dem baltischen Akut. Das gilt begreiflicherweise nicht für alle Fälle, wo jetzt ein Zirkumflex oder Akut vorhanden ist, sogar ist das gewöhnlich angeführte Beispiel:

lit. *vařnas* = russ. *vóron*, serb. *vrân*,

lit. *várna* = russ. *voróna*, serb. *vrȁna*

nicht einwandfrei. Gegen die Identifizierung der weiblichen Wörter ist nichts einzuwenden, aber *vařnas*, Plur. *varnaĩ* weist auf ein ursprünglich endbetontes Paradigma hin, während das slavische Wort von slavischem

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vischen Sprachen I. BC (1893), S. 24 [550] ff. Weil die hier besprochenen Sachen allgemein anerkannt werden, begnüge ich mich mit der Heranziehung bloss dieser einen Schrift.

1) S. über die serbokroatischen Akzentqualitäten R. Ekblom, *Beiträge zur Phonetik der serbischen Sprache*, *Le Monde Oriental* XI (1917), 1 ff., wo auch die ältere Literatur erwähnt wird. Eine ausführliche Besprechung von Ekbloms Untersuchung durch O. Broch findet man *Arch. f. slav. Phil.* XXXVII (1918), 211 ff.

2) Vgl. Verf., *RS.* IX (1921), 80 f.

3) § 30 ff. S. hauptsächlich § 35 ff., über die Intonationen nicht auslautender Silben.

Standpunkte betrachtet ein Barytonon ist. Das Verhältnis zwischen diesen zwei Betonungen werde ich weiter unten [1]) behandeln; jetzt möchte ich die Gleichung:

lit. *vãrnas* = russ. *vóron*, serb. *vrân*

etwa durch

lit *rañką* = (russ. *rúku*) serb. *rûku*

ersetzen, weil hier die beiden Sprachzweige alte Barytonierung voraussetzen, so dass wir die Formen als vollständig identisch betrachten dürfen.

Eine Vergleichung der slavischen Intonationen mit den für das Baltische gewonnenen Ergebnissen [2]) zeigt, dass für das Urbaltische und für das Urslavische ein fallender Zirkumflex und ein steigender Akut wahrscheinlich sind. Das braucht aber gar nicht auf eine nähere Verwandtschaft dieser beiden Sprachzweige hinzuweisen, denn 1° können wir die Qualität der urbaltischen und urslavischen Intonationen nur sehr vag bestimmen, 2° zeigt das Griechische ähnliche Verhältnisse wie das Baltische und Slavische. Es ist das Verdienst K. H. Meyers darauf hingewiesen zu haben [3]). Bekanntlich sind im Griechischen altererbte Akzentverhältnisse bloss in auslautenden Silben bewahrt geblieben; die daselbst vorliegenden Verhältnisse lassen sich oft mit denjenigen anderer Sprachzweige vergleichen und solche Vergleiche gestatten uns einen Einblick in das indogermanische Akzentsystem. Ich zitiere jetzt nach Brugmann-Thumb [4]) die Definition der beiden langen Intonationen des Griechischen: „Der Akut war ein steigender, bei einem sonantischen Element von zwei Moren auch noch auf der zweiten Mora ansteigender Ton (⏑⏑́). Der Zirkumflex kam nur Längen zu. Auch er war steigend, aber die ganze ansteigende Bewegung wurde der ersten Mora zuteil, während die zweite eine geringere Höhe hatte (́⏑́)", — m. a. W. der Zirkumflex war steigend-fallend [5]).

Wir brauchen für unsern Zweck nicht zu versuchen, die indogermanischen Akzentqualitäten genau zu bestimmen, wir brauchen nicht auszumachen, ob vielleicht der Zirkumflex im Gegensatze zum Akute zweigipflig oder dreimorig gewesen ist [6]). Es genügt jetzt auf die Übereinstimmung zwischen Baltisch, Slavisch und Griechisch hinzuweisen; ich bemerke noch, dass dies die einzigen Sprachen sind, wo jedenfalls in gewissen Fällen die zwei aus der Grundsprache ererbten Intonationen langer Silben auf eine solche Weise vorliegen, dass sie uns Schlüsse bezüglich der indogermanischen Tonbewegung gestatten. Liegt dann die Annahme nicht nahe, dass die steigende Tonbewegung des Akuts und

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1) S. § 27.

2) S. § 11, S. 24.

3) K. H. Meyer, *Slavische und indogermanische Intonation* (1920), S. 7 ff. S. dazu O. Hujer, *Listy filologické* XLVIII (1921), 149 und die daselbst angeführte Literatur.

4) K. Brugmann, *Griechische Grammatik, 4. verm. Auflage*, bearb. v. Dr. A. Thumb (1913), S. 177.

5) Man beachte, dass die Ekblomschen Experimente auch bei dem serbischen Zirkumflexe eine der fallenden Bewegung vorangehende Steigung zeigen. S. *Le Monde Oriental* XI (1917), 46 ff.

6) S. z. B. K. Brugmann, *Grundriss* I² (1897), S. 948.

die fallende oder steigend-fallende des Zirkumflexes diesen Intonationen bereits in der Grundsprache zukamen? [1]). Natürlich gilt dieses bloss für diejenige Position, wo wir überhaupt indogermanische Intonationsunterschiede annehmen dürfen, d. h. für den Auslaut; denn, wie wir später sehen werden, setzen die Intonationen der nicht auslautenden baltischen und slavischen Silben, insofern sie nicht jüngern Ursprunges sind, vielmehr lautliche und quantitative als akzentuelle Unterschiede der Grundsprache fort [2]), und auch in andern Sprachzweigen finden wir keine Spuren solcher akzentuellen Unterschiede. Natürlich können sie trotzdem bestanden haben, aber für uns darf dasjenige, was wir nicht konstatieren können, nicht als eine reelle Grösse gelten.

Dass die jetzt so stark von den slavischen abweichenden Intonationen des Litauischen in einer früheren Periode grössere Ähnlichkeit mit denselben gehabt haben, das dürfte aus dem De Saussureschen Gesetze hervorgehen [3]), welches im Litauischen oder Litaulettischen und offenbar unabhängig davon im Slavischen gewirkt hat. Gleiche Resultate setzen wenn auch nicht vollständig gleiche, so doch annähernd gleiche Grundverhältnisse voraus [4]).

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1) Diese Intonationen können daneben noch andere Eigenschaften besessen haben, welche uns jetzt nicht angehen.

2) S. § 35 ff.

3) S. § 13 ff.

4) Über das Verhältnis der slavischen Akzentqualitäten zu den litauischen schrieben u. A. noch W. Vondrák, *Vergleichende slavische Grammatik* I (1906), S. 207 f., J. J. Mikkola, *Urslavische Grammatik* I (1913), S. 117 f., T. Lehr-Spławiński, *RS.* VIII (1918), 240 f., A. Šachmatov, *Očerk drevnějšago perioda istorii russkago jazyka* (1915), S. 68 f. Bei den ersten drei Forschern vermisse ich eine kritische Rekonstruktion der urbaltischen Intonationen, weshalb ihre Konklusionen m. E. eines festen Fundamentes entbehren. Viel besser Šachmatov. — Eine Rekonstruktion der baltoslavischen und sogar der indogermanischen Tonbewegungsverhältnisse versuchte vor kurzem N. Troubetzkoy, *De la valeur primitive des intonations du slave commun*, *Revue des études slaves* I (1921), 171 ff.

DER PLATZ DES WORTAKZENTES.

§ 13. Eine Vergleichung des Slavischen mit dem Baltischen in bezug auf die Wortbetonung ist sehr schwierig, erstens weil die Anzahl derjenigen baltischen und slavischen Wörter, welche einander lautlich genau entsprechen, ziemlich gering ist, zweitens weil das vorliegende Sprachmaterial uns nicht immer gestattet, die urbaltische oder die frühurslavische Wortbetonung zu bestimmen.

Einen zuverlässigen Ausgangspunkt für unsere Untersuchungen haben wir in dem Gesetze De Saussures. Solange man dasselbe nicht kannte, lieferte der Akzentwechsel innerhalb der Paradigmen sowohl im Baltischen wie im Slavischen das Bild eines Chaos. De Saussure hat zuerst durch die Entdeckung des nach ihm genannten Akzentverschiebungsgesetzes und durch die Benutzung desselben bei der Rekonstruktion prähistorischer baltischer Paradigmen neue Perspektiven für die Akzentforschung geöffnet, dann sind andere ihm gefolgt und haben mit ähnlichen Methoden unsere Kenntnisse auf dem Gebiete der slavischen Wortbetonung bedeutend erweitert, und wer noch tiefer in die Geheimnisse der vorhistorischen Betonungsverhältnisse eindringen will, der muss unbedingt seine Arbeit mit dem Studium des De Saussureschen Gesetzes und der direkt sich aus demselben ergebenden Konsequenzen anfangen.

An der Wirkung dieses Gesetzes sowohl auf slavischem wie auf baltischem Boden ist kein Zweifel möglich. Das ergibt sich aus der Leichtigkeit, mit welcher dieses Gesetz es uns gestattet sonst vollständig dunkle Probleme zu lösen. Man beachte z. B., wie hilflos Maretić im Jahre 1890 [1]) mehreren Fällen von Akzentwechsel gegenüberstand, welche durch De Saussures Entdeckung auf einmal vollständig klar geworden sind. Und neuerdings hat Lehr-Spławiński deutlich nachgewiesen, dass Sedláček durch seine Leugnung des De Saussureschen Gesetzes einfache Sachen unnötigerweise verwickelt und dunkel gemacht hat [2]).

§ 14. Das De Saussuresche Gesetz.

Für das Litauische formulierte dieses Gesetz zuerst De Saussure [3]): „A une certaine époque anté-dialectale (du reste indéterminée), l'accent s'est régulièrement porté de 1 syllabe en avant quand, reposant originairement sur une syllabe douce (geschliffen), il avait immédiatement

1) T. Maretić, *Slavenski nominalni akcenat s obzirom na litavski, grčki i staroindijski*, *Rad* CII, 30 ff.

2) T. Lehr-Spławiński, Kritik von F. Sedláčeks Buch: *Přízvuk podstatných jmen v jazycích slovanských* (1914) im *RS.* VIII (1918), 217 ff.

3) F. de Saussure, *Accentuation lituanienne*, *IFA.* VI (1896), 157.

devant lui une syllabe rude (gestossen). — Ainsi **laĩkyti* (*aĩ* + *ý*) devenait *laikýti*; pendant que par ex. *raĩžyti* (*ái* + *ý*) n'était pas amené à changer la place de l'accent". Diese Formulierung wird noch richtiger, wenn wir anstatt „douce" die Worte „douce ou brève" lesen.

Unabhängig von De Saussure wurde dasselbe Gesetz von Fortunatov entdeckt, welcher sogleich erkannt hat, dass es auch für das Slavische gilt: [1]) „Dlitel'naja dolgota [= Akut] eščë v litovsko-slav'anskom jazykě perenosila na seb'a udarenie s predšestvovavšago sloga, esli poslědnij ne iměl sam dlitel'noj dolgoty". Als Biespiel führt Fortunatov slav. **vezǫ* (russ. *vezú*) = lit. *vežù* an.

Inzwischen hatte auch Meillet bereits im Jahre 1895, im Anschluss an die erste Mitteilung De Saussures über das litauische Akzentverschiebungsgesetz auf dem Genfer Orientalistenkongresse, auf die Gültigkeit desselben auch für das Slavische hingewiesen, und später hat derselbe Gelehrte sich eingehend mit demselben beschäftigt, am eingehendsten im XI. Bande der *Mémoires de la Société de Linguistique* [2]). Im Slavischen sind die Verhältnisse dadurch verwickelter, dass die Intonation auslautender und gewissermassen auch inlautender Silben weniger klar hervortritt als im Litauischen und weil es mehrere Formkategorien gibt, wo ein erst sekundärer Akut den Akzent herangezogen hat. Daher kommt es, dass man erst allmählich ein relativ vollständiges Verzeichnis derjenigen slavischen Fälle zusammengestellt hat, wo das De Saussuresche Gesetz gewirkt hat. Lehr-Spławiński hat neuerdings folgendes Verzeichnis veröffentlicht [3]), wobei er sich auf die Vorarbeiten Meillets [4]), Pedersens [5]), Kul'bakins [6]) und Vondráks [7]) stützte:

1. 1. Ps. Sg. : r. *toné, v'ažú* usw. [8]),
2. Inf. auf *-ěti* : r. *gorě't' (deržát')* usw.,
3. Inf. auf *-iti* : r. *nosít'* usw.,
4. Inf. auf *-ati* : r. *pisát'* usw.,
5. Inf. auf *-ti* : r. *nestí* usw.,
6. N. Sg. F. auf *-a* : r. *golová* usw.,
7. Formen wie r. *gov'ádo, lopáta, četýre*,
8. N. Sg. N. auf **-nt* : r. *dit'á* usw., — und auf **-en* : serb. *vrijème*,
9. Inf. auf *-nǫti* : r. *gl'anút'* usw.,

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1) F. Fortunatov, *Razbor sočinenija G. K. Uljanova: Značenija glagol'nych osnov* usw. [im 64. *Sbornik otd. russkago jaz. i slov. Imper. Akad. Nauk*] (1897), S. 62.

2) A. Meillet, *Note sur un déplacement d'accent en slave*, *MSL.* XI (1900), 345 ff. Das. S. 346 zitiert Meillet diejenigen Stellen, wo er früher über das Gesetz geschrieben hatte. — Ausführlichere Literaturverzeichnisse bei O. Hujer, *Slovanská deklinace jmenná* (1910) S. 2, Fussnote und bei T. Lehr-Spławiński, *Ze studjów nad akcentem słowiańskim* (1917), S. 1 f.

3) T. Lehr-Spławiński, *Ze studjów*, S. 2 ff.

4) A. Meillet, *MSL.* XI, 345 ff. (Nr. 1—7), *Arch. f. slav. Phil.* XXV (1903), 426 ff. (Nr. 8).

5) H. Pedersen, *KZ.* XXXVIII (1905), 341 ff. (Nr. 9).

6) S. Kul'bakin, *Izvěstija* XI (1906), 4, 247 ff. (Nr. 10—13).

7) W. Vondrák, *Vergl. slav. Gramm.* I (1906), S. 201 f. (Nr. 14).

8) Der Kürze wegen führe ich bloss russische Formen an. Lehr zitiert auch die Äquivalente aus andern Sprachen.

10. N. Pl. N.: r. *derevá* usw.,
11. N. Dualis auf *-a*: r. *lěsá* usw.,
12. Lok. Sg. auf *-u*: r. *krugú* usw.,
13. Lok. Sg. auf *-i*: r. *kostí* usw.,
14. 2. Ps. Sg. Imper.: r. *terpí* usw.,
15 [1]). Dat. Instr. Lok. Pl. auf *-amъ*, *-ami*, *-achъ*: r. *golovám*, *-ámi*, *-ách* usw.,
16. N. Dualis F. auf *-ě*: klr. *borodí* usw.,
17. 1. Ps. Sg. Aor.: serb. *nòsih* usw.,
18. 3. Ps. Pl. Aor.: serb. *kléše* usw.,
19. Instr. Pl. der *i*- und *u*-Stämme: r. *dět'mí* usw., slov. *sinmí*,
20. Dat.-Instr. Du. auf *-ma*: serb. *tríma*, r. *trem'á* usw.

Dieses Verzeichnis ist im Allgemeinen richtig, aber einiges habe ich doch an demselben auszusetzen:

zu streichen sind die Nrn. 11 und 16: vgl. serb. *`òba*, *dvâ*; *`òbje*, *dv̂ije*, slov. *obâ*, *dvâ*; *obę̂*, *dvę̂* [2]); hinzuzufügen sind: Gen. Sg. F.: r. *rukí*, štok. *rúkē*, čak. *rūkė́* (Novi), *vodè* (Lošiń), *vodȉ* (Sv. Ivan, Cres), slov. *rǫkẹ́*, — Dat. Lok. Sg. F.: r. *rukě́*, štok. *gòri*, čak. *vodȉ* [3]), — Imp. von Klasse 1: r. *pletí*, serb. *plèti* [4]), — r. *dal-šá*, *rodil-šá* [5]); zu bemerken ist weiter zu Nr. 3, und auch zu *nošú* und *nosí* (bei Lehr sub 1 bezw. 14), dass diejenigen *i*-Verba, welche von der 2. Pers. Sg. Präs. an den Stamm betonen, wohl ursprünglich den Akzent auf dem stammbildenden *-i-* hatten, während die Klasse von r. *rožú*, *rodíš* ursprüngliche Wurzelbetonung hatte [6]); anstatt *nosít' (nošú, nosí)* wäre also besser *rodít' (rožú, rodí)* als Beispiel gewählt worden, — und zu Nr. 12, dass sowohl auf russischem wie auf serbischem Boden die betonte Endung *-ú* ihr ursprüngliches Gebiet bedeutend erweitert hat [7]).

Ausserdem möchte ich noch auf einige Endungen mit sekundärem, erst in einer verhältnismässig jungen Periode entstandenem Akute hinweisen, wo das Gesetz De Saussures ebenfalls gewirkt hat:

2. Ps. Sg. Präs. usw.: r. *nesëš*, *nesët* usw., serb. *nèsēš*, *-ē*, čak. *nesȅš*, *-ȅ* [8]); r. *rodíš*, *rodít* usw., s. *ròdīš*, *ròdī*, čak. *rodíš*, *rodí*,

Gen. Plur. auf *-ovъ*: r. *beregóv*, slovinz. *břegǫ̀* [9]),

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1) Die Nrn. 15—20 hat Lehr selber den früher bekannten Kategorien hinzugefügt.

2) S. Verfasser, *Neophilologus* V (1920), 113 ff., jetzt auch T. Lehr-Spławiński, *RS.* IX (1921), 122 f.

3) S. Verfasser, *RS.* IX (1921), 84 Fussn. 1 und die daselbst angeführte Literatur, — zu den čakavischen Formen A. Belić, *Izvěstija* XIV (1909), 226, I. Milčetić, *Rad* CXXI (1895), 121, M. Tentor, *Arch. f. slav. Phil.* XXX (1909), 170.

4) Lehr *aaO.* zitiert nur Imperativformen zu *i*-Präsentien; zu *plèti* vgl. Vondrák, *aaO.* I, 202 und 206, Verf. *RS.* IX, 84 Fussn. 1.

5) S. Verf., *Izvěstija* XXIII (1918), 1, 111 f.

6) S. Verf., *Zur Betonung der Verba mit stammbildendem i*, *Arch. f. slav. Phil.* XXXVII (1918), 1 ff., T. Lehr-Spławiński, *O prasłowiańskiej metatonji* (1918), S. 12.

7) S. Verf., *IF.* XL (1922), 3 f., 31.

8) S. Verf., *Arch. f. slav. Phil.* XXXVI (1916), 368 ff., *RS.* IX (1921), 105.

9) Über diese und die folgenden Kategorien s. meinen Aufsatz *Zum baltischen und slavischen Akzentverschiebungsgesetz*, *IF.* XL (1922), 1 ff. passim, — auch *Izvěstija* XXIII (1918), 1, 111 f.

Gen. Plur. auf *-tjь* : r. *kostéj*, serb. *kòstī*, slovinz. *køscĭ*,
Gen. Plur. auf serb. *-ā* : *vúkā*,
bestimmte Adjektivform : r. *sv'atój*, serb. *svètī*, slovinz. *svjątĭ*.
reflexive Präteritalformen : r. *liló-s'*, *lilí-s'*.

§ 15. Über die Frage, wann das De Saussuresche Gesetz gewirkt hat, gehen die Ansichten der Forscher weit auseinander.

Wohl die meisten Gelehrten versetzen es in die baltisch-slavische Einheitsperiode, — so bereits Fortunatov aaO. [1]) und später Torbiörnsson [2]), Pedersen [3]), Kul'bakin [4]), Porzeziński [5]), Endzelin [6]), Rozwadowski [7]), Šachmatov [8]). Aber keiner dieser Forscher hat positive Beweise für eine so grosse Altertümlichkeit geliefert. Die allgemeine Auffassung ist wohl diese: die Übereinstimmung zwischen dem Baltischen und Slavischen ist so merkwürdig, dass es ohne zwingende Gründe nicht erlaubt ist, die zwei parallelen Vorgänge voneinander zu trennen. Nun hat Meillet einige Gründe gegen die hohe Altertümlichkeit des Gesetzes angeführt [9]) und Pedersen, Kul'bakin, Porzeziński und Rozwadowski haben diese Gründe bekämpft, während Porzeziński ausserdem die auf Beobachtungen Bezzenbergers beruhende Ansicht Trautmanns [10]), „dass die Akzentverschiebung in ihrem ganzen Umfang nicht Lituslav. sein kann", zu widerlegen sucht. Nachdem sie auf eine solche Weise die Einwände gegen ihre Auffassung beseitigt haben, glauben die genannten Gelehrten nicht mehr an dem hohen Alter des De Saussureschen Gesetzes zweifeln zu dürfen [11]).

Dagegen hat Meillet die Ansicht ausgesprochen, dass das Gesetz nicht bloss nicht urbaltoslavisch sei, sondern sogar jünger als die urslavische Periode [12]). Den Beweis erblickt er in zwei Formkategorien: 1. serb. *kȍpām*, *ȉgrām*, *pȋtām* : 3. Ps. Pl. *kòpajū*, *ìgrajū*, *pítajū*, wozu nordkaš. *gô'dômë* : *gôdãi̯õ* [13]) und klr. (ugroruss. Ma. von Ublya) *bývaš* : 1. Ps. Sg. *byvúu̯u*, 3. Ps. Pl. *byvúu̯ut'* [14]) genau stimmen; 2. Gen. Plur. serb. *kȍrītā*, *ȍrāhā*. Was 2. anbetrifft, so hat Meillet gewiss unrecht; hier sind die anfangbetonten Formen ausschliesslich štokavisch und wir müssen deshalb jede Deutung vorziehen, die dieselben vom Serbischen aus zu erklären vermag, und tatsächlich ist eine solche Deutung möglich [15]). Die andere

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1) S. S. 29 Fussnote 1.
2) T. Torbiörnsson, *Die gemeinslavische Liquidametathese* I (1902), S. 57.
3) H. Pedersen, *KZ.* XXXVIII (1905), 307, 335.
4) S. Kul'bakin, *Izvěstija* XI (1906), 4, 267 ff.
5) W. Porzeziński, *RS.* IV (1911), 16 ff.
6) J. Endzelin, *Slav'ano-baltijskie et'udy* (1911), S. 105 f.
7) J. Rozwadowski, *RS.* V (1912), 9 f., *Encyklopedya polska* II (1915), 310.
8) A. Šachmatov, *Očerk drevnějšago perioda istorii russkago jazyka* (1915), S. 69.
9) A. Meillet, *MSL.* XI (1900), 351, *Arch. f. slav. Phil.* XXV (1903), 425 f.
10) R. Trautmann, *Die altpreussischen Sprachdenkmäler* (1910), S. 194 f.
11) Kul'bakin hält, *aaO.* 282, mit A. Šachmatov (*Izvěstija* III, 1898) die Akzentverschiebung für einen „*fakt glubokoj drevnosti, po vsěm věrojatijam eščě baltijsko-slov'anskago proischoždenija*".
12) S. Fussn. 9.
13) G. Bronisch, *Arch. f. slav. Phil.* XVIII (1896), 363.
14) O. Broch, *Arch. f. slav. Phil.* XVII (1895), 404, *Ugrorusskoe narěčie sela Ubli* (1900), S. 106.
15) S. Verf., *Revue des études slaves* I (1921), 36 f. und die dort angeführte Literatur.

Kategorie aber lässt sich nicht so leicht beseitigen. Sie ist nicht auf éine slavische Sprache beschränkt, und es fällt schwer, serb. *pîtām, bîvām* (čak. *pítān, bívān*), slov. *do-bívam*, kaš. *gȏ'dôš*, klr. *bývaš* anders denn als von altersher anfangbetonte Formen aufzufassen. Meillet erklärt die unverändert gebliebene alte Betonung durch die Annahme, die durch einzelsprachliche Kontraktion entstandene Länge sei zirkumflektiert und dieser Zirkumflexus habe die Akzentverschiebung unmöglich gemacht. Pedersen [1]) findet dies „so überraschend und unwahrscheinlich", dass er lieber serb. *ȉgrāš* ebenso wie *jȇzīkā* durch Akzentzurückziehung erklärt; leider hat er dabei übersehen, dass jedenfalls bei den langvokalischen Wurzeln (štok. *pîtāš*, čak. *pítāš*) die Wurzelbetonung allgemein-slavisch ist, — im Gegensatz zum Typus *jȇzīkā*. Kul'bakin hat gegen Meillets Ansicht die Betonung des Kompositums serb. *zàpītāś* ins Feld geführt: [2]) zu erwarten wäre **zȁpītāš*. Nun weisen aber die serbischen und slovenischen Wörter auf eine „nowoakutowa" (einen sekundären Akut) der Wurzelsilbe hin, und wenn dieselbe älter ist als das Akzentzurückwerfungsgesetz, durch welches r. *ná goru*, serb. *nà goru* u. dgl. entstanden sind, so ist die Betonung *zàpītāš* ebenso begreiflich wie *nà volju*. Und ich wüsste nicht, weshalb die „nowoakutowa" nicht so alt sein könnte. Porzeziński [3]) wies auf den Gegensatz štok. *kȏpām*: čak. *kopâm* hin und behauptete, dass „serb. *kȏpām* ein speziell serbisches (štokavisches) Zurückwerfen des Akzentes darstellt"; das lässt sich nicht widerlegen, aber dann bleibt doch noch serb. *pîtāš* übrig, welches in weit auseinanderliegenden Teilen des slavischen Gebietes seine Äquivalente hat. Rozwadowski [4]) weist ebenfalls auf čak. *kopâm* hin, weiter führt er die altpolnischen Formen *kopaję, kopaje* (XV. Jh.) an, aber auch er hat das Vorhandensein von urslavischen Formen mit „nowoakutowa" (*pýtā-*) nicht widerlegt. Es spricht also sehr viel dafür und nichts dagegen, dass im spätern Urslavischen ein Präsens *pýtaješi, pýtajetъ* usw. mit „nowoakutowa" bestanden hat; und dann fragt es sich weiter, ob dieses *pýta-* auf ein älteres *pŷta-* mit unverschobenem Akzente zurückgeht. Die von Belić vorgeschlagene Deutung [5]) von serb. *pîtāš* usw. aus einem athematischen **pytaši* usw. (das sich etwa mit lit. *žinaũ, žinaĩ, žìno* vergleichen liesse) kommt mir deshalb unannehmbar vor, weil die slavische Überlieferung klar auf eine Entwicklung *-aje-* > *-aa-* > *-a-* hinweist, woneben wir keinen sicheren Spuren einer athematischen Flexion begegnen [6]). Wir müssen ohne Zweifel von *pytāje-* ausgehen und uns die Frage vorlegen, welche Betonung diese Formation im ältern Slavischen hatte. Ich halte es nicht für ausgeschlossen, dass ein Teil der Verba dieser Klasse ursprünglich das *ā* betonte [7]), auf jeden Fall dürfte das für die Denominative von Oxytonis gelten, wie etwa *igrati*; bei solchen Zeitwörtern liesse sich die

1) H. Pedersen, *aaO.* 335.
2) S. Kul'bakin, *aaO.* 270.
3) W. Porzeziński, *aaO.* 18 f.
4) J. Rozwadowski, *RS.* V, 10.
5) A. Belić, *Akcenatske studije* I (1914), S. 73 ff.
6) S. Verf., *RS.* VIII (1918), 186.
7) Vgl. apreuss. *maitā, dwigubbū* : *lāiku, perbānda* (*ū* nach Labial aus *ā*).

Anfangbetonung auf eine ähnliche Weise erklären wie bei *nòsiši* usw., m. a. W. durch Zurückziehung des Akzentes [1]). Aber auch aus einem wurzelbetonten **pȳtaješi* kann čak. *pītāš* usw. entstanden sein. Bekanntlich haben die Endungen *-eši*, *-etə* usw. den Akzent von einer kurzen oder zirkumflektierten Wurzelsilbe herangezogen und einen vorhergehenden Akut etwas modifiziert; dieses ergibt sich aus Formen wie slov. *gînem*, čak. *gînĕn* (Novi) [2]). So wird auch das *a* von *-aješi*, *-ajetə* sich auf eine solche Weise geändert haben, dass es bereits im Urslavischen nicht mehr wie ein alter Akut wirken konnte, und diese Modifikation des *a* dürfte den Übergang des Zirkumflexes der Wurzelsilbe in eine „nowoakutowa" veranlasst haben [3]). Wenn diese Vermutungen das richtige treffen, so würde die Klasse von čak. *pītāš* zwar nicht dasjenige beweisen was Meillet meint, aber doch jedenfalls erst urslavische und nicht baltoslavische Wirkung des Gesetzes von De Saussure voraussetzen.

§ 16. Auch aus andern Gründen hat man die urslavische Periode für die Wirkung dieses Gesetzes angenommen. Vondrák, welcher früher bereits wegen r. *rúku*, s. *rûku*; r. *zímu*, s. *zîmu*, wofür er eine nach der baltoslavischen Periode eingetretene Kürzung der Endung annahm, die Möglichkeit einer baltoslavischen Akzentverschiebung nach dem De Saussureschen Gesetze geleugnet hatte [4]), hat später solchen Formen wie r. *nesú*, *nesíte*, „die erst auf slav. Boden ihre Int. änderten", eine grössere Bedeutung beigelegt [5]). Der auf diesen noch nicht indogermanischen oder baltoslavischen, sondern erst urslavischen Akut gerückte Akzent beweist, wie Vondrák meint, dass die Akzentverschiebung erst urslavisch ist. In derselben Richtung hat Lehr-Spławiński die Lösung des Problemes gesucht: Lehr hat nachzuweisen versucht [6]), dass vor — in der urslavischen Periode geschwundenem — *-s* alter Zirkumflexus bewahrt geblieben, alter Akut aber Zirkumflex geworden sei; vor diesem sekundären Zirkumflexus sei wie vor altererbtem Zirkumflexus die Akzentverschiebung unterblieben, und daraus gehe hervor, dass dieselbe urslavisch, nicht baltoslavisch sei. Nun halte ich Lehrs Regel, dass eine solche Metatonie von Vokalen auslautender Silben speziell und ausschliesslich vor *-s* vorkomme, für unrichtig [7]), das Vorhandensein solcher Metatonien ist aber unleugbar, und zwar ist in gewissen Fällen ein alter Akut Zirkumflexus, in andern ein alter Zirkumflexus Akut geworden [8]). In all diesen Formkategorien ist die sekundäre, erst auf slavischem Boden entstandene Intonation für die Betonung entscheidend, nicht die ältere, vorurslavische; z.B.: r. *óba*, skr.

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1) S. S. 30 mit Fussnote 6.

2) S. Verfasser, *RS.* IX (1921), 93 f. und weiter unten § 48 sub 5.

3) Über s. *pītāš* usw. vgl. auch meine Ausführungen *IF.* XL (1922), 37 ff.

4) W. Vondrák, *BB.* XXX (1906), 150.

5) W. Vondrák, *Vergleichende slavische Grammatik*, I (1906), S. 206, *KZ.* XLI (1907), 137 f.

6) T. Lehr-Spławiński, *Prawo de Saussure'a a prasłow. intonacja samogłosek długich w wygłosie* [*Ze studjów nad akcentem słowiańskim* (1917), S. 1—41].

7) S. F. Trávníček, *Listy filologické* XLVIII (1921), 47 f. und meine Ausführungen *RS.* IX (1921), 83 f.

8) S. Verf., *RS.* IX (1921), 83 f. mit Fussnoten, auch T. Lehr-Spławiński, *aaO.*, 122 ff.

δba, slov. *obâ* : lit. *abù*, gr. *ἀμφώ*; r. *nesí*, s. *nèsi* : lit. *te-sukẽ*, gr. *φέροις*. Daraus ergibt sich m. E. auf eine unzweideutige Weise, dass auf slavischem Boden das Gesetz De Saussures nach der baltoslavischen Periode (wenn eine solche bestanden hat) gewirkt hat.

Im Gegensatz zu Meillet halten Vondrák und Lehr das Akzentverschiebungsgesetz für urslavisch [1]), nicht für nachurslavisch. Derselben Ansicht ist offenbar Hujer [2]). Meine eigene Meinung berührt sich näher mit derjenigen Meillets, indem ich wenigstens für einen Teil der Formkategorien eine erst einzelsprachliche Akzentverschiebung annehme. In einem in 1915 oder 1916 geschriebenen, aber erst in 1922 erschienenen Aufsatze [3]) habe ich einige formative Elemente zusammengestellt, welche erst nach der urslavischen Periode auf einzelsprachlichem Boden ihr Gebiet erweitert haben oder sogar neu aufgekommen sind und welche den Akzent von einer vorhergehenden kurzen oder zirkumflektierten, aber nicht von einer akutierten Silbe herangezogen haben [4]); daraus geht m. E. klar hervor, dass das Gesetz De Saussures jedenfalls in einigen Sprachen, namentlich im Russischen, Serbokroatischen und Slovinzisch-Nordkašubischen, noch nach der urslavischen Periode gewirkt hat. Die von mir zusammengestellten Kategorien dieser Art sind folgende:

der štokavische Lokativ Singular auf *-u*,
der nordkašubisch-slovinzische Lokativ Sg. auf *-ū* bezw. *-ŭ*,
die nordkaš.-slovinzischen Feminina auf *-'ô'* bezw. *-'ă'ų*,
der serbokroatische Genitiv Plural auf *-ā*,
der slovinzische Genitiv Plural auf *-òų*, *-ĭ* (nordkaš. *-ôf*, *-ī*),
der russische Genitiv Plural auf *-ov*, der Lok. Sg. auf *-u*. Diesen Formen liessen sich noch der Gen. Plur. auf *-ej* und russische Reflexivformen wie *lil-śá*, *liló-ś*, *lilí-ś* hinzufügen [5]).

Neben dieser einzelsprachlichen Wirkung des De Saussureschen Gesetzes nahm ich in meinem Aufsatze eine ältere, urslavische, an, und zwar erblickte ich in der allgemeinslavischen Vokalkürzung solcher Formen wie r. *sv'atój*, skr. *svètī*, čech. *svatý*, nordkaš. *sv'ątẽ́*, slz. *svjątĭ* den Beweis urslavischer Akzentverschiebung [6]). Jetzt lege ich der Quantität von *svętъi* keinen so grossen Wert bei, denn bekanntlich ist auch in betonter Antepänultima eine urslavische Kürzung eingetreten: skr. *jȁgoda*, čech. *jahoda*, urslav. **jăgoda* [7]). Ebenso wie **jăgoda* können Formen wie **svętaja*, **svętoe*,

1) Vondrák erwähnt *BB.* XXX (1906), 151 Meillets Ansicht; dann fährt er fort: „Ich möchte mit ihm nur insofern übereinstimmen, als ich annehme, dass nicht das ganze gemeinslavische Gebiet von ihr [der Akzentverschiebung] tangiert wurde". In seinen spätern Schriften hält V. das Gesetz ohne weitere Einschränkung für urslavisch.

2) O. Hujer, *Slovanská deklinace jmenná* (1910), S. 97 f. Auf S. 2 Fussnote, wo er ausführlicher über das Gesetz schreibt, teilt Hujer keine eigene Ansicht über die Chronologie mit.

3) Verf., *Zum baltischen und slavischen Akzentverschiebungsgesetz*, *IF.* XL, 1 ff.

4) Freilich hat bisweilen eine Ausgleichung stattgefunden; der lautgesetzliche Bestand tritt aber überall klar hervor; s. *aaO.*, passim.

5) S. *Izvěstija* XXIII (1918), 1, 111 f.

6) *IF.* XL (1922), 33 f.

7) A. Šachmatov, *Izvěstija* VII (1903), 2, 314 f. In dieser und den folgenden urslavischen Formen bezeichnet' nur die Akzentstelle.

svętaego, sogar **svętájь*, **svętъi* existiert haben, und die wohl durch einen sekundären Akut hervorgerufene Betonung *svętъ̀i* (r. *sv'atój* usw.) wäre dann jünger als die Kürze der Wurzelsilbe.

Aber wenn auch dieser Beweis entfällt, so glaube ich dennoch, dass das Gesetz De Saussures bereits im Urslavischen gewirkt hat und dass zum Beispiel solche Formen wie r. *rukú*, čak. *rūkȁ* oder r. *vezú*, *tr'asú*, r. *vezí*, *tr'así*, čak. *vezȉ*, *trēsȉ* in jener Periode ihre Endbetonung erhalten haben. Beweisen lässt es sich, soviel ich sehe, nicht; dafür spricht aber die weite Verbreitung der Endbetonung. Eine zeitlang habe ich an die Möglichkeit gedacht, dass die Oxytonierung von *rǫka*, *vezǫ*, *tręsǫ*, *vezi*, *tręsi* usw. auf das Ost- und Südslavische beschränkt gewesen sei: die slovinzische und nordkašubische Oxytonierung von *svjątí* bezw. *sv'ątȇ*; *grälbjä'u*, *grëb'ô'* [1]); *břegú*, *břegóu* bezw. *dlëgú*, *dlëgŏf* u. dgl. kommt bloss bei sekundärem Akute vor, dieser hat auch sonst eine Vorliebe für den Hauptakzent [2]), und deshalb beweist die Endbetonung solcher Formen nichts für die Betonung von Formen mit auslautendem primärem Akut; dieser trägt, von einsilbigen Wörtern abgesehen, im Nordkašubischen und Slovinzischen nie den Hauptton. Das Polnische, Sorbische, Čechische und Slovakische haben bekanntlich ihre Betonung normalisiert, indem die Pänultimabetonung bezw. Anfangbetonung allgemein durchgeführt wurde [3]), so dass die Endbetonung vollständig aufgegeben worden ist. Dass sie einmal auch auf diesen Gebieten existiert hat, das ergibt sich aus dem Konsensus derjenigen slavischen Sprachen, welche die freie Betonung bewahrt haben. Sicherheit ist aber nur dort zu erzielen, wo die Endbetonung altererbt war; bei sekundärer Endbetonung ist die Übereinstimmung zwischen Ost- und Südslavisch für das Westslavische nicht beweisend, und einige Zeit habe ich gemeint, dass wir überhaupt nicht ausmachen können, ob das De Saussuresche Gesetz auf westslavischem Boden gewirkt hat [4]). Jetzt glaube ich aber, jedenfalls eine Wortkategorie nachweisen zu können, welche für altpolnische Oxytonierung des primären Akutes spricht; dann wird aber dieselbe Betonung auch für andere derartige Kategorien wahrscheinlich, und weil das Polnische zum Süd- und Ostslavischen stimmt, dürfen wir mit einer gewissen Zuversicht die altpolnischen Verhältnisse für allgemein-lechisch und sogar für allgemein-westslavisch halten; dann hat aber das De Saussuresche Gesetz auf dem ganzen slavischen Gebiete gewirkt und es ist wahrscheinlich, dass jedenfalls die älteste Schicht der Formen mit verschobenem Akzente (*rǫkà* u. a. Kategorien mit altem Akute) auf die urslavische Periode zurückgeht. Die altpolnische Kategorie, welche ich im Auge habe, sind die Formen der 2. Pers. Sg. Imper., deren Wichtigkeit für die Bestimmung der altpolnischen Betonung Rozwadowski richtig

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1) S. *IF.* XL, 5.

2) S. T. Lehr, *Akcent pomorski* [*Ze studjów nad akcentem słowiańskim*, 1917, S. 41—63], Verf., *AfslPh.* XXXVII (1918), 10.

3) Das Polabische glaube ich ausser Betracht lassen zu dürfen. S. über dessen Betonung T. Lehr, *Paralelizm w rozwoju akcentuacji potabskiej i słoweńskiej* [*Ze studjów* S. 63—92], wo auch die ältere Literatur angeführt wird.

4) Vgl. W. Vondrák, *BB.* XXX (1906), 151 f.

hervorgehoben hat [1]). In den altpolnischen Psalterien werden im Allgemeinen diejenigen Zeitwörter, welche im Russischen ein stammbetontes Präsens haben, ohne auslautendes *-i* (*-y*) geschrieben, diejenigen aber, welche im Russischen alle Präsensendungen oder einen Teil derselben betonen, haben das *-i* (*-y*) bewahrt: also nicht bloss *kupi* (: r. *kupl'ú*, *kúpiš*), *każy* (r. *kažú*, *kážeš*), sondern auch *żywi*, *milczy*, *przeniesi* (r. *živíš*, *molčíš*, *perenesëš*), m. a. W. *-i* (*-y*) liegt auch dort vor, wo das Gesetz De Saussures gewirkt hat; ich kann das nicht anders erklären als durch die Annahme, dass dieses Gesetz auch in dem Polnischen oder vielmehr Vorpolnischen gewirkt hat.

§ 17. Es hat sich uns im Vorhergehenden ergeben, dass aller Wahrscheinlichkeit nach der primäre Akut bereits vor dem Ende der urslavischen Periode den Akzent einer vorhergehenden kurzen oder zirkumflektierten Silbe attrahiert hat. Es fragt sich nun weiter, ob es nicht möglich ist, dass dieses bereits in der baltoslavischen Zeit stattgefunden hat. Bevor wir diese Frage beantworten, ist es nötig, auf die baltischen Verhältnisse einzugehen.

Früher habe ich auf grund von Beobachtungen Bezzenbergers und Rozwadowskis angenommen [2]), dass das De Saussuresche Gesetz nicht urbaltisch sei; jetzt verhalte ich mich dieser Frage gegenüber etwas anders als damals. Rozwadowski hat bekanntlich wegen der Akzentbezeichnungen in der Universitas linguarum Litvaniae und der Barytonierung von *rañdu*, *waĩkus*, *uñtri* usw. in der Mundart von Worniany geglaubt, dass die Akzentverschiebung in zweisilbigen Wörtern mit schleiftoniger Länge in der ersten Silbe erst in den einzelnen litauischen Mundarten stattgefunden habe [3]). Nun begegnet uns aber diese Barytonierung sowohl in der Universitas wie in zahlreichen litauischen Mundarten [4]) auch dort, wo die litauische Schriftsprache eine von altersher kurze Auslautssilbe hat, z. B. Univ. *sûnus* (Nom. Sg.). Hier ist die Oxytonierung ursprünglich und nicht durch das De Saussuresche Gesetz hervorgerufen, es hat hier also eine dialektische Akzentzurückziehung stattgefunden, dann ist aber aller Wahrscheinlichkeit nach auch in solchen Fällen wie *kàlba* (N. Sg.), *kàlbu* (1. Ps. Sg.) die Barytonierung jung und für eine ältere Periode sind Formen mit nach De Saussures Gesetz verschobenem Akzente anzunehmen.

Und was die von Bezzenberger angeführten [5]) altpreussischen Formen *maddla*, *tickra*, *wissa* anbetrifft, so halte ich die Ansicht Porzezińskis [6]), dass in *maddla* der Akzent auf der ersten Silbe geblieben sei, weil das

1) J. Rozwadowski, *Encyklopedya polska* II (*Język polski i jego historya* I) (1915), S. 300 ff.

2) Verf., *IF.* XL (1922), 34 f. Der Aufsatz wurde in 1915 oder 1916 geschrieben.

3) J. Rozwadowski, *IF.* VII (1897), 268.

4) S. W. Porzeziński, *Izvěstija* I (1896), 493. Hierher gehören zahlreiche Mundarten, welchen Baranowski Material für seine Textsammlungen entnommen hat. Vgl. die S. 20 Fussn. 5 angeführte Ausgabe. Dieselbe Ansicht über die Akzentzurückziehung bei trochäischem Wortausgang, welche ich im Texte ausspreche, findet man in Spechts *Grammat. Einleitung*, S. 27.

5) A. Bezzenberger, *KZ.* XLI (1907), 74 f.

6) W. Porzeziński, *RS.* IV (1911), 18.

Wort aus dem Polnischen entlehnt ist, während die je einmal vorkommenden Formen *tickra* und *wissa* Druck- oder Schreibfehler seien, für durchaus verteidigbar; bloss bezweifle ich, ob wir all diejenigen Fälle, wo im Enchiridion die Länge unbezeichnet blieb, als Druck- oder Schreibfehler betrachten dürfen; dafür sind diese Fälle zu zahlreich. Besser sagen wir einfach, dass Will die betonte Länge oft, aber nicht immer durch einen Strich angedeutet hat. Übrigens halte ich es für möglich, dass *tickra* und *wissa* tatsächlich, wie Bezzenberger glaubt, Paroxytona sind; denn gewisse Tatsachen sprechen dafür, dass das De Saussuresche Gesetz im Altpreussischen nicht in demselben Umfange wie im Litauischen gewirkt hat, und offenbar hat das *i* seinen Akzent in sehr beschränktem Grade einem folgenden Akutus abgetreten.

Bekanntlich bietet das Studium des altpreussischen Akzentes manche Schwierigkeiten. Was das De Saussuresche Gesetz anbetrifft, so ist es m. E. klar, dass dasselbe auch auf preussischem Boden gewirkt hat, in welchem Umfange aber, das ist schwer auszumachen. Wenn wir die weiblichen Nominative Sing. *etwerpsnā*, *spigsnā* mit *enteikūsna*, *powackīsna* vergleichen, so lässt sich der Betonungsunterschied am einfachsten durch die Annahme erklären, dass bei den ersten zwei Formen das De Saussuresche Gesetz gewirkt hat, während bei den zwei andern der Akutus der Pänultima die Akzentverschiebung unmöglich gemacht hat. Bezüglich dieses Kasus stimmt also das Preussische zum Litauischen. Im Akkus. Plur. sämtlicher Stammklassen dagegen weichen die beiden Sprachen voneinander ab; das Apreuss. hat *rānkans*, *āusins*, im Gegensatz zum Litauischen. Es liegt kein Anlass vor, an der Identität der litauischen und preussischen Endungen zu zweifeln, dann ist es aber klar, dass das De Saussuresche Gesetz nicht in dem ganzen Umfange, den es im Litauischen hat, auf die urbaltische Periode zurückgeht. Im Gegensatz zu solchen Fällen wie apr. *rānkans* : lit. *rankàs* gibt es Formkategorien, wo das Altpreussische weiter gegangen ist als das Litauische, und zwar hat offenbar ein sekundärer Akut in der preussischen Pänultima bisweilen den Akzent attrahiert. Zwar wären die Dative Plur. *vremmans*, *wirdemmans*, *waikammans* auch als von jeher paroxytonierte Formen verständlich, kaum aber dürfen wir das für die Verbalformen der 1. Pers. Plur. *giwammai*, *giwemmai*, *poprestemmai*, *perweckammai*, *paikemmai*, *klantemmai*, *wertemmai* annehmen; hier (und vielleicht auch in *vremmans*) wird eine Verschiebung des Akzentes stattgefunden haben, welche sich mit solchen Fällen wie r. *déśat'* : *deśátyj*, s. *dȅset* : *dèsētī* [1]) oder niederl. *nóoddruft* : *nooddrúftig*, *móedeloos* : *moedelóósheid* [2]) vergleichen lässt.

Es ist m. E. unleugbar, dass das Gesetz De Saussures auch auf altpreussischem Boden gewirkt hat; hier wirkte es aber auf eine etwas andere Weise als im Litauischen. Die Möglichkeit ist, soviel ich sehe, nicht ausgeschlossen, dass die ältesten Fälle (solche etwa wie *rañkā* > *rankā*) auf die urbaltische Periode zurückgehen, in seinem ganzen litauischen Umfange ist das Gesetz aber keinenfalls urbaltisch. In diesem

1) S. Verf., *RS.* VII (1914/5), 162.
2) S. Verf., *De nieuwe taalgids* XIV (1920), 246 f.

Zusammenhange erinnere ich daran, dass das De Saussuresche Gesetz jünger ist als die Entstehung des „paradigme mobile" aus einem oxytonierten Paradigma [1]). Soviel ich sehe, lässt es sich nicht entscheiden, ob dieses „paradigme mobile" erst in der litauischen oder etwa litauisch-lettischen Periode oder aber in der urbaltischen Zeit entstanden ist. Die lettische Sprache hat für die Entscheidung dieser Frage eine untergeordnete Bedeutung; obgleich der Stosston auf eine ältere Periode mit freierer Betonung hinweist [2]), gestattet er uns keine Entscheidung, ob das ältere Lettische ein oxytoniertes oder ein mobiles Paradigma besessen hat [3]).

§ 18. Wenn *rankā* aus *rañkā* urbaltisch sein sollte, so fragt es sich weiter, ab in solchen alten Fällen die Akzentverschiebung vielleicht sogar baltoslavisch ist. Sicherheit ist hier kaum zu erreichen, mit einer gewissen Wahrscheinlichkeit lässt sich aber behaupten, dass Baltisch und Slavisch wohl gänzlich voneinander zu trennen sind. Im Slavischen hat De Saussures Gesetz offenbar sowohl in der urslavischen Periode wie nach Abschluss derselben gewirkt, es ist aber doch wohl eine gewisse Kontinuität anzunehmen. Dann ist der Anfang der Akzentverschiebung wohl in das Ende der urslavischen Periode zu stellen; dieses ist aber durch mehr als tausend, vielleicht durch mehr als zweitausend Jahre von der baltoslavischen Periode (angenommen, dass es eine solche überhaupt gegeben hat) getrennt; und Millennia hintereinander wird ein solches Gesetz kaum gewirkt haben!

In diesem Zusammenhange möchte ich auf einen Unterschied zwischen dem litauischen und dem slavischen Akzentverschiebungsgesetz hinweisen: im Litauischen zieht nur eine unmittelbar folgende akutierte Silbe den Akzent heran, im Slavischen wird derselbe bisweilen zwei Silben verschoben. Vollkommen klar sind die litauischen Verhältnisse: im Litauischen haben Formen wie der Instrumental *ãszara* und der Akkus. Plur. *ãkmenis* trotz der akutierten Endungen die Wortbetonung nicht geändert. Bezüglich des Slavischen gehen die Ansichten der Gelehrten auseinander. Schon vor vielen Jahren hat Pedersen eine Form wie r. *lepetát'* aus **lèpetati* hergeleitet [4]); diese Deutung ist aber nicht die einzig mögliche, denn bekanntlich hat im Urslavischen ein Akzentgesetz gewirkt, gemäss welchem eine kurze und eine zirkumflektierte Inlautssilbe ihren Akzent zurückgeworfen haben: nach diesem Gesetze könnte r. *lépet* aus urslav. **lepètъ* entstanden sein, und dem Verbum *lepetát'* würde dann **lepètati* und nicht **lèpetati* zugrunde liegen; vgl. die Bekämpfung Pedersens durch Kul'bakin [5]). Die meisten Forscher glauben nicht an Pedersens Gesetz; eine Ausnahme bildet Ivšić, welcher durch dieses Gesetz r. *veselá*, *ozerá*, *kolesá*, *plemená* und ihre Äquivalenten in andern slavischen Sprachen erklärt [6]). Hauptsächlich die letzten zwei Beispiele sind wertvoll: der

1) S. F. de Saussure, *IFA.* VI (1896), 157 ff. 2) S. § 10.

3) S. S. 46 Fussn. 4. Angesichts des dort Gesagten ist urbaltischer Ursprung der mobilen Deklination wenig wahrscheinlich.

4) H. Pedersen, *KZ.* XXXVIII (1905), 306 f.

5) S. Kul'bakin, *Izvěstija* XI (1906), 4, 262 f.

6) S. Ivšić, *Rad* CLXXXVII (1911), 135 und 198 f.

s-Stamm *kolo* hat ohne Zweifel alte Stammbetonung, und von den sächlichen *n*-Stämmen wird dasselbe gelten [1]). Für noch beweisender halte ich aber die weiblichen *l*-Partizipien der Verbalklasse von *roditi* und **zoltiti*. Das Slovenische hat hier *rodíla*, *zlatíla* [2]), welche ältere Endbetonung voraussetzen [3]), und dass dieselbe urslavisch ist, ergibt sich aus r. *rodilá*, čak. *rodīlȁ* [4]). Dass gerade bei diesem Zeitworte die alte Betonung bewahrt blieb, ist begreiflich: die weibliche Form wird und wurde auch früher sehr viel verwendet und dadurch konnte sie dem nivellierenden Einflusse des Paradigmas *nosȉlъ*, *nosȉla*, *nosȉlo* einen starken Widerstand leisten. Nun geht gerade die Klasse von *roditi*, **zoltiti*, welche im Präsens die Endungen betont, im Gegensatz zum Typus *nošǫ̀*, *nòsiši; xvaľǫ̀*, *xváliši*, auf ein ursprünglich wurzelbbetontes Paradigma zurück [5]), so dass für *rodilȁ* von **rȍdila* auszugehen ist [6]).

§ 19. Wenn auch das Gesetz De Saussures erst im Sonderleben des Baltischen und Slavischen gewirkt hat, so liegt doch der Gedanke nahe, dass der slavische und der baltische Zirkumflexus eine gleiche Eigenschaft besessen haben, welche die Akzentverschiebung hervorrief oder förderte, und die Kürze und der Akut der beiden Sprachen ebenfalls. De Saussure hat die Nähe der Akzentgipfel in solchen Fällen wie *laikyti* (*aĩ* + *ý*) als den direkten Anlass der Akzentverschiebung betrachtet [7]). Für das Slavische aber wäre eine ähnliche Annahme unmöglich, denn hier war der Zirkumflex fallend und der Akut steigend. Eine solche Tonbewegung der beiden Intonationen ist auch für das ältere Baltische anzunehmen [8]), und erst während der Sonderexistenz des Litauischen ist eine Änderung der Akzentbewegung eingetreten. Es fragt sich nun, ob im Litauischen das Gesetz vor oder nach dieser Änderung gewirkt hat. Soviel ich sehe, lässt sich diese Sache nicht entscheiden; das einzige, was wir mit einer gewissen Wahrscheinlichkeit sagen dürfen, ist dieses, dass vermutlich in denjenigen Sprachen, wo das De Saussuresche Gesetz gewirkt hat, die kurzen und zirkumflektierten Silben eine gemeinschaftliche Ton- oder Akzenteigenschaft besessen haben; die Qualität derselben lässt sich aber kaum näher bestimmen.

§ 20. Die baltische und slavische Betonung vor der Wirkung von De Saussures Gesetz.

Die Entdeckung des Akzentverschiebungsgesetzes hat es uns ermöglicht, den prähistorischen, der Wirkung des Gesetzes vorangehenden Betonungsverhältnissen des Baltischen und Slavischen auf die Spur zu kommen. Bekanntlich hat De Saussure in demselben Aufsatze, wo er das Gesetz zum ersten Male formuliert hat, gleich die Konsequenzen, welche

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1) S. A. Meillet, *Arch. f. slav. Phil.* XXV (1903), 426 ff.

2) S. M. Valjavec, *Rad* CXXXII (1897), 189.

3) Im Gegensatz zu *hodȋla* (Valjavec, *aaO.* 157).

4) S. A. Belić, *Izvěstija* XIV (1909), 2, 249.

5) S. Verf., *Arch. f. slav. Phil.* XXXVII (1918), 1 ff.

6) Ausführlich besprach ich diesen Gegenstand in dem in 1919 in Petersburg erschienenen Aufsatz *K formam rodilá, rodilšá i. t. d.*, *Izvěstija* XXIII (1918), 1, 106 ff.

7) S. F. de Saussure, *IFA.* VI (1896), 157 Fussnote.

8) S. § 12, speziell den letzten Teil.

sich aus demselben für das prähistorische Litauische ergeben, gezogen. Wenn wir die prähistorischen litauischen Paradigmen mit den slavischen vergleichen, so zeigt sich bei den Nomina ein sehr grosser Unterschied zwischen den beiden Sprachgruppen und die Frage muss gestellt werden, wo die ältesten Verhältnisse vorliegen. Bei der Verbalflexion, welche ich zuerst bespreche, sind die Schwierigkeiten geringer.

§ 21. Das thematische Präsens auf *-a-*, *-ja-*, *-na-*, *-sta-* usw. war im ältern Baltischen stammbetont [1]); diese Betonung blieb in der litauischen 3. Person unverändert, in der 1. 2. Ps. Sg. bloss bei den Verben mit akutierter Stammsilbe; bei denjenigen mit kurzer oder zirkumflektierter Stammsilbe wurde in diesen Personen der Akzent gemäss dem De Saussureschen Gesetze verschoben: *áugu*, *áugi*, *áuga; neszù*, *nẽsza; verczìu*, *verczì*, *veřczia.*

Durchgehende Barytonierung ist ebenfalls für das ältere slavische thematische Präsens anzunehmen; nicht nur r. *nesú*, *tr'asú*, sondern auch die weitern Personen r. *nesëš*, *tr'asëš* usw., skr. *nèsēš*, *trésēš* usw. sind nach dem Gesetze De Saussures zu erklären: in der 1. Ps. Sg. hat ein primärer, in den weitern Formen ein sekundärer Akut den Akzent attrahiert, und von Haus aus war die Betonung dieselbe wie in r. *šádu*, *šádeš*, skr. *sèdēš*, wo der Akut der Stammsilbe die Akzentverschiebung unmöglich machte [2]).

Dasselbe gilt für einen Teil der *i*-Präsentien, u. a. für all diejenigen, welche einen Infinitiv auf *-ěti* neben sich haben: r. *gor'ú*, *goríš* hatte ursprünglich ebensogut Anfangbetonung wie *vížu*, *vídiš*. Auch hier stimmen Litauisch und Slavisch miteinander überein; vgl. lit. *stebiù-s* : *stèbi-s* neben *mýliu* : *mýl* [3]).

Die ausnahmslose Stammbetonung der baltischen und slavischen *e/o*-Präsentia ist kaum alt; denn es hat im Indogermanischen gewiss thematische Präsentia mit haupttonigem Themavokal gegeben, vgl. ai. *giráti* (= abg. *žьretъ*), *dìgáti*, gr. *ἴδέ*, *φαγέ*, *λαβέ*, *παθών* usw. [4]). Sogar existieren auf baltischem Boden noch endungbetonte Formen, wenn auch nicht in dem Indikativ, und zwar der sogenannte Permissiv *te-sukẽ* und das Partizip *sukq̃s*, *augq̃s* [5]). In diesen Partizipialformen, denen bei den *ja-* und *sta*-Präsentien stammbetonte Formen gegenüberstehen (*szaũkiąs*, *klỹpstąs*), hat De Saussure [6]) eine Reminiszenz eines Verbalparadigmas „non immo-

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1) S. H. Hirt, *Der indogermanische Akzent* (1895), S. 172, 187, — F. de Saussure, *IFA.* VI (1896), 159.

2) S. Verf., *Arch. f. sl. Phil.* XXXVII (1918), 41 f., wegen der *ne*-Präsentia auch H. Pedersen, *KZ.* XXXVIII (1905), 341 ff.

3) Vgl. Verf., *Arch. f. sl. Phil.* XXXVII, 41 f. In demselben Aufsatze (*Zur Betonung der Verba mit stammbildendem i*) behandelte ich auch eine Klasse von *i*-Präsentien, welche ursprünglich das Formans betonte: r. *nósiš*, *chváliš* usw. In apr. *billē*, *billā*, *kaltzā* usw. dürften endbetonte baltische Formen vorliegen; dann nehmen wir am besten für die ausnahmslos wurzelbetonten Präsensformen auf *-o* eine litauische oder litaulettische Verallgemeinerung der Barytonierung an.

4) S. K. Brugmann, *Grundriss*² I (1897), S. 965; II, 3 (1916), S. 131.

5) S. H. Hirt, *Der idg. Akzent* (1895), S. 172.

6) F. de Saussure, *IFA.* VI (1896), 159 f. Vgl. jetzt auch F. Specht, *Grammat. Einleitung* (s. S. 20, Fussn. 5), S. 34 f.

bile" erblickt. Ich leugne die Möglichkeit davon nicht, möchte aber doch bemerken, dass die litauische Verteilung der Betonungskategorien des Ptz. Präs. auf keinen Fall mit der indogermanischen übereinstimmt, weshalb Zweifel an der Altertümlichkeit des Typus *sukąs* gerechtfertigt ist; und dasselbe gilt von dem endbetonten Permissiv *te-sukẽ* [1]). Das Slavische hat hier ausnahmslos alte Wurzelbetonung, denn die Oxytonierung von r. *nesí*, *tr̨así*, skr. *nèsi*, *trési* ist der Wirkung des De Saussureschen Gesetzes zuzuschreiben [2]).

Aus dem Vorhergehenden ergibt sich, dass die Stammbetonung aller thematischen Präsentia — und dasselbe gilt wohl für die zu *ē*-Infinitiven gehörigen *i*-Präsentia — urbaltoslavisch sein kann; eine solche Vermutung lässt sich aber nicht beweisen. Ebensowenig lässt sich über den Ursprung der durchgehenden Anfangbetonung etwas sicheres sagen. Man könnte vermuten, dass das Baltische und Slavische die enklitischen Verbalformen, welche das Indogermanische ohne jeden Zweifel besessen hat, verallgemeinert haben, zumal wenn man mit Hirt annimmt, dass diese enklitischen Formen einen kleinen Nebenakzent auf der ersten Silben gehabt haben [3]). Weiter könnte man in lit. *àt-neszu*, *nè-neszu* die regelrechte Fortsetzung eines idg. **át-neĥō*, **né-neĥō* erblicken [4]). Weiter als zu blossen Vermutungen kommen wir aber nicht, solange überhaupt das Verhältnis des baltischen und slavischen Wortakzentes zum indogermanischen noch so dunkel ist [5]).

Der slavische *e/o*-Aorist ist formell ein Imperfektum und die durchgehende Anfangbetonung der 2. 3. Ps. Sg. stimmt dazu auf schönste. In einem Aufsatz, der bald in der *Revue des études slaves* erscheinen wird, behandelte ich die Aoristbetonung ausführlich. Dort hob ich an der Hand von Untersuchungen Rešetars und Leskiens die ausnahmslose Barytonesis auch der slavischen Aoriste (2. 3. P. Sg.) auf *-nǫ*, *-ě*, *-a*, *-i* hervor. In einigen Fällen dürfte diese Betonung sekundär sein, man vergleiche lit. *stojõs*, apr. *billā*, *-ē*. Auffällig ist die Übereinstimmung mit dem lit. Präteritum auf *-ė*, *-o*, was die Intonation anbetrifft. Mann kann für diesen Zirkumflex an urbaltoslav. Ursprung denken; sogar kommt der Gedanke an idg. Zirkumflex auf (vgl. gr. *βῆ*, *στῆ*, *φῆ*). Zu den übrigen Aoristpersonen, welche was die Betonung anbetrifft mit dem Infin. zusammengehen, vgl. den erwähnten Aufsatz, der auch sonst manches über die Verbalbetonung enthält.

Meiner Ansicht nach wird jedenfalls ein Teil der Präteritalstämme auf lit. *-o-*, *-ė-* urbaltische Endbetonung gehabt haben. Es war davon bereits die Rede [6]). Und ebenso glaube ich die Präsentia auf *-o* (3. Ps.)

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1) Freilich würde die Vorgeschichte von *sukąs* und *te-sukẽ* vollständig dunkel bleiben.

2) S. oben S. 30 und S. 33 f.

3) H. Hirt, *Der idg. Akz.* (1895), S. 304.

4) Die slavische Betonung von r. *né bylo* usw. dürfte demselben speziell slavischen Akzentgesetze zuzuschreiben sein, durch welches *pó pol'u*, *pó dva*, *zá ugol* usw. entstanden sind.

5) S. unten § 26, und auch A. Meillet, *MSL.* XIX (1914), 65.

6) S. S. 21.

beurteilen zu dürfen; in apreuss. *billā, billē* wird die alte Betonung fortleben [1]). Auch die slavischen Verba auf *-ati, -ajǫ* betonten wohl teilweise von altersher das *a* [2]); die jetzige Betonung gestattet uns aber kaum, die vorhistorischen Verhältnisse zu eruieren. Klarer sind die *i*-Verba. Wie bereits bemerkt wurde, ist für die *i-ě*-Klasse (lit. *i-ė*) alte Wurzelbetonung anzunehmen, und was die *i-i*-Klasse anbetrifft, so werden die Deverbativa wie *nositi, nošǫ* alte Formansbetonung haben, ebenso die Denominativa von Oxytonis, während die von barytonierten Nomina abgeleiteten *i-i*-Zeitwörter alte Stammbetonung haben [3]).

In all den Fällen der letzten Alinea (ausser den baltischen Präteritalformen, die alte Aoriste sein können) liegen bloss baltische oder bloss slavische Bildungen vor, und auch eine Vergleichung mit den indogermanischen Verhältnissen ist wenig fruchtbar. So hat etwa eine Vergleichung von r. *vorótit* (ursl. **voŕtitъ* aus **vortítъ*) mit ai. *vartáyati* eine geringe Bedeutung, weil das slavische *-i-* dem aind. *-aya-* nicht entsprechen kann, so dass die zwei Formen nicht ganz identisch sind [4]). Sicher alt sind einige sowohl im Baltischen wie im Slavischen bewahrte *mi*-Präsentia; der Singular hat die idg. Barytonierung bewahrt (skr. *jèst*, lit. *ẽsti* [5])), im Plural hat das Serbokroatische *jesmȍ*, was eine altererbte idg. Betonung sein kann, das Litauische *ẽsme, èsme*. Bei Dauksza ist die Endbetonung der 1. und 2. Ps. Plur. allgemein und die Möglichkeit ist da, dass diese Betonung regelrecht auf die idg. Periode zurückgeht [6]). Es ist aber auch mit den Möglichkeit einer erst balt. oder lit. Akzentverschiebung nach De Saussures Gesetz zu rechnen, denn bekanntlich haben *-me, -te* eine alte Länge (refl. *-mė-s, -tė-s*). Dasselbe gilt für ostlit. Futurformen wie *ẽīsmù, ẽīstù* [7]). Sonst setzt das lit. Futurum mit Sicherheit alte Wurzelbetonung voraus. S. *pletémo, -éte* haben auf keinen Fall altererbte Oxytonierung; im idg. thematischen Paradigma kam eine solche Oxytonierung nicht vor.

§ 22. Schwieriger als die verbale Flexion ist die nominale.

De Saussure hat auf eine unzweideutige Weise dargelegt, dass in der Periode, bevor das nach ihm genannte Gesetz wirkte, die litauischen konsonantischen Stämme nur éine Betonung gekannt haben, und zwar hatten sie ein „paradigme mobile", d. h. ein Teil der Kasus war barytoniert, ein anderer Teil oxytoniert. Die vokalischen Stammklassen dagegen besassen zwei Paradigmen, das eine „immobile", d. h. durchgehend barytoniert, das andere „mobile" [8]). Ein in allen Kasus oxytoniertes Paradigma lässt sich weder fürs neuere noch fürs ältere Litauische nachweisen.

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1) S. S. 40, Fussn. 3.

2) S. S. 32 f.

3) S. meinen Aufsatz *Zur Betonung der Verba mit stammbildendem i*, *AfslPh.* XXXVII (1918), 1 ff.

4) Allerdings ist idg. Formansbetonung sehr wahrscheinlich; vgl. auch got. *frawardjan*.

5) Lit. *esmi*, *esl* haben ursprünglich akutierte Endungen; s. Verf., *AfslPh.* XXXVI (1914), 111 ff.

6) S. F. Specht, *Grammat. Einleitung* (s. S. 20 Fussn. 5), S. 30 f.

7) S. F. Specht, *aaO.*, S. 30 ff.

8) F. de Saussure, *Accentuation lituanienne*, *IFA.* VI (1896), 157 ff.

Das ist sehr auffällig und der Gedanke liegt nahe, ob vielleicht das oxytonierte Paradigma, welches in der indogermanischen Periode bei gewissen Stammklassen ohne jeden Zweifel vorhanden war, im litauischen „paradigme mobile" fortlebt. Diese Frage hat bereits De Saussure sich gestellt und er hat sie in bejahendem Sinne beantwortet. De Saussure geht für die litauische konsonantische Flexion von einem indogermanischen Paradigma vom Typus **pətḗr*, **pətérm̥*, **pətrés* (nach Analogie anderer Kasus einzelsprachliches *-eres*, *-eros*) aus. Er nimmt an, dass in denjenigen Kasus, wo die Mittelsilbe den Akzent trug, derselbe auf die litauische Anfangssilbe zurückgezogen wurde, und dann soll weiter, wie er meint, der in diesen konsonantischen Paradigmen vorliegende Akzentwechsel bei den oxytonierten Vokalstämmen, genauer: bei den oxytonierten Stämmen auf *-o-*, *-ē-*, *-ī-*, *-u-* einen ähnlichen Akzentwechsel hervorgerufen haben. Zwischen den mobilen Nomina dieser Klassen und den Konsonantstämmen besteht bekanntlich, was die Verteilung der oxytonierten und barytonierten Kasus anbetrifft, ein vollständiger Parallelismus; die *a*-Stämme weichen ab: sie haben einen in allen Kasus barytonierten Singular, während im „paradigme mobile" ausser andern Pluralkasus auch der Nomin. Plur. Endbetonung hat: *vilkaĩ*, im Gegensatz zu *dùkter(ę)s*, *sūnūs* usw. De Saussure hält auch bei dieser Stammklasse die mobilen Nomina für alte Oxytona; er lässt aber die ganze Klasse weiter ausser Betracht wegen „plusieurs irrégularités qu'il serait impossible de discuter en peu de mots" [1]).

Eine ganz andere Ansicht als De Saussure vertritt Meillet. Dieser Gelehrte hat widerholt für das mobile Paradigma, auch für dasjenige der vokalischen Stämme, ein höheres Alter in Anspruch genommen, es sogar auf die indogermanische Periode zurückgeführt [2]). Zuletzt hat er im XIX. Bande der *MSL.* seine Ansicht ausführlich auseinandergesetzt [3]). Für mehrere Stammklassen nimmt Meillet daselbst drei indogermanische Paradigmen an, ein oxytoniertes, ein barytoniertes und ein „mobile": im Litauischen sei dieses letzte Paradigma besser als in andern Sprachen bewahrt geblieben. Seine Ausführungen über die indogermanischen Betonungsklassen fängt Meillet mit der Besprechung verschiedener Kategorien von Konsonantstämmen an. Hier wird jeder Forscher ihm insofern recht geben, als gewiss ein indogermanisches „paradigme mobile" der Konsonantstämme bestanden hat. Ohne jeden Zweifel gehören solche Paradigmen wie ai. *pā́t*, *pā́dam*, *padáḥ*, *padā́m*, gr. *πούς*, *πόδα*, *ποδός*, *ποδῶν*; gr. *πατήρ*, *πατέρα*, *πατρός*; ai. *púmān*, *púmāṁsam*, *puṁsáḥ*; *pánthāḥ*, *pánthām*, *patháḥ*; *yákṛt*, *yaknáḥ*; *ákṣi*, *akṣṇáḥ*; gr. *κύων*, *κυνός* zum sehr alten Bestand der indogermanischen Grundsprache, welcher — was wichtiger ist — bis in die Periode der Einzelsprachen bewahrt geblieben ist; und lit. *mótė*, *motẽ* : *moteřs* (< *-erès*), *moteriẽ*; *duktẽ*, *dukteřs*, *dukteriẽ* u. dgl. werden regelrecht auf solche idg. Paradigmen zurückgehen [4]).

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1) F. de Saussure, *aaO.* 165.
2) A. Meillet, *MSL.* VIII (1894), 172 f., *Russkij filol. Věstnik* XLVIII (1902), 193 ff.
3) A. Meillet, *Sur l'accentuation des noms en indo-européen*, *MSL.* XIX (1914), 65 ff.
4) Ich zitiere die schriftsprachlichen Formen. Die ebenfalls endbetonten altli-

Auch bei den *i*- und *u*-Stämmen hat es gewiss einen Akzentwechsel gegeben; ganz richtig zitiert Meillet gr. ὄις : οἰός (οἷς : οἰός), ai. *áviḥ* : *ávyaḥ* (für **avyáḥ*). Offenbar aber ist schon früh ein Ausgleich der Betonungen eingetreten, und, wenn wir die Genitivformation auf *-eis*, *-ois; -eus*, *-ous* in Betracht ziehen, so wüsste ich aus keiner Einzelsprache ausserhalb des Baltischen einen Fall von Akzentwechsel (etwa **óu̯is* : **ou̯eīs*) ausfindig zu machen. Ich glaube daher nicht an die Altertümlichkeit des litauischen Akzentwechsels *ãvį̃*, *ãvys* : *avẽs*; *súnų*, *súnūs* : *sūnaũs* (der Nom. Sg. lautet bekanntlich *avìs*, *sūnùs*). Auch die von Meillet herangezogenen Wörter mit zweierlei Betonung: ai. *mátiḥ* und *matíḥ*, gr. πῆχυς : ai. *bāhúḥ* beweisen ebensowenig eine idg. Flexion **mn̥tis* : **mn̥teīs* (*-oīs*), **bhā́ĝhus* : **bhāĝheūs* (*-oūs*) wie ai. *ájraḥ* : gr. ἀγρός etwa ein idg. **áĝros* : **aĝrósjo* beweisen [1]). Was die *ā*- und *o*-Stämme [2]) anbetrifft, hier ist idg. Akzentwechsel noch weniger plausibel zu machen. Zwar erwähnt Meillet die gr. Flexion μία : μιᾶς, Πλάταια : Πλαταιᾶς, in welchem Zusammenhang er auch ai. *páliknī* (: *palitáḥ*), *çyénī* (: *çyetáḥ*) anführt. Hier haben wir es aber mit einem Nominativausgang zu tun, der zu den sonstigen Endungen in einem regelmässigen Ablautverhältnisse steht (vgl. ai. *devī́* : *devíāḥ*, lit. *martì* : *marczõs*, got. *bandi* : *bandjos*), und der hier auftretende Akzentwechsel macht für die *ā*-Stämme ohne Ablaut des stammbildenden Vokales keinen ähnlichen Akzentwechsel wahrscheinlich; dass idg. **gᵘenā*, **qᵘoinā* usw. eine wechselnde Betonung gehabt haben, dafür spricht nichts; denn lit. *galvà* : Dat. *gálvai* u. dgl. allein enthalten keinen Beweis [3]).

Bei der idg. *o*-Deklination leugnet jetzt auch Meillet das Vorhandensein eines indogermanischen „paradigme mobile", abgesehen von dem von ihm angenommenen Akzentwechsel zwischen Neutrum Singular und Plural. Solche Gegensätze wie ai. *ájraḥ* : gr. ἀγρός erklärt er durch „quelque déplacement secondaire du ton" (im Gegensatze zu gr. πῆχυς : ai. *bāhúḥ* u. dgl.; s. o.). Früher hatte Meillet eine andere Ansicht ausgesprochen; damals nahm er auch für einen Teil der *o*-Stämme einen Betonungswechsel an, wobei er an solche Fälle wie gr. ἀμαχεί : ἄμαχος, ἡσυχῶς : ἥσυχος, ai. *sanát* : *sánaḥ*, *madhyát* : *mádhyaḥ* und an germanische Doppelformen mit grammatischem Wechsel (ahd. *zahar* : got. *tagr* u. dgl.) erinnerte [4]). Nun beweisen aber solche Doppelformen höchstens, dass in der indogermanischen Grundsprache gewisse Nomina auf *-o-* zweierlei Betonung hatten [5]); und was die indischen und griechischen Adverbia

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tauischen und dialektischen Genitive Plur. auf *-ũ* sind altertümlicher; es sind die alten Formen der konsonantischen Deklination.

1) S. A. Meillet, *aaO.* 79.

2) Die idg. *ē*- und *jē*-Stämme müssen ausser Betracht bleiben, weil sie in den uns überlieferten Sprachen so wenig verbreitet sind, dass wir ihre alten Akzentverhältnisse nicht feststellen können.

3) S. weiter § 23.

4) A. Meillet, *MSL.* VIII (1894), 174 f.

5) Wegen der germanischen Wörter verweist Meillet auf Kluge, *KZ.* XXVI (1883), 92 ff. S. weiter Kluge, *Pauls Grundriss* I¹ (1891), 387, I² (1901), 457, A. Noreen, *PBrB.* VII (1881), 431. Diese Forscher erklären die germanischen Verhältnisse durch die Annahme eines Akzentwechsels innerhalb des indogermanischen Paradigmas. Dagegen H. Hirt, *Der idg. Akzent* (1895), S. 258 f., W. Streitberg,

anbetrifft, so können auch diese nicht ohne weiteres für einen indogermanischen Betonungswechsel innerhalb des Substantiv- und Adjektivparadigmas angeführt werden. Ein solcher Wechsel liegt nirgends, in keiner Sprachgruppe vor und deshalb haben wir nicht das Recht, ihn für den letzten Teil der indogermanischen Periode anzunehmen. Dass er früher einmal vorhanden gewesen ist, das ist sehr gut möglich: ablautende Wortpaare wie lit. *béržas* : ai. *bhūrjáḥ* und solche Doppelformen wie gr. *ἀγρός* : ai. *ájraḥ* liessen sich durch diese Annahme sehr einfach erklären. Die frühindogermanischen Verhältnisse gehen uns aber jetzt nicht an, bloss die spätindogermanischen, — und für diese Periode dürfen wir kein mobiles *o*-Paradigma annehmen.

Für die neutralen *o*-Stämme nimmt Meillet im Gegensatz zu den männlichen einen alten Akzentwechsel zwischen Singular und Plural an. Das wichtigste Material liefern hier die baltischen und slavischen Sprachen, denn die paar von J. Schmidt [1]) zusammengestellten Beispiele ai. *svā́dana-* : gr. *ἡδονή*, ai. *bhrātrá-* : gr. *φράτρᾱ*, gr. *νεῦρον* : *νευρή*, *φῦλον* : *φῡλή* u. dgl. sind zu wenig zahlreich um als Beweis für einen allgemeinen Akzentwechsel zwischen dem Neutrum auf idg. *-om* und dem Kollektivum auf *-ā*, womit das Neutrum Plur. identisch ist, betrachtet zu werden. Das baltische Material liefert der Nom. Plur. auf *-ai*, den Meillet mit vielen andern Forschern als eine ursprüngliche Neutralform auffasst. Nun lässt sich diese Annahme von baltischem Standpunkte kaum verteidigen [2]); wichtiger ist aber jetzt für uns die Tatsache, dass gerade die Plurale auf betontes *-aĩ* zu solchen Nomina gehören, für welche auch ein ursprünglich endbetonter Singular anzunehmen ist [3]). Im Slavischen ist das Neutrum Plur. auf *-a* bewahrt geblieben, und tatsächlich liegt hier ein Akzentwechsel zwischen Singular und Plural vor: r. *póle* : *pol'á*, *seló* : *sëla*, — freilich nicht immer: z. B. *górlo* : *górla*. Ähnliche Verhältnisse zeigt das Serbokroatische. Wenn wir dieses Material vom Standpunkte das Slavischen betrachten, so ist es klar, dass der Akzentwechsel erst auf slavischem Boden entstanden ist: der Betonungstypus *pol'á* entstand durch das Gesetz De Saussures; die „nowoakutowa" von čak. *léta* (**dléta*; vgl. r. *dolóta* : Sg. *dolotó*) weist auf erst slavische Akzentzurückziehung hin; der Typus r. *górla*, skr. *gȑla* schliesslich ist lautgesetzlich bei alten Barytona mit akutierter Wurzelsilbe [4]).

§ 23. Aus dem Vorhergehenden ergibt sich, dass wir die mobile Betonung litauischer Vokalstämme nicht für indogermanisches Erbgut halten dürfen. Zu demselben Ergebnisse führt uns eine Untersuchung

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Urgerm. Gramm. (1896), S. 197. Wenn H. Osthoff, *Morphol. Unters.* II (1879), S. 12 wegen des Ablautverhältnisses $a_0 : a_1 : a_2$ (gr. *ὕπνος* : an. *suefn* : lit. *sãpnas*) „auch für die a_2- [d. h. *o*-] und die *ā*-Declination einen grundsprachlichen Wechsel der Accentlagerung ..... innerhalb eines und desselben Paradigmas" vorausgesetzt hat, so dürfte diese Voraussetzung für diejenige Periode, wo der Ablaut sich entwickelte, richtig sein, aber nicht für das spätere Indogermanische. S. im Texte.

1) J. Schmidt, *Die Pluralbildungen der idg. Neutra* (1889), S. 21, 41.

2) S. Verf., *Altpreussische Studien* (1918), S. 99 ff.

3) S. Verf. *aaO.*, S. XIX ff. und unten § 23.

4) S. S. Kul'bakin, *Izvěstija* XI (1906), 4, 257 f., Verf., *ÆfslPh.* XXXVII (1918), 44 ff.

altlitauischer, in einem Teil der heutigen Mundarten noch bewahrter Verhältnisse. Bei Dauksza zeigen gerade diejenigen Nomina, welche auch sonst Kasus mit alter, nicht erst durch De Saussures Gesetz hervorgerufener Endbbetonung besitzen, Oxytonierung vor den Postpositionen *-p* und *-n*, z. B. *wienóp·*, *darbóp·*, *gatóp·*, *Diewóp·*, *Diewiép·*, *skomiéip*^{2}, *gatwón*^{2}, *dągún*^{2}, dagegen: *úmžiop·*, *stúłop·* [1]), *žódziop·*, *Téwiep·*, *dwáriep·*, *wiéton*^{2}, und aus Baranowskis Dialektmaterial [2]) kann jeder sich soviele Beispiele wie er will zusammensuchen, welche für neulitauische Mundarten dieselbe Betonungsregel beweisen. Die einzige Möglichkeit diesen Tatbestand zu erklären bietet uns die Annahme, dass die sogenannten Mobilia, und zwar sogar auch die mobilen *a*-Stämme, ältere Oxytona sind [3]); wenn der Akzent von *wienóp·* usw. sekundär wäre, so würden wir bei *úmžiop·* usw. eine ähnliche Akzentverschiebung erwarten, weil hier genau dieselben Akzentbedingungen vorlagen [4]). Vor mir hatte bereits Būga [5]) auf die Gegensätze *keliañ*^{2}, *šėnañ*^{2} : *rãtan*^{2}, *algõn*^{2} : *vẽton*^{2}, *sūnuñ*^{2} : *vaĩsiun*^{2} hingewiesen, welche er zusammen mit *dėvûsę* : *rãtûsę* und mundartlichen *kùtasai*, *añtrasai* : *ánasaĩ*, *gyvasaĩ* als Beweise der alten Oxytonierung des *dẽvas*-Typus auffasste [6]).

Auch das Altpreussische liefert uns einen Beweis für die ursprüngliche Oxytonierung der litauischen Mobilia. Gerade bei solchen Nomina, welche im Litauischen eine wechselnde Betonung haben, fehlt in Wills Enchiridion regelmässig das Akzentzeichen: *deiws*, *-as*, *-an* usw.; *deinan; laucks*, *laukan; tautan; waix*, *waikan; ains; kaulan* usw. Fortunatov hat in dieser Kategorie die alten Oxytona erblickt [7]), — und das ist gewiss richtig [8]). Trautmann begibt sich m. E. auf Irrwege, wenn er in erster Linie oxytonierte Nomina aus andern Sprachzweigen vergleicht, wenn er apr. *deiws* zunächst nicht mit lit. *dẽvas* (Plur. *dėvaĩ*), sondern mit aind. *devấḥ* identifiziert, aber ganz richtig erblickt auch er im Typus *deiws*, *deinan* usw. ältere Oxytona [9]).

Neuerdings hat Endzelin den zwei Formgruppen von lit. *keliañ* [10]) und apr. *deiws* noch eine dritte zur Seite gestellt, welche seiner Ansicht

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1) Die in diesem und ähnlichen Paradigmen vorkommenden oxytonierten Kasus (Instr. Sg. *stalù* usw.) haben sekundäre Endbetonung nach dem Gesetze De Saussures.

2) S. S. 20 Fussnote 5.

3) S. Verf., *Le Monde Oriental* XII (1918), 211 ff.

4) Weil die Anhängung der Postpositionen *-p(i)* und *-n(a)* kaum urbaltisch ist, wird auch die Akzentzurückziehung der litauischen Mobilia nicht so alt sein. S. S. 38 mit Fussn. 3.

5) K. Būga, *Aistiški studijai* I (1908), S. 40 f. — Vgl. jetzt noch F. Specht, *Grammatische Einleitung* (s. S. 20 Fussn. 5), S. 41, 107 f., 179.

6) Auffällig ist die Betonung *wondenín* in einer von E. Wolter, *Mitteil. d. lit. litter. Ges.* IV (1899) 171 f. mitgeteilten Dialektprobe. In demselben Texte der Genitiv *vañdeño*. *Wondenín* verdankt seine Betonung wohl der Analogie der mobilen *i*-Stämme.

7) F. Fortunatov, *BB.* XXII (1897), 167 ff. S. auch oben § 11.

8) Vgl. auch H. Hirt *IF.* X (1899), 36 f.

9) R. Trautmann, *Die altpreussischen Sprachdenkmäler* (1910), S. 189 f.

10) *Izvěstija* XXI (1916), 2, 303 hält Endzelin lit. *galõp*, *namẽ* nicht für beweisend, aber *Russkij filol. Věstnik* LXXV (1916), 301 neigt er, was *galõp* anbetrifft, mehr zu meiner Ansicht.

nach die ursprüngliche Oxytonierung der litauischen Singulare *dẽvas* usw. beweist, und zwar die lettischen Singularia tantum mit ˆ [1]).

§ 24. Wenn das mobile Paradigma der Vokalstämme aus einem ältern oxytonierten entstanden ist, so fragt es sich, wie dieser Übergang stattgefunden hat. Diese Frage hat bekanntlich De Saussure in dem Sinne beantwortet, dass die Konsonantstämme die Muster geliefert haben. Diese Hypothese ist trotz ihrer innern Wahrscheinlichkeit und trotz der schönen Beweisführung De Saussures nicht als sicher zu betrachten, wenn man zweierlei beachtet: 1. für die Betonung der *a*- (idg. *o*-) Stämme gibt De Saussures Hypothese keine Erklärung, — 2. auch sonst haben im Litauischen Akzentzurückziehungen stattgefunden; denn angesichts ostlit. *stojõs*, Dauksza *stoiós* [2]), apr. *poglabū*, *endeirā*, *billē* u. dgl. dürfen wir kaum die ausnahmslose Stammbetonung der litauischen Präteritalformen der 3. Person für ursprünglich halten.

Freilich ist es mir nicht möglich, die Hypothese De Saussures durch eine bessere zu ersetzen. Sollte dieselbe nicht richtig sein, so müssen wir uns mit einem non liquet begnügen.

§ 25. Die slavische Nominalbetonung bietet ein ganz anderes Bild als die litauische. Zwar existiert ein lebhafter Akzentwechsel, aber derselbe ist, abgesehen von einigen Fällen, wo spezielle Umstände gewirkt haben [3]), nur dem Gesetze De Saussures zuzuschreiben, welches auch dann wirkte, wenn der auf dem Ausgange ruhende Akut sekundär war. Infolgedessen enthält oft ein ursprünglich anfangbetontes Paradigma eine grosse Anzahl endbetonter Formen. Einige Beispiele mit jungem Akute sind: skr. *rógā*, *drúgā* gegenüber *klīnā*, r. *golosóv* (: N. Sg. *gólos*) gegenüber *morózov* (: *moróz*), wo die Endbetonung erst einzelsprachlich ist [4]), und r. *kostéj*, skr. *kòstī*, wo dieselbe vielleicht bereits urslavisch ist. Es folgt eine kurze Übersicht über die slavischen Deklinationstypen.

o-Stämme.

alte Oxytona.	alte Barytona.
r. *bob*, *bobá*, s. *bȍb*, *bòba*.	r. *bog*, *bóga*, s. *bȏg*, *bȍga*.

In endbetonten Formen wie r. *bogóv* hat die Endung einen sekundären Akut. Ob r. *daŕ*, *dolgí* lautgesetzlich sind, m. a. W. ob ihre Endung akutiert ist, entscheide ich nicht [5]).

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1) J. Endzelin, *Izvěstija* XXI (1916), 2, 301 f. Bei Wörtern mit vollständiger Flexion könnte, so sagt Endzelin, das ˆ aus dem Plural erklärt werden (*uôdi* = lit. *uodaĩ*; danach *uôds* für **uõds*. Das Singulare tantum *ârs* setzt aber mit Gewissheit ein älteres **ārás* voraus.

2) S. J. Endzelin, *KZ.* XLIV (1911), 57.

3) Z. B. skr. *bȅsēdā* (s. S. 31 mit Fussn. 15), r. *sëla*, čak. *léta* (s. das Ende von § 22 und § 48 sub 14*a*).

4) Mehr solche Fälle in meinem Aufsatze *Zum baltischen und slavischen Akzentverschiebungsgesetz*, *IF.* XL (1922), 1 ff.

5) S. S. Kul'bakin, *Izvěstija* XI (1906), 4, 252 ff., T. Lehr, *Ze studjów nad akcentem słowiańskim* (1917), S. 8 ff., Kul'bakin, *Prace lingwistyczne ofiarowane Janowi Baudouinowi de Courtenay* (1921), S. 140 ff.

ā-Stämme.

alte Oxytona.	alte Barytona.
r. *žená*, Akk. *žení*, s. *žèna*, *žènu*. Der N.-A. Pl. hat urslavische Stammbetonung: r. *žëny*, *slúgi*, s. *slûge*. Der Gedanke kommt auf, ob hier die Akzentzurückziehung vielleicht baltoslavisch ist; vgl. lit. *gálvos*.	r. *golová*, A. *gólovu*, s. *gláva*, *glâvu*. Die Dat.-Lok.-Endung *-ě* hat offenbar eine andere Intonation als das entsprechende lit. *-ai* [1]). Daher r. *golově*. Der skr. Dativ *rûci* verdankt seine Betonung wohl der Analogie der *i*-Stämme [2]). Leskiens Ansicht [3]), dass der Dativ altes *-āi*, der Lokativ aber *-ai* habe, entbehrt jeder Grundlage.

i-Stämme.

alte Oxytona.	alte Barytona.
r. *putí*, *p'atí* (Gen. Dat.).	r. *kósti*, skr. *kȍsti* (Gen. Dat.). Gen. Plur. r. *kostéj*, skr. *kȍstī* infolge des sekundären Akutes des Ausganges.

u-Stämme. Dieselben sind in den lebenden slavischen Sprachen nicht mehr als eine besondere Klasse zu betrachten.

konsonantische Stämme. Die spärlichen Reste dieser Flexion haben den ursprünglichen Akzentwechsel aufgegeben, z. B. skr. *kȃ*, *kȃri*; *mȁti*, *mȁterē*. Der Gen. Plur. skr. *kȃrī*, r. *dočeréj* hat Endbetonung infolge des sekundären Akutes der Endung. Nach Analogie: r. *materéj*.

§ 26. Sowohl das Litauische wie das Slavische setzen für die vokalischen Flexionsklassen ein barytoniertes und ein oxytoniertes idg. Paradigma voraus, aber kein Paradigma mit Akzentwechsel. Wenn wir die einzelnen Wörter ins Auge fassen, welche sowohl im Litauischen wie im Slavischen vorhanden sind, so haben dieselben bisweilen in den beiden Sprachzweigen eine verschiedene Betonung. Während lit. *rankà* zur „immobilen" Klasse gehört und daher genau zum slavischen *rąka* (r. *rukȃ* : *rúku*, skr. *rúka* : *rûku*) stimmt, steht dem slavischen Barytonon **golva* (r. *golová* : *gólovu*, skr. *gláva* : *glâvu*) ein litauisches *galvà*, *galvõs*, *gálvą*, *galvoǹ* gegenüber; ebenso r. *syn*, *sýna*, skr. *sîn*, *sîna* : lit. *sūnùs*, *-aũs*; vgl. weiter lit. *vilkaĩ* : russ. *volk*, *vólka*, skr. *vûk*, *vûka*; lit. *vakaraĩ* : russ. *véčera* (G. Sg.), skr. *vȅčera*; lit. *varnaĩ* : r. *vórona*, skr. *vrâna*. Angesichts solcher Fälle wie gr. *ἀγρός* : aind. *ájraḥ*, ahd. *zahar* : got. *tagr* [4]) brauchen wir uns über derartige Abweichungen nicht zu wundern. In einem Teile der Fälle wird das Litauische altertümlicher sein; so wird *sūnùs* wohl ein idg. Oxytonon sein, vgl. aind. *sūnúḥ*; umgekehrt aber ist die Oxytonierung von lit. *vilkaĩ* angesichts der Übereinstimmung zwischen r. *vólka*, aind.

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1) S. § 14 und § 33.

2) S. T. Maretić, *Rad* CII (1890), 59 f., Verf., *Le Monde Oriental* XII (1918), 223 Fussnote.

3) A. Leskien, *AfslPh.* XXIII (1901), 566.

4) S. oben S. 44.

vṛ́kaḥ, got. *wulfs* für sekundär zu halten. In solchen Fällen wie der letztgenannte kann das mobile Paradigma direkt an die Stelle des barytonierten getreten sein; eine oxytonierte Deklination braucht nicht bestanden zu haben.

Bevor wir auf die urbaltoslavischen Verhältnisse näher eingehen, muss auf ein paar Versuche, die litauische Betonung direkt mit der indogermanischen zu vergleichen, aufmerksam gemacht werden.

Endzelin hat für seine Ansicht, dass die litauischen Maskulina mit Plural auf *-aĩ* die idg. Oxytona fortsetzen, das Wort lit. *dẽvas* (Plur. *dẽvaĩ*) = ai. *devấḥ* angeführt [1]); dagegen hat Meillet für die entgegengesetzte Meinung die Wörter lit. *sãpnas*, Pl. *sapnaĩ*: ai. *svápnaḥ*, an. *suefn*, gr. *ὕπνος*; lit. *vil̃kas*, Pl. *vilkaĩ*: aind. *vṛ́kaḥ*, got. *wulfs*; lit. *var̃nas*, Pl. *varnaĩ*: Gen. Sg. r. *vórona*, skr. *vrâna* ins Feld geführt [2]). Diese Zusammenstellungen haben natürlich dann einen geringen Wert, wenn vom Litauischen aus der Nachweis zu liefern ist, dass die Plurale auf *-aĩ* den ursprünglichen Oxytonis zukommen. Und dieser Nachweis lässt sich tatsächlich liefern [3]), obgleich natürlich die Möglichkeit da ist, dass bei einem Teil der *a*-Stämme die Pluralbetonung durch Entgleisung entstanden ist. Auch sonst aber wäre das Material zu gering um sichere Schlüsse zu gestatten, und weil die Anzahl derjenigen litauischen Wörter, welche in genau entsprechender Gestalt in andern Sprachen vorkommen, nicht gross ist, wird jeder Versuch, das Verhältnis der litauischen Nominalbetonung zur indogermanischen auf grund des Wortmateriales zu bestimmen, sehr unsicher bleiben. Einen solchen Versuch hat Bezzenberger in seiner Anzeige von Hirts „Akzent" gemacht [4]).

Bezzenberger geht von den Wortpaaren *dẽvas : deivẽ*, *vil̃kas : vìlkė* aus. *Vil̃kas* hält er für ein idg. Barytonon: vgl. ai. *vṛ́kaḥ*, ahd. *wolf*, — *vìlkė* für ein idg. Oxytonon; vgl. ai. *vṛkí-ḥ*, an. *ylgr*; der zurückgezogene Akzent von Oxytona trete also als lit. Akut auf. Was den Gegensatz *deivẽ*, *deĩvę : vìlkė* anbetrifft, dieser finde seine Erklärung in den altindischen Paradigmen *deví*, *-ím*, *-idí* bezw. *vṛkíḥ*, *-iam*, *-ie*, m. a. W. ersteres sei ein indogermanisches Oxytonon mit Akzentwandel, letzteres ein Oxytonon ohne Akzentwandel. Auch seien fast alle Feminina des Typus *mergà* alte Oxytona. „Demnach" — für diesen Satz verwendet Bezzenberger Sperrdruck — „ist Oxytonierung bei Nominibus mit wandelbarem Accent einflusslos gewesen, während sie bei solchen mit gebundenem Accent als Stosston der Wurzelsilbe hervortritt". Dazu lässt sich bemerken, dass die idg. Nomina mit wandelbarem Akzente auf einige wenige Stammklassen beschränkt gewesen sind und dass also der wandelbare Ton des Litauischen nur in einer beschränkten Anzahl Fälle indogermanischen Ursprunges sein kann. Soviel ich sehe, stellt B. sich die Sache nicht anders vor; so weist er darauf hin, dass die Mehrzahl der mobilen Feminina vom Typus *mergà*, insofern dieselben in andern Sprachen

1) J. Endzelin, *Slav'ano-baltijskie et'udy* (1911), S. 139.
2) A. Meillet, *MSL.* XIX (1914), 81.
3) S. oben § 23.
4) A. Bezzenberger, *BB.* XXI (1896), 296 ff.

wiederkehren, idg. Oxytona sind. Im Anschluss an diese und andere Bemerkungen gibt Bezzenberger dann eine Übersicht über die mobilen und immobilen lit. *a*- und *ō*-Stämme. Bei jeder Klasse unterscheidet er Proparoxytona, Paroxytona und Oxytona. Die Proparoxytona übergehe ich mit Stillschweigen, zumal weil die Bezzenbergerschen Beispiele in einer genau entsprechenden Gestalt in andern idg. Sprachen nicht vorkommen, so dass der Beweis grundsprachlicher Proparoxytonierung nicht zu liefern ist. Auch von den Beispielen, für welche B. Oxytonierung oder Paroxytonierung annimmt, entbehrt ein Teil jeder etymologischen Deutung, in andern Fällen ist die Etymologie unsicher, und wenn wir nur diejenigen Wörter ins Auge fassen, deren Etymologie gewissermassen sicher ist und die in entsprechender Lautgestalt in andern Sprachen wiederkehren, so bekommen wir folgendes Bild:

a-Stämme. Lit. mobile = Paroxytonon anderer Sprachen. 3 Beispiele: *vil̃kas* = ai. *vṛ́kaḥ*, got. *wulfs*, — *javaĩ* = ai. *yávaḥ*, — *taukaĩ* = čech. *tuk* [1]).

Lit. mobile = Oxytonon anderer Sprachen. 1 sicheres Beispiel: *dẽvas* = ai. *deváḥ*; bei einem zweiten ist die Etymologie, obgleich unsicher, so doch ziemlich wahrscheinlich: *žãras* (Lalis: 'course; way; round; turn') = gr. *χορός* [2]).

Lit. immobile = Paroxytonon anderer Sprachen: 3 sichere Beispiele: *paĩszas* = ahd. *farah*, — *paũtas* = ai. *pótaḥ*, — *rãtas* = ai. *rátha-* [3]).

Lit. immobile = Oxytonon anderer Sprachen. 3 sichere Beispiele: *dúmai* = ai. *dhūmáḥ*, gr. *θῡμός*, — *káulas* = gr. *καυλός*, [4]) — *výras* = ai. *vīráḥ* [5]).

ō-Stämme. Lit. mobile = Paroxytonon anderer Sprachen. 1 sicheres Beispiel: *dirvà* = ai. *dúrvā*.

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1) Zu diesem letzten Beispiele s. unten § 27. — Die übrigen Beispiele von Bezzenberger sind: *bãdas* (B. vergleicht gr. *πόθος*, das aber vielmehr zu *θέσσασθαι* gehört), *kẽmas* (B.'s Verknüpfung mit ai. *kṣémaḥ* ist verfehlt), *laũkas* (B. vergleicht ahd. *lôh*; ai. *lokáḥ* hat aber eine andere Betonung), *mãzgas* (= gr. *μόσχος*? In welcher Bedeutung? Sehr zweifelhaft; s. E. Boisacq, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque*, 1916, S. 646), *wą̃szas* (von B. zum Adj. ags. *vôh*, as. *wâh*, got. *unvãhs* gestellt; ebensogut hätte er got. *waggs* vergleichen können), *žaĩbas* (gr. *φοῖβος*; sehr unsichere Etymologie, s. Boisacq, *aaO.*, S. 1032), für *ė́ras*, *pė́das*, *szė́kas* sind kaum Äquivalente in andern Sprachen zu finden.

2) Als drittes Beispiel zitiert B. lit. *óras* 'Wetter, Luft', das er zu ai. *ārá-* 'ferne' stellt; sehr unsicher.

3) Als viertes Beispiel verzeichnet B. *stónas*: ai. *sthāna-*. Nach A. Brückner, *Litauslavische Studien I: Die slavischen Fremdwörter im Litauischen* (1877), S. 137 ist lit. *stónas* ein Lehnwort aus dem Slavischen.

4) Das Elbinger Vokabular enthält ein altpreussisches Neutrum *caulan* 'beyn'. Vielleicht ist also auch lit. *káulas* ein altes Neutrum. Das hindert uns nicht, es mit gr. *καυλός* zu identifizieren.

5) Ein viertes Beispiel von B. ist *tùltas* = ai. *tīrthám*. Diese Etymologie ist aber mehr als unsicher. Für *mãras* (= ai. *marú-*; NB. bei W. D. Whitney, *Die Wurzeln, Verbalformen und primären Stämme der Sanskritsprache*, S. 124 ohne Akzentzeichen), *pãdas* (= ai. *padú-*. NB. Dieses kann auch idg. *e* haben; vgl. gr. *πεδόν*), *pũrai* (= gr. *πῦρός*. Mit anderer Betonung aber skr. *pīr*, slov. *pîr*) nimmt B. „Übergang der Declinationsweise von *dẽvas* in die von *põnas*" an.

Lit. mobile = Oxytonon anderer Sprachen. 2 sichere und 1 wahrscheinliches Beispiel: *algà* = gr. *ἀλφή*, — *rasà* = ai. *rasá*, — *srutà* ('Mistjauche'): gr. *ῥυτός* [1] [2]).

Lit. immobile = Paroxytonon anderer Sprachen. 1 sicheres Beispiel: *vìlna* = ai. *ūrṇā* [3]).

Lit. immobile = Oxytonon anderer Sprachen. Kein sicheres Beispiel.

Aus dem Bezzenbergerschen Materiale ergeben sich also folgende Zahlen:

	bar.	oxyt.		bar.	oxyt.
a-Stämme mobile	3	1 oder 2,	immobile	3	3,
o- „ „	1	2 „ 3,	„	1	0,
zusammen „	4	3 — 5,	„	4	3.

Aus diesen Zahlen ergibt sich, dass zwischen den einzelnen litauischen Paradigmen und den Betonungsklassen anderer Sprachzweige keine festen Beziehungen nachweisbar sind. Nun ist das Material beiweitem nicht vollständig; sogar fehlt eine so unzweideutige Gleichung wie *dū̃na* (immobile): ai. *dhānā*. Ich bezweifle aber, ob eine vollständige Materialsammlung das Gesamtbild bedeutend ändern würde. Dazu kommt, dass die Anzahl derjenigen litauischen Wörter, denen Laut für Laut Wörter aus andern Sprachen entsprechen, klein ist, so dass ein umfangreiches Material nicht zu erwarten wäre. Jetzt ist es nicht nötig, das vollständige Material zusammenzusuchen, denn, wie oben [4]) bereits nachgewiesen wurde, liefert das Litauische selber uns den Beweis, dass die mobilen Vokalstämme ältere Oxytona sind, und wir brauchen keine andern Sprachen heranzuziehen um die ursprüngliche Betonung litauischer Wörter nachzuweisen. Natürlich leugne ich die Möglichkeit von mannigfachem Betonungswandel litauischer Wörter nicht; insbesondere bei den *a*-Stämmen mit ihrer ausnahmslosen Barytonierung aller Singularformen waren die Bedingungen für einen solchen Wandel sehr günstig. Aber in all denjenigen Fällen, wo der Übertritt in eine andere Betonungsklasse sich nicht an der Hand zuverlässigen Materiales nachweisen lässt [5]), müssen wir uns damit begnügen, den Betonungsunterschied zwischen einem litauischen Nomen und

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1) *Lentà*, das B. mit ags. *lind* 'Lindenschild' identifiziert, wird auch anders aufgefasst; s. E. Boisacq, *Dict. étymol.* s. v. *ἐλατή* und die daselbst angeführte Literatur, — *aszakà* entspricht keinem der zwei von B. verglichenen Wörter (gr. *ἀκωκή*, schwed. *agg*) vollständig. Die übrigen angeführten Wörter: *burnà*, *galvà*, *naudà*, *oszkà*, *pėdà*, *triobà*, *dovanà*, *ûdegà* kehren in genau entsprechender Gestalt in keiner andern Sprache wieder, abgesehen von *galvà*: r. *golová*, s. *glâva*, wozu s. § 27.

2) In einer Fussnote führt B. einige Wörter auf *-ė̃* an: *deivė̃* ist wohl zunächst mit ai. *devī* zu vergleichen (s. o. S. 49), — mit *musė̃* vgl. ausser gr. *μυῖα* auch mnl. *mōsie* (mit germ. *s*, nicht *z*), — *gėsmė̃*, *eilė̃* kehren in genau entsprechender Gestalt in keiner Sprache wieder.

3) *Ánka*: gr. *ὄγκη* ist keine sichere Etymologie. Die dreisilbigen Beispiele von B. sind nur baltisch.

4) § 23.

5) Wie bei *tė'vas*, welches Wort im Kurschatschen Litauischen zu Klasse IIa (mob.), dagegen bei Dauksza zu Klasse IIb (imm.) gehört; s. J. Endzelin, *BB.* XXV (1899), 274; *KZ.* XLIV (1911), 51, *Izvėstija* XXI (1916), 2, 300, Verf., *Le Monde Oriental* XII (1918), 214.

seinem Äquivalent in einer andern Sprache einfach zu konstatieren, m. a. W. ein Fall wie lit. *javaĩ*: aind. *yávaḥ* steht auf einer Linie mit gr. *ἀγρός*: ai. *ájraḥ*, got. *tagr*: ahd. *zahar*; in all solchen Fällen sind die indogermanischen Verhältnisse dunkel.

Dasselbe gilt für solche Wörter, bei welchen die slavische Betonung von derjenigen anderer Sprachen abweicht, z. B. skr. *grīva*: ai. *grīvā*. Das Slavische hat hier ein Barytonon im Gegensatz zum indischen Oxytonon; damit ist alles gesagt.

§ 27. Führt eine Vergleichung zwischen Litauisch und Slavisch zu positiveren Ergebnissen?

Dort wo der slavische und der baltische Akzent miteinander übereinstimmen, liegt die Annahme einer ebenso betonten baltoslavischen Grundform nahe; z. B. lit. *rañką*, r. *rúku*, baltoslav. **rânkām*; lit. *dúmai*, skr. *dîm*, baltoslav. **d(h)ámos*. Aber absolute Gewissheit haben wir auch hier nicht, jedenfalls dann nicht, wenn andere idg. Sprachen eine andere Betonung haben; so vergleiche man zum letzten Beispiele ai. *dhūmáḥ*, gr. *θῡμός*. In sehr vielen Fällen stimmt das Slavische nicht mit dem Litauischen überein. Für einen bedeutenden Teil dieser Fälle hat Meillet in der Festschrift für Fortunatov diese Regel aufgestellt: „Der Zirkumflexus trat an die Stelle eines ältern Akuts in vielen Wörtern, welche aus der litauslavischen Periode einen beweglichen Akzent geerbt hatten" [1]), d. h.: der slavische Zirkumflexus kommt denjenigen Nomina zu, welche im Litauischen ein mobiles Paradigma mit akutierter Wurzelsilbe haben. Nun hält Meillet dieses mobile Paradigma für sehr alt, sogar für indogermanisch, ich aber bin überzeugt, dass aufs früheste in der baltischen Periode die mobile Deklination aus einer ältern oxytonierten entstanden ist [2]); daher kann ich die Meilletsche Formel nicht ohne Weiteres akzeptieren, und ich möchte sie durch folgende ersetzen: ein slavischer Zirkumflexus tritt dort auf, wo der Akzent eines oxytonierten Nomens auf die Stammsilbe zurückgeworfen ist. In dieser Fassung halte ich die Regel für richtig. In solchen Fällen wie skr. *sîn*: lit. *súnų*, skr. *glâvu*, r. *gólovu*: lit. *gálvą*, wo dem slavischen Zirkumflexus in den barytonierten litauischen Kasus ein Akut gegenübersteht, werden wir vermutlich für das sehr alte Urslavische ebenfalls einen vorhaupttonigen Akut annehmen müssen [3]). Übrigens kommt ein ähnliches Betonungsverhältnis zwischen dem Litauischen und dem Slavischen auch bei zirkumflektierter Wurzelsilbe vor, z. B.: lit. *žẽmà*, *žẽmõs*: Akk. r. *zímu*, skr. *śîmu*; lit. *varnaĩ*: r. *vórony*.

Ich halte Meillets Hypothese in der von mir modifizierten Formulierung für richtig; sogar gehe ich noch einen Schritt weiter als Meillet, indem ich für die idg. *o*-Stämme genau dasselbe annehme wie für die *ā*-, *i*- und *u*-Stämme. Meillet hatte den Zirkumflexus eines *o*-Stammes wie skr. *smrâd*, r. *smórod*, bulg. *smradŭ́t* durch die im Slavischen so häufige Vermischung der *o*- und *u*-Flexion zu erklären versucht; er stellte

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1) A. Meillet, *O někotorych anomalijach udarenija v slav'anskich imenach*, *Russkij filol. Věstnik* XLVIII (1902), 193 ff. Die angeführten Worte das. S. 200.

2) S. oben § 23.

3) S. § 7.

die *o*-Stämme, welche nach seiner Ansicht [1]) „prinadležat glavnym obrazom k tipu *Im.*" („hauptsächlich zum immobilen Typus gehören"), nicht auf éine Linie mit den andern vokalischen Stämmen; ich habe über diese Sache eine andere Ansicht [2]).

Folgende Tatsachen sprechen m. E. für Meillets Annahme:

1. Im Litauischen gehören weitaus die meisten *i*-Stämme zu dem mobilen Typus [3]), während im Slavischen fast nur der zirkumflektierte, auf der Stammsilbe betonte Typus existiert [4]). Der Gegensatz lit. *naktìs*, *-ẽs*: skr. *nôć*, *nȁći*, r. *noč*, *nóči* ist also für die ganze Klasse charakteristisch.

2. Von den verhältnismässig wenig zahlreichen immobilen litauischen *i*-Stämmen kommen drei im Slavischen vor, und zwar *ántis*, *nýtis*, *páltis* [5]). *Á'ntis* ist ein ursprünglicher Konsonantstamm, welcher auf verschiedene Weisen verlängert wurde (r. *útka*, s. *ùtva*); *nýtis* dagegen ist ein alter *i*-Stamm, und es ist merkwürdig, dass gerade dieses Wort auch im Slavischen zu den sehr seltenen *i*-Stämmen mit akutierter Wurzelsilbe gehört: r. *nit'*, Lok. Sg. *níti*, Gen. Pl. *nítej*, skr. *nȉt* [6]). Wenn wir einen solchen Fall mit den Wörtern sub 1 vergleichen, so ist es klar, dass der Typus *nȉt* dem litauischen barytonierten, dagegen skr. *nôć*, *nȁći*, r. *noč*, *nóči*, skr. *ôs*, *ȁsi*, r. *oś*, *ósi* (lit. *aszìs*) dem lit. mobilen Paradigma entsprechen. Freilich weicht r. *pólot'* 'Hälfte eines der Länge nach durchgeschnittenen Schweines, Hammels etc.': lit. *páltis* 'Speckseite' ab.

3. Im Litauischen kommen kaum immobile *u*-Stämme vor [7]). Im Slavischen gibt es kaum ursprüngliche *u*-Stämme, die zu einer andern Betonungsklasse gehören als skr. *sîn*. Offenbar entspricht dieser slavische Typus dem mobilen litauischen Typus.

4. Ähnliche Verhältnisse wie unter 1. und 2. besprochen wurden, kommen auch bei den *ā*-Stämmen vor: während r. *gólovu*, s. *glâvu* und r. *zímu*, s. *zîmu* [8]) im Litauischen zur mobilen Klasse gehören (Gen. Sg. *galvõs*, *žẽmõs*), entspricht dem immobilen akutierten litauischen Typus ein ähnlicher im Slavischen: lit. *lẽpa* = s. *lìpa*, lit. *szárka* = r. *soróka*, lit. *údra* = s. *vȕdra*, lit. *várna* = r. *voróna* [9]).

Obgleich ich die in diesem Abschnitt besprochene Regel Meillets mit einer kleinen Modifizierung für richtig halte, möchte ich ausdrücklich

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1) A. Meillet, *aaO.* 197, wo auf Hirt, *IF.* X (1899), 44 ff. verwiesen wird.

2) S. § 23 f.

3) S. F. Kurschat, *Grammatik der littauischen Sprache* (1876), S. 194 ff.

4) S. u. a. R. Brandt, *Načertanie slav'anskoj akcentologii* (1880), S. 32 f., 257 f., A. Leskien, *Grammatik der serbo-kroatischen Sprache* I (1914), S. 131 f.

5) *Klė'tis* und *smeřtis* sind Entlehnungen aus dem Slavischen.

6) S. A. Meillet, *aaO.* 195 f., A. Leskien, *aaO.* S. 132.

7) S. F. Kurschat, *aaO.* S. 201 ff. *Tuřgus* kann ein Lehnwort aus dem Slavischen sein, *rõjus* ist es gewiss. Die sonstigen barytonierten *u*-Stämme sind sämtlich *uu*-Stämme, die *iu*-Klasse hat ausnahmslos immobiles Paradigma. Uns geht jetzt, wo wir in erster Linie das Slavische vergleichen, die litauische *iu*-Klasse nicht an.

8) Die Akkusative haben im Gegensatz zu den Nominativen die alte Betonung und die Intonation der Stammsilbe bewahrt.

9) Vgl. auch r. *bába*, *láva:* lit. *bóba*, *lóva*. Die litauischen Wörter können aber Entlehnungen sein.

hervorheben, dass nicht jedes Nebeneinander eines litauischen mobilen Paradigmas und eines slavischen zirkumflektierten Barytonons auf diese Weise erklärt werden muss. So ist es klar, dass r. *volk*, *vólka*, s. *vûk*, *vûka*, denen akzentuell got. *wulfs* und ai. *vṛ́kaḥ* genau entsprechen, eine altertümlichere Betonung haben als lit. *vil̃kas*, Pl. *vilkaĩ*. Und die Anzahl solcher Fälle kann verhältnismässig gross sein. Leider stehen uns oft ausser den baltischen und slavischen Formen keine anderen zur Verfügung, welche jenen formell genau entsprechen. So ist es z. B. nicht zu entscheiden, ob skr. *drúg*, *drûga*, r. *drug*, *drúga* eine altertümlichere Betonung hat als lit. *draũgas*, Pl. *draugaĩ*, ob lit. *varnaĩ* ursprünglicher ist als skr. *vrâna*, r. *vôrona*. Auch gibt es andere Kategorien von Intonationsunterschieden zwischen Baltisch und Slavisch, welche unmöglich durch Meillets Regel erklärt werden können, wie etwa r. *pólot'*: lit. *páltis* (imm.) oder r. *bégú* (ursl. **bẽgǫ̀* < **bẽgǫ*): lit. *bėgu*. Wir würden uns auf ein zu gefährliches Gebiet begeben, wenn wir in dem letztgenannten Falle wegen lit. *bėgą̃s* ein älteres mobiles litauisches Präsensparadigma voraussetzten.

§ 28. Die Meilletsche Regel gibt noch zu einer Frage Anlass. Wenn ein Teil der ursprünglich oxytonierten Nomina im Slavischen den Akzent zurückgezogen hat, so fragt es sich, durch welche Bedingungen diese Zurückziehung hervorgerufen wurde. Es gibt in den slavischen Sprachen eine grosse Anzahl Oxytona verschiedener Stammklassen; in diesen Oxytona dürfen wir kaum etwas anderes erblicken als die Fortsetzung grundsprachlicher Oxytona (von den vielleicht zahlreichen Entgleisungen abgesehen). Denn wie liesse sich sonst die Oxytonierung verstehen? Leider ist die Zahl der in entsprechender Lautgestalt im Altindischen, Griechischen oder Germanischen vorliegenden Wörter sehr gering. Auf éine Kategorie möchte ich insbesondere aufmerksam machen, und zwar auf die Partizipien auf *-eno-*: r. *nesën*, *-enâ*, *-enó*, *-ený* usw.; dieselben sind ohne Zweifel eine oxytonierte idg. Klasse, wenn auch der grammatische Wechsel des Germanischen (got. *fulgins* usw.) nur beweist, dass der Akzent auf einer der beiden Silben *-e-no-*lag. Es fragt sich nun, woher es kommt, dass der Akzent alter Oxytona in einem Teile der slavischen Formen an seiner ursprünglichen Stelle geblieben ist, in einem andern Teile aber zurückgezogen wurde. Woher z. B. der Gegensatz čak. *nesenȍ*: *dâno* [1])? Ich wüsste auf diese Frage keine befriedigende Antwort zu geben. Der Gedanke liegt nahe, dass die Akzentzurückziehung von der Beschaffenheit der Intonation der Auslautsilbe abhängig sei, und dann kommt mir gleich eine Endung in den Sinn, die im Urslavischen stets den Akzent zurückgezogen hat, und zwar die Endung des N.-A. Plur. der *ā*-Stämme: r. *žëny*, *slúgi*, skr. *stȍpe*, *slûge* [2]). Es wurde bereits bemerkt, dass in diesem Falle die Zurückziehung urbaltoslavisch sein könnte [3]); dann hätte dieser Kasus für die Bestimmung urslavischer Akzentänderungen keinen Wert. Die Barytonierung kann aber auch erst urslavischen

1) R. *danó* hat keine lautgesetzliche Oxytonierung.
2) Skr. *žéne* u. dgl. sind wohl der Analogie der übrigen Kasus zuzuschreiben.
3) S. § 25.

Ursprunges sein, aber auch in diesem Falle gestattet uns dieser Kasus keinen Einblick in die urslavischen Akzentgesetze, ich jedenfalls vermag keine Antwort zu geben auf die Frage, welche Eigenschaft der Auslautsintonation von *slugy*, *ženy*, *zmьję* die Akzentzurückziehung bewirkt haben könnte, im Gegensatz etwa zum Akk. Sg. auf *-ǫ* (r. *slugú*, skr. *slúgu*) [1]). Und solange dieser Gegensatz nicht aufgeklärt ist, hat die Kategorie von r. *žëny*, *slúgi* keinen Wert für die Erklärung etwa von čak. *nesenȍ : dãno* oder von r. *slugú*, skr. *slúgu* : r. *gólovu*, skr. *glâvu* (: lit. *gálvą*, *galvà*), m. a. W. die Bedingungen für die Barytonierung nach Meillets Regel bleiben dunkel. Wir müssen uns begnügen mit der Konstatierung der Tatsache, dass ein Teil der ursprünglich oxytonierten Nomina im Slavischen als Barytona auftritt, während ein anderer Teil seine Endbbetonung bewahrt hat.

§ 29. Die mutmassliche baltisch-slavische Zurückziehung des Akzentes auf eine akutierte Silbe.

Viel unsicherer als das De Saussuresche Gesetz sind die von Hirt aufgestellten Akzentzurückziehungsgesetze, obgleich dieselben, wenn auch nicht stets in der Hirtschen Formulierung, bei vielen Forschern Zustimmung gefunden haben.

In seinem Buche über den Akzent [2]) hat Hirt für das Litauische zwei solche Gesetze aufgestellt, deren erstes auch für das Slavische gelten soll: bei stossend betonter Wurzelsilbe sei „in vielen Fällen der Akzent durchweg zurückgezogen" (zB. *tìltas*, *žvìrblis*, *málka*, *pémpė*, *tószis*), — es könne „aber auch ein Akzentwechsel fortbestehen": bei Oxytonis sei in diesem Falle der Akzent in den Kasus mit akutierter Endung zurückgezogen (*kótu: krasztù*, Akk. Pl. *súnus: dangùs*). Es ist Hirt nicht entgangen, dass zwischen diesen zwei Gesetzen ein Widerspruch besteht; er vermag denselben nicht zu erklären und äussert nur vermutungsweise den Gedanken, „dass die betreffenden Worte mit beweglichem Ton ursprünglich keinen Akzentwechsel hatten und Paroxytona waren. Sie sind dann analogisch Oxytona geworden und haben durch neue Akzentgesetze einen neuen Tonwechsel bekommen. Wir müssten demnach zwei Perioden unterscheiden". Einige Jahre später hat Hirt denselben Gegenstand zum zweiten Male behandelt; er unterscheidet noch zwei chronologisch voneinander getrennte Gesetze, stellt sich aber einige Sachen etwas anders vor. Neben dem De Saussureschen Gesetze nimmt er für das Litauische folgendes Gesetz an: „Folgen zwei stossend betonte Silben auf einander, so wird der Akzent von der zweiten auf die erste zurückgezogen" (z.B. *kótus*, *kótu: kotaĩ*, *žálczius: žalcziaĩ*, *cziáudėti* u. dgl. : *gailėti* u. dgl., *iĩštyti* u. dgl.: *ardýti* u. dgl.) [3]). Das zweite Gesetz sei älter, sogar „urslavisch-litauisch." Hirt formuliert es folgenderweise [4]): „Die ursprünglichen

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1) Den Gegensatz r. *gorá*, *góru*, *góry*, skr. *gòra*, *gȍru*, *gȍre:* r. *slugá*, *slugú*, *slúgi*, skr. *slúga*, *slúgu*, *slûge* kann ich nicht anders erklären als durch die Annahme, der erste Typus gehe auf eine älter-urslavische barytonierte, der zweite auf eine oxytonierte Flexion zurück.

2) H. Hirt, *Der idg. Akzent* (1895), S. 91 ff.

3) H. Hirt, *IF.* X (1899), 43.

4) H. Hirt, *aaO.*, 54.

idg. Längen, denen im Lit. langer stossend betonter Vokal entspricht, ziehen den Ton von der folgenden Silbe auf sich." Die zwei Gesetze seien chronologisch voneinander getrennt durch die Entstehung des „sekundären gestossenen Tones", d.h. desjenigen Akutes, der „erst im Lit. durch Schwund einer Silbe entstanden" ist; diese Silbe enthielt den Vokal *ə*, und gemeint sind solche Formen wie lit. *kélmus* (: Nom. *kelmaĩ*) [1]). Dies alles wäre plausibeler, wenn tatsächlich die Kurschatsche Klasse IIa (*kélmas*) beinahe ausschliesslich Wörter mit idg. *elə*, *arə* usw. enthielte; das ist aber nicht der Fall, ebensowenig wie der Typus mit idg. langem Vokale in Klasse IIb die Alleinherrschaft hat [2]). Hirt hat selber anerkannt, dass im Litauischen das baltoslavische Gesetz „verwischt" sei: es sei „eine grosse Anzahl von Entgleisungen eingetreten, und es haben sich eine Reihe neuer Betonungstypen gebildet." Diese Einschränkung macht die Hirtschen Gesetze sehr unsicher; auch sonst stehen dieselben auf sehr schwachen Füssen, speziell das jüngere, welches nur für das Litauische gelten soll. Bevor ich aber — im Anschluss an Meillet — die Hirtschen Gesetze einer Kritik unterziehe, bespreche ich diejenigen Stellen, wo andere Gelehrte ähnliche Gesetze wie Hirt aufgestellt und verteidigt haben.

Pedersen hat für die baltisch-slavische Periode ein Gesetz „– ˊ wird ˊ –" angenommen [3]), d.h.: „eine gestossene Silbe gibt ihren Akzent an eine unmittelbar vorhergehende gestossene Silbe ab." Als Beispiele nennt er aus dem Baltischen bloss den litauischen Instrumental *gálva* und den Akkus. Plur. *gálvas*, aus dem Slavischen bloss die Neutra Plur. vom Typus r. *dolóta*, *volókna*, *líca*. Diese letzte Klasse wird weiter unten noch besprochen werden [4]); was lit. *gálva*, *gálvas* anbetrifft, so nimmt Pedersen dafür Zurückziehung des Akzentes an; dann muss er aber für den Dativ *gálvai* und für den Nomin. Plur. *gálvos* dasselbe annehmen, hier hat aber der Ausgang zirkumflektierte Intonation. Offenbar hat Pedersen diese Formen übersehen.

Kul'bakin, der für r. *rebró* : *rëbra* u. dgl. keinen idg. Akzentwechsel annehmen möchte, denkt an die Möglichkeit, dass der barytonierte Plural „mit steigendem Akzente auf dem *e*" unter dem Einflusse von **rẽ̀brò* („mit musikalisch-steigendem Charakter des *ẽ*") entstanden sei [5]). Kul'bakin redet hier nicht vom Baltischen; kaum hält er die Zurückziehung des Akzentes für baltoslavisch; eigentlich konstatiert er nur, dass skr. *rȅbra*, r. *rëbra* keine ursprünglich barytonierte Form ist. Darin stimme ich ihm bei [6]); über die Weise, wie die Zurückziehung stattgefunden hat, liesse sich gegen Kul'bakins, unter Šachmatovs Einfluss entstandene Auffassung einiges einwenden, diese Sache geht uns aber augenblicklich nicht an [7]).

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1) S. § 43. Über den Akut der idg. langen Monophthonge s. § 36.

2) S. die Verzeichnisse bei F. Kurschat, *Grammatik der littauischen Sprache* (1876), S. 154 f.

3) H. Pedersen, *KZ.* XXXVIII (1905), 333 ff.

4) S. die vorletzte Alinea dieses §.

5) S. Kul'bakin, *Izvěstija* XI (1906), 4, 257 f.

6) S. das Ende von § 22.

7) Neben der im Texte erwähnten Hypothese schlägt K. noch eine zweite vor.

Nach Mikkola ist die Akzentverschiebung nicht von der Intonation der letzten Silbe abhängig; er meint einfach, der ursprüngliche Akzent sei verschoben „gegen den Wortanfang, auf die Wurzelsilbe, wenn diese gestossene Intonation hat" [1]). Eine ähnliche Verschiebung nimmt er für das Litauische an. Nun ist aber nicht alles, was er zum Litauischen bemerkt, richtig: *vérgas* wird ohne Weiteres mit *výras* zusammen genannt, obgleich es nicht, wie dieses, zu Klasse IIb, sondern zu Klasse IIa (Plural *vergaĩ*) gehört, — und dass *sūnùs* sekundär für **sánus* stehe infolge der Einwirkung von *žmogùs : žmõgų*, *dangùs : dañgų*, das werden wenige Forscher Mikkola zustimmen. Auch das slavische Material ist nicht ganz einwandfrei; so ist für skr. *cr̃n*, r. *čërnyj* keine akutierte Stammsilbe annehmbar, wenn das Wort mit ai. *kṛṣṇáḥ* identisch ist [2]); auch halte ich es nicht für ausgeschlossen, dass **čьrnъ* ein slavisches Oxytonon ist. Eins ist aber unleugbar: dass es sowohl im Litauischen wie im Slavischen eine Anzahl Nomina mit unbeweglichem Akzente auf der akutierten Wurzelsilbe gibt, denen in andern Sprachen Oxytona gegenüberstehen; das Mikkolasche Material enthält folgende wichtige Beispiele: lit. *dúmai*, skr. *dȗm* = ai. *dhūmáḥ*, gr. θῦμός, — lett. *pîlns*, skr. *pȗn* = ai. *pūrṇáḥ*, — skr. *grȉva*, r. *gríva* = ai. *grīvā́*, — skr. *pjȅn* = ai. *pyānáḥ*, — lett. *îlgs*, skr. *dȕg* = ai. *dīrgháḥ*, — lit. *výras*, Pl. *výrai* = ai. *vīráḥ*. Unrichtigerweise führt Mikkola in diesem Zusammenhange lit. *gývas* an, denn dieses ist wegen lett. *dzîvs* als ein baltisches Oxytonon aufzufassen [3]). Wohl könnten wir aus dem Baltischen noch lit. *káulas* (: gr. καυλός) und *mìltai* (Partizipialformation) anführen [4]).

Rozwadowski nimmt für die baltoslavische Periode zwei Akzentverschiebungen an, eine nach den Wortende hin (Gesetz von De Saussure), die andere nach dem Wortanfange hin, und zwar nur in der Silbenfolge Akut-Kürze [5]). Weshalb er dieses zweite Gesetz annimmt, teilt er nicht mit, — auch nicht, weshalb er es im Gegensatz zu andern Forschern auf eine solche Weise einschränkt.

Neuerdings hat Lehr-Spławiński sich einige male für das Akzentzurückziehungsgesetz ausgesprochen, und zwar ohne die Einschränkung Rozwadowskis [6]): „Odziedziczony z pra-i.-e. akcent cofnął się o jedną zgłoskę ku początkowi wyrazu, jeśli zgłoska pierwotnie przedakcentowa była długą akutowaną"; dieses Gesetz hält Lehr beinahe mit Sicherheit für urbaltoslavisch. Leider führt er kein Beweismaterial an; er meint, sowohl für dieses wie für andere Akzentgesetze seien die Beispiele allgemein bekannt, und begnügt sich damit, auf Hirt und Mikkola zu verweisen.

Es ist schade, dass Lehr die 1914 erschienenen Einwände Meillets gegen

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1) J. J. Mikkola, *Urslavische Grammatik* I (1913), S. 122.

2) S. § 39 f.

3) S. J. Endzelin, *Russkij filol. Věstnik* LXXV (1916), 300.

4) S. H. Hirt, *IF.* X (1899), 53.

5) J. Rozwadowski, *Encyklopedya polska* II (1915), S. 310: „przycisk ze zgłoski (zdaje się tylko) krótkiej cofnął się na poprzedzającą akutową."

6) T. Lehr-Spławiński, *RS.* VIII (1918), 243; s. auch dens., *O prasłowiańskiej metatonji* (1918), S. 48.

das Akzentzurückziehungsgesetz [1]) nicht gekannt hat; sie sind m.E. grösstenteils überzeugend. In einem Punkte kann ich Meillet nicht beistimmen. „*A priori*, ce recul est invraisemblable", meint Meillet, — weil ähnliche Bedingungen wie bei dem De Saussureschen Gesetze („le sommet de la tranche douce et le sommet de la tranche rude venaient en contact") hier nicht vorliegen. Nun haben wir aber oben [2]) gesehen, dass diese Bedingungen bei weitem nicht in allen Sprachen, wo De Saussures Gesetz gewirkt hat, vorhanden sind, so dass sie nicht als notwendige Bedingungen angesehen werden dürfen. Übrigens aber hat M. vollständig recht.

Zuerst wendet er sich gegen die von Endzelin „d'une manière incidente" ausgesprochene Meinung [3]), dass der Instrumental *kótu* aus **kotù* entstanden sei. Nein, sagt Meillet, der ganze Singular aller *a*-Stämme ist barytoniert, also ist *kótu* eine vollständig normale Form. Ausserdem steht mit *kótas — kótu — kotaĩ* die Flexion *eržilas — eržilu — eržilaĩ* auf einer Linie, und hier kann doch von Akzentzurückziehung auf eine akutierte Silbe keine Rede sein. Ich selber weiche darin von Meillet ab, dass ich die Klasse mit Plural auf *-aĩ* als diejenige der alten Oxytona auffasse, ich gehe also — und Endzelin ist derselben Ansicht [4]) — sowohl für *kótu* wie etwa für *kóto*, *kótui* von endbetonten Grundformen aus, ebenso für *eržilu*, *eržilo*, *eržilui* — und für *dẽvo*, *dẽvui*, **dẽvů* (> *dẽvù*); nach dieser Auffassung der *a*-Flexion ist die litauische (nicht baltoslavische) Akzentzurückziehung von der Intonationsqualität der Stammsilbe unabhängig. Dieser Fall steht vollständig auf einer Linie mit der von Meillet angenommenen und aaO. besprochenen Akzentzurückziehung in *áugu*, *áugi*, *áuga*, gegenüber *augãs*, von welcher die Barytonesis von *vèda*, **vèdů* (> *vedù*), **vèdë* (> *vedì*); *lẽka*, **lẽků* (> *lẽkù*), **lẽkë* (> *lẽkì*) nicht zu trennen ist [5]).

Um das mutmassliche baltische und slavische Akzentgesetz plausibel zu machen, muss man über ein genügendes Material verfügen, und dieses ist nach Meillets Ansicht nicht vorhanden: „en ce qui concerne le lituanien, on n'est encore parvenu à établir à peu près aucune correspondance définie des places d'accent avec celles du védique, du grec et du germanique; et, quant au slave, les données dont on dispose à cet égard sont si peu nombreuses et si obscures qu'il est imprudent d'en tirer parti." Das dürfte im Allgemeinen richtig sein, Meillet geht aber zu weit, wenn er Mikkolas Material mit der Bemerkung: „les faits produits par M. Mikkola, *loc. cit.*, sont inopérants" — zur Seite schiebt. Auch was er dann weiter über einige litauische Adjektive schreibt, ist nicht ganz richtig. Zwar haben im jetzigen Litauischen alle Adjektive auf *-as* eine gleiche Betonung, aber das ältere Litauische von Dauksza und das Lettische gestatten uns ältere Verhältnisse zu eruieren und ein mobiles und immo-

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1) A. Meillet, *MSL.* XIX (1914), 67 ff.
2) S. § 19.
3) J. Endzelin, *IF.* XXXIII (1913/14), 119 Fussnote.
4) S. oben § 23.
5) Ich selber möchte nur in sehr beschränktem Umfange die Barytonesis für sekundär halten; s. § 21.

biles Paradigma zu unterscheiden [1]). So setzen lett. *pîlns* und *îlgs* eine immobile, barytonierte baltische Flexion voraus, welche genau zu skr. *pûrn* und *dîrgh* [2]) stimmt, — was Mikkola richtig gesehen hat. Was die slavischen Adjektive anbetrifft, so haben die unbestimmten Formen einen grösseren Wert als die bestimmten; die urslavische Betonung lässt sich oft durch eine Vergleichung des russischen Neutrum Singular mit demjenigen des čakavischen Dialektes von Novi [3]) und des štokavischen von Ragusa [4]) ohne Mühe rekonstruieren; Meillet redet nur von den bestimmten Formen, welche, wie er richtig bemerkt, für die Feststellung der urslavischen Betonung wenig Wert haben.

Die Nomina auf *-ti-* treten im Indischen sowohl als Barytona wie als Oxytona auf: „il n'y a donc rien à tirer des noms en *-ti-*", sagt Meillet und er hat recht. Dasselbe soll von den Stämmen auf *-mo-* gelten; deshalb sei dem Gegensatze ai. *dhūmáḥ* (hinzuzufügen wäre gr. θῡμός): skr. *dîrn*, *dîrma* (hinzuzufügen wäre lit. *dúmai*) eine geringe Bedeutung beizulegen.

Am wichtigsten ist m. E. Meillets Schlussbemerkung: „Les exemples de cas où, en lituanien, une tranche rude n'attire pas l'accent d'une tranche brève ou douce suivante sont innombrables. Il est arbitraire de dire que *galvà* (acc. *gálvą*) est analogique, alors que *délna* subsiste sans altération" [5]). Gerade diese und ähnliche Fälle waren es, welche Hirt veranlassten, zwei chronologisch voneinander getrennte Akzentzurückziehungen anzunehmen; wir haben aber bereits konstatiert [6]), dass er die Schwierigkeiten, welche das litauische Material seiner Auffassung in den Weg legt, nicht hat beseitigen können; er muss selber zugestehen, dass im Litauischen das mutmassliche baltoslavische Gesetz „verwischt" sei. Ich sehe mit Meillet nur éine Möglichkeit, eine Form wie lit. *galvà* zu verstehen: diese Form ist ein altes Oxytonon, welches bis auf heute trotz der akutierten Wurzelsilbe seine Endbetonung bewahrt hat.

Wie ist dann aber der Gegensatz *galvà*, *sūnùs*, *kelmaĩ* einerseits: *výrai*, lett. *pîlns* anderseits zu erklären? Wenn die zweite Gruppe auf lautgesetzlichem Wege aus indogermanischen Oxytona entstanden ist (vgl. ai *vīráḥ*, *pūrṇáḥ*), so werden wir eine unter gewissen nicht näher feststellbaren Bedingungen eingetretene [7]) Akzentzurückziehung annehmen müssen, und angesichts skr. *pûrn*, *grîva* usw. [8]) könnten wir dieselbe für

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1) S. J. Endzelin, *BB.* XXV (1899), 269, *KZ.* XLIV (1911), 49 ff., *Russkij filol. Vêstnik* LXXV (1916), 299.

2) Abgesehen natürlich von dem Anlaute.

3) Beschrieben von A. Belić, *Izvêstija* XIV (1909), 2, 183 ff.

4) Die Betonungsverhältnisse dieser Mundart wurden von M. Rešetar, *Die serbokroatische Betonung südwestlicher Mundarten* (1900) beschrieben.

5) Auf diese Worte folgt der Satz: „On a en slave r. *bĕžát'*, s. *bjèžati*, en face de lit. *bėgu* [l. *bė'gu*] et de s. *bjȅgati*." Soll das heissen, dass r. *bĕžát'*, skr. *bjèžati* eine akutierte Stammsilbe haben? Das wäre kaum richtig; vielmehr müssen wir von **bẽžati* mit einer zirkumflektierten Wurzelsilbe ausgehen. Ebenso **bẽgǫ* > r. *bĕgú*. Über den Intonationswechsel s. § 48.

6) S. 56.

7) Hat Rozwadowski Ähnliches geahnt, als er das Gesetz auf die Formen mit kurzer Haupttonsilbe einschränkte? S. S. 57.

8) S. S. 57.

urbaltoslavisch halten. Weil aber die Anzahl derjenigen akutierten Barytona, welchen lautlich vollkommen identische Oxytona anderer Sprachen gegenüberstehen, nicht gross ist, ist auch mit der Möglichkeit zu rechnen, dass die baltische und slavische Barytonierung nicht infolge eines Lautgesetzes ältere Oxytonierung ersetzt hat, sondern dass entweder Entgleisung stattgefunden oder aber das Indogermanische zweierlei Betonung gekannt hat; m.a.W. lit. *výrai*: ai. *vīráḥ*, skr. *grīva*: ai. *grīvā́* können mit ai. *ájraḥ*: gr. ἀγρός, ahd. *zahar*: got. *tagr* [1]) auf einer Linie stehen.

Ich gehe also nicht so weit wie Meillet, der das ältere, sogen. baltoslavische Akzentzurückziehungsgesetz von Hirt ohne Weiteres ablehnt, jedenfalls aber halte ich dasselbe für unbewiesen, und wenn es tatsächlich einmal gewirkt hat, so glaube ich (wegen lit. *galvà*, *sūnùs* u. dgl.), dass sein Wirkungskreis viel beschränkter gewesen ist als Hirt und andere angenommen haben.

Was die jüngern Sprachperioden anbetrifft, so hat gewiss sowohl auf baltischem [2]) wie auf slavischem Gebiete Zurückziehung des Akzentes stattgefunden, aber dieselbe ist nicht ausschliesslich bei vorhaupttonigem Akutus nachzuweisen. Lit. *kélmo*, *-ui* usw., *gálvai*, *gálvą* usw. gehen auf oxytonierte Grundformen zurück, dasselbe gilt aber fur *dẽvo*, *dẽvui*, *dẽnai*, *dẽną* usw. Diese Zurückziehung ist vielleicht nicht auf lautgesetzlichem Wege zustande gekommen [3]).

Auch das Slavische kennt Akzentzurückziehungen: r. *nósiš* (dialektisch, in Lěka, mit *ω*), *chváliš*, skr. *nȍsīš*, *hvâlīš* (čak. *hválīš*); r. *gólyj* (Lěka *ω*), *bě̀lyj*, skr. *gȍlī*, *bȉjelī* (čak. *bílī*); r. *sẽla*, *dolóta*, skr. *sȅla*, čak. *léta* [4]). In diesen Fällen hat die jetzt haupttonige, früher vorhaupttonige Silbe einen steigenden Akzent: das ergibt sich bei langen Vokalen aus dem čakavischen und posavischen ′, beim Vokal *o* aus dem *ω* (*uo*) russischer Mundarten. Wir haben es hier mit dem sekundären Akut, den Rozwadowski „nowoakutowa" genannt hat, zu tun. Dieser sekundäre Akut ist erst in der urslavischen Periode, sogar wohl in einem verhältnismässig späten Teile derselben, entstanden, und er setzt keine frühere akutierte Intonation voraus. Jedes ursprünglich auf dem *i* betonte *i*-Präsens, jede zusammengesetzte Form eines oxytonierten Adjektivs, jeder Plural eines oxytonierten neutralen Substantivs haben die „nowoakutowa"; die Möglichkeit ist da, es ist sogar sehr wahrscheinlich, dass bereits vor der Zurückziehung des Akzentes die vorhaupttonige Silbe steigend (akutiert) gesprochen wurde; das wurde aber nicht durch eine prähistorische Intonation dieser Silbe, sondern nur durch die Stellung vor dem Hauptakzente bedingt. Diese slavische Akzentzurückziehung liegt also ganz ausserhalb des Gebietes der Hirtschen Gesetze.

Eine andere Art von slavischer Akzentzurückziehung, womit eine Umlegung der akutierten Intonation zusammengeht, liegt in der bereits besprochenen [5]) Kategorie von skr. *sîn*, *glâvu* vor.

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1) S. S. 51 f. 2) Ich berücksichtige hier nur das Litauische.

3) S. den Anfang von § 22 und § 24.

4) Über die *i*-Verba s. Verf., *AfslPh.* XXXVII (1918), 1 ff., über die sonstigen Kategorien das. S. 43 ff.

5) S. § 27.

DER URSPRUNG DER SILBENINTONATIONEN.

§ 30. Wenn wir das gegenseitige Verhältnis der baltischen und slavischen Intonationen und ihren Zusammenhang mit indogermanischen Laut- und Akzentverhältnissen studieren wollen, so haben nicht alle uns aus den Einzelsprachen bekannten Intonationen einen gleichen Wert für uns. Dasjenige was jungen Ursprunges ist geht uns nicht an; in erster Linie gilt das für diejenigen sekundären slavischen Intonationen, welche in der neueren, grösstenteils in polnischer Sprache geschriebenen Fachliteratur „nowoakutowa" und „nowocyrkumfleksowa" genannt werden [1]). Die für uns wichtigen slavischen Intonationen sind der ursprüngliche Akut und der ursprüngliche Zirkumflexus. Die kurzen Vokale dürfen wir ausser Betracht lassen. Das Indogermanische hat, soweit wir wissen können, nur éine Intonation kurzer Vokale besessen, ebenso das Baltische und das ältere Litauische; wenn in gewissen litauischen Dialekten hauptotonige *i* und *u* kurz bleiben und einen Gravis haben, während *a*, *e* gedehnt werden und Zirkumflexus bekommen, so ist das vielmehr ein Quantitäts- als ein Intonationsunterschied, wenn auch hie und da ` eine akutartige Tonbewegung angenommen hat [2]), und — was wichtiger für uns ist — dieser Unterschied ist verhältnismässig jungen Ursprunges [3]). Im Slavischen kommt neben der gewöhnlichen Intonation kurzer Vokale, welche sich dem De Saussureschen Gesetze gegenüber wie ein Zirkumflexus verhält, ein sekundärer Akut vor, welcher im Slovenischen als ´ auftritt, in keiner Sprache auf die vorhergehende Silbe zurückgeworfen wird [4]) und in russischen Dialekten (u. a. Lěka) als ω auftritt (slov. *vǫ́lja*, r. *po vólě*, Lěka *vωl'ă*). Dieser Akut ist erst auf slavischem Boden entstanden, es ist eine „nowoakutowa", welche mit der Länge von čak. *grȁja*, r. *goróža* auf éiner Linie steht.

§ 31. Es ist zweckmässig, bei der Besprechung der zwei Intonationen langer „tranches vocaliques" den Inlaut von dem Auslaute zu trennen. In auslautenden Silben hat die indogermanische Grundsprache ohne jeden Zweifel zwei Intonationen unterschieden, welche in den litauischen Intonationen ´ und ~ fortleben und welche wir ebenso wie diese Akut und Zirkumflex nennen dürfen. In inlautenden Silben dagegen liegen die Sachen anders. Zwar unterscheiden einige Sprachen auch hier einen Akut

1) S. unten § 48.
2) S. R. Ekblom, *Le Monde Oriental* XI (1917), 229, 237, oben § 6 letzte Alinea.
3) S. § 8, S. 16.
4) S. A. Leskien, *AfslPh.* XXI (1899), 321 ff.

und einen Zirkumflexus, aber in einer dieser Sprachen, der griechischen, wird der Gebrauch dieser Intonationen von dem Wortrhythmus bestimmt und hängt mit indogermanischen Verhältnissen nicht direkt zusammen, — die überlangen Silben, die wir aus gewissen arischen Texten kennen, bilden nicht eine geschlossene Kategorie, welche sich mit einer ähnlichen Kategorie anderer Sprachen auch nur annähernd vergleichen liesse, — und die baltischen, auch wohl die slavischen, Intonationen inlautender Silben setzen vielmehr indogermanische Quantitäten als Intonationen fort.

Wir fangen unsere Besprechung mit den Auslautsintonationen an.

§ 32. Die Intonationen auslautender Silben.

Am klarsten liegen die Sachen im Litauischen. Es unterliegt keinem Zweifel, dass die Intonationen ˜ und ` (aus ´) litauischer auslautender Silben auf die indogermanische Periode zurückgehen, und zwar sowohl bei Monophthongen wie bei Diphthongen. Diphthongische und monophthongische Ausgänge müssen zusammen besprochen werden.

Bekanntlich hat zuerst Leskien auf die Kürzung akutierter litauischer Auslautsilben aufmerksam gemacht [1]). Dadurch hat er das Vorhandensein zweier Auslautsintonationen konstatiert. Dann haben Bezzenberger und Hanssen die Übereinstimmung der litauischen Auslautsintonationen mit den griechischen nachgewiesen.

Bezzenberger [2]) teilte im Jahre 1883 ein wenig umfangreiches Material mit, das aber trotz seines geringen Umfanges eine klare Sprache redet. Ich gruppiere es nach den Intonationsqualitäten:

lit. *patì* : gr. *ὄργυια*	lit. *pacziõs* : gr. *ὀργυιᾶς*
lit. *pacziàs* : gr. *ὀργυιάς* [3])	
lit. *mergà* : gr. *σκιά*	lit. *mergõs* : gr. *σκιᾶς*
lit. *baltű-judu* : gr. *κακώ*	
lit. *baltẽ-ji* : gr. *κακοί*	lit. *baltũ-ju* : gr. *κακῶν*
lit. *baltűs-ius* : gr. *κακούς* [3])	
lit. *krasztù* : gr. *θεώ*	lit. *krasztũ* : gr. *θεῶν* [4]).

Ein paar scheinbare Ausnahmen sind Bezzenberger nicht entgangen [5]). Es sind folgende Kategorien:

1. *tũdu*, *jũdu* gegenüber den regelmässigen Formen *baltűjudu*, *dù*, *gerù*, *krasztù*. Jetzt ist man wohl darüber einig, dass die Einsilbigkeit und der pronominale Charakter dieser Formen den Zirkumflexus hervorgerufen haben; dasselbe gilt für andere einsilbige Pronominalformen wie *tẽ*, *tẽdvi* [6]).

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1) A. Leskien, *AfslPh.* V (1881), 188 ff. S. § 8, — auch unten Fussn. 6.

2) A. Bezzenberger, *BB.* VII (1883), 66.

3) Die Beispiele *pacziàs*, *baltùs-ius* haben einen geringeren Wert als die andern. Hier ist sowohl im Litauischen wie im Griechischen vor dem *s* ein *n* weggefallen. Ein solcher Wegfall kann Intonationsänderungen hervorrufen.

4) Das Beispiel *baltàs-is*: *κακός*, *αὐτός* lasse ich weg, weil der von alters her kurzvokalische Auslaut uns nicht angeht.

5) A. Bezzenberger, *aaO.*, 67 f.

6) S. H. Hirt, *IF.* I (1892), 41 f. Neuerdings hat F. Specht, *Grammatische Einleitung* (s. S. 20 Fussn. 5), eine andere Erklärung gegeben, indem er die Auslautmetatonie nicht auf einsilbige Pronominalformen beschränkte und das Les-

2. *dëvaĩ*, *kelmaĩ*: gr. *θεοί*. Bezzenberger wies auf lit. *gerì*: gr. *κακοί* hin und vermutete, dass auch im Griechischen die Substantive ursprünglich diesen Kasus anders betont haben als die Adjektive und Pronomina. Jetzt trennen die meisten Forscher wohl richtig die Substantivendung *-ai* von der Adjektivendung *-i*, *-ë(ji)* und nur diese letzte identifiziert man mit gr. *-οι* [1]).

3. *tą̃*: gr. *τήν*. Bezzenberger möchte hier „die proklitische Natur jener Form" als die Ursache der Intonationsänderung betrachten. Das ist wohl kaum richtig, denn einen ähnlichen Zirkumflexus wie *tą̃* haben die mehrsilbigen Substantive und Adjektive: *dẽną*, *gẽrą* usw. Tatsächlich liegt hier m. E. eine Abweichung vom Griechischen [2]) vor, welche bisher nicht genügend erklärt ist. Dies ist aber die einzige Abweichung dieser Art und dadurch bestätigt sie die Regel. Auch das Slavische hat in diesem selben Kasus einen zirkumflektierten Ausgang: r. *gólovu*, *rúku*, skr. *glâvu*, *rûku*, so dass der Gedanke an urbaltoslavische Intonationsumlegung aufkommt. Eine solche Hypothese ist ebensowenig zu beweisen wie zu widerlegen.

4. *žmogù*: gr. *ἰχθῦ*, böot. *διοῦ*. Bekanntlich ist die Vokativbetonung von Satzbetonungsverhältnissen in einem so hohen Grade abhängig, dass sie für die Vergleichung mit andern Sprachen kaum zu benutzen ist. Im vorliegenden Falle ist wohl ausserdem ein quantitativer Unterschied vorhanden: lit. *žmogù* hat wohl eine indogermanische Kürze.

5. *duktẽ*, *motẽ*, *akmũ*: gr. *πατήρ*, *ἀγκών*. Hier haben wir es bekanntlich mit indogermanischen Satzdoubletten zu tun [3]).

Hanssen [4]) ging insofern einen Schritt weiter als Bezzenberger, als

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kiensche Kürzungsgesetz folgenderweise modifizierte: „Stosstonige auslautende lange Silbe wird im Litauischen verkürzt; steht aber der Wortton *stets* auf dem Ende und stehen keine andern gleichbedeutenden Wortformen zur Seite, die auch den Stamm betonen können, so wandelt sich der Stosston zum Schleifton, und die Länge der auslautenden Silbe bleibt dann erhalten" (*aaO.* 201). Die Dissertation von Specht erhielt ich erst nach Abschluss dieser Arbeit und für meinen Zweck hielt ich es nicht für nötig, die Spechtsche Regel einer eingehenden Prüfung zu unterziehen. Ich muss aber gestehen, dass ich derselben skeptisch gegenüberstehe; erstens halte ich ein auf diese Weise eingeschränktes Lautgesetz a priori für wenig wahrscheinlich, zweitens ist das reichhaltige Material, das Specht S. 202 ff. anführt, sehr heterogener Natur. Es sind Formen dabei, wo nach dem Zirkumflex ein Vokal geschwunden ist (*tarp̃*, *žiūrẽs*, *tõks* usw.), bei andern ist das nicht der Fall, — viele Formen werden auch auf andere Weise befriedigend gedeutet (*pusiaũ*, N. Sg. auf *-ũ* usw.). Weiter glaube ich, dass Specht die von ihm gesammelten Beispiele im Zusammenhang mit sonstigen Fällen von baltischer Metatonie hätte betrachten sollen (s. § 47 dieser Arbeit); in dem Falle wäre er wohl, auch was den Auslaut anbetrifft, zum selben Schlusse gelangt wie De Saussure, dass die Ursachen der Metatonie vielerlei und schwer bestimmbar sind.

1) S. Verf., *Altpreussische Studien* (1918), S. 99 ff., wo auch die ältere Literatur erwähnt wird.

2) Und vom Germanischen; s. weiter unten.

3) S. H. Hirt, *IF.* I (1892), 22, — auch S. 62 Fussn. 6 dieser meiner Arbeit.

4) F. Hanssen, *KZ.* XXVII (1885), 612 ff. (s. auch *KZ.* XXVIII, 1887, 216, wo auf Bezzenberger verwiesen wird). Schon früher hatte W. Scherer, *Zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache*[1] (1868), 120 die auslautenden langen Silben des Germanischen

er auch das Germanische berücksichtigte. Gerade für diesen Sprachzweig haben seine Untersuchungen eine grosse Bedeutung.

Er erwähnte folgende litauische Formationen[1]):

1. mit Zirkumflexus: *mergõs*: gr. τιμῆς, got. *gibos*,
merg̃ai: gr. τιμῇ, got. *gibai*,
merg̃os[2]): got. *gibos*,
mergũ: got. *gibo*,
namẽ: gr. Ἰσθμοῖ,
dẽvo: gr. ψυχρῶς, got. *galeiko*,
dëvũ: gr. ποταμῶν, got. *dagē* („mit unregelmässiger Färbung des Vocals"),
dëvaĩs: gr. ποταμοῖς,
akẽs: got. *anstais*,
dangaũs: got. *faihaus*,
akẽ, *dangaũ*: gr. Λητοῖ, βασιλεῦ,
szunũ: κυνῶν, got. *nasjande* („mit unregelmässiger Färbung des Vocals"),
te berẽ: gr. φαίνοι, got. *hilpai*.

2. mit Gravis aus Akut: *mergà*: gr. τιμή, got. *giba*,
[*merg̀ą*: gr. τιμήν, got. *giba*. Das litauische Wort hat zirkumflektierten Ausgang. Dies ist der einzige litauische Fall, welcher nicht zu der Regel stimmt[3])],
mergì: gr. τιμαί. [Got. *tvą þusundja* hätte H. weglassen sollen],
mergàs: gr. τιμάς [s. S. 62 Fussn. 3],
kurì: got. *þivi*,
[*ponè*: gr. πανδημεί, got. *vulfa*. Diese Auffassung des litauischen Lokativs ist unrichtig[4])],
ponù: gr. ποταμώ,
gerì: gr. ἀγαθοί,
keturiolika: got. *juka*,
ponùs: gr. ποταμούς, got. *dagans* [s. S. 62 F. 3],
sukù: got. *hilpa*,
sùkiva: got. *hilpaiva*,
[*esì* = gr. φαινεσαι, got. *hilpaza*[5])].

Wie Bezzenberger, so führte auch Hanssen einige scheinbare Ausnahmen („unregelmässige Entsprechungen") an. Teilweise sind es die-

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mit den vedischen überlangen Vokalen zusammengebracht. Bezzenberger *GGA.* 1887, 415 wies auf den Zusammenhang dieser überlangen vedischen Vokale mit dem griechischen und litauischen Zirkumflexus hin. S. jetzt über diese vedischen Überlängen J. Wackernagel, *Altind. Grammatik* I (1896), 49 ff., wo auch die ältere Literatur mitgeteilt wird.

1) Die vom jetzigen Standpunkte der Wissenschaft unrichtig beurteilten Formen führe ich in eckigen Klammern an.

2) So ist anstatt *mergõs* zu lesen.

3) S. S. 63 sub 3.

4) S. J. Zubatý, *IF.* VI (1896), 284 ff.

5) Über lit. *esì* s. Verf., *AfslPh.* XXXVI (1914), 111 f.; über got. *-aza* brauchen wir in diesem Zusammenhange nicht zu reden.

selben Kategorien, die Bezzenberger besprochen hatte. Fur diese Kategorien verweise ich auf meine obigen Bemerkungen. Weiter erwähnt Hanssen:

ponìs: gr. ἡσυχῇ. Richtigerweise hält Hanssen es für „keineswegs ausgemacht", dass diese Endungen identisch seien.

akmů̃, *mėnů̃*. Diese Formen erklärt Hanssen nach den einsilbigen *szů̃* und *žmů̃*.

anẽ, *kurẽ*. Nach *jẽ*, *tẽ*. Das ist wohl richtig.

dėvaĩ. *-ai* wird von Hanssen nicht mit gr. *-οι* identifiziert.

duktẽ, *motẽ*. Hanssen erklärt diese Formen nach *žolẽ* u. dgl.

Einige Jahre später hat Hirt in seinem Aufsatze „Vom schleifenden und gestossenen Ton in den indogermanischen Sprachen" das Hanssensche Material in einigen Punkten korrigiert und einiges hinzugefügt [1]). Mit Kretschmer [2]) und V. Michels hält er *akmů̃* u. dgl. für Sandhivarianten von gr. ἄκμων usw. [3]), welche Ansicht jetzt wohl von allen Forschern geteilt wird. Die Lokativendung *-e* von *vilkè* usw. kann nach Hirts Ansicht altes *-e* oder *-ē* vertreten, kein *-eĩ* oder *-oĩ* [4]). Jetzt nimmt man gewöhnlich ein angehängtes *-en* an [5]). Nasaliert war die Endung auf jeden Fall [6]); wenn wirklich *-en* anzunehmen ist, so ist der Akut etwas auffällig; er dürfte wohl mit der Affigierung zusammenhängen, welche die Intonation kaum unbeeinflusst lassen konnte.

In der Tabelle, mit welcher Hirt seinen Aufsatz schliesst [7]), begegnen uns folgende von Bezzenberger und Hanssen noch nicht berücksichtigte litauische Formationen:

gaidỹs, wofür, ebenso wie für got. *haírdeis*, idg. schleifender Ton angenommen wird [8]). Jetzt steht es wohl fest, dass von idg. *-ijo-s* auszugehen ist [9]). Selbstverständlich ist durch diese Korrektion die Vertretung eines idg. Zirkumflexes durch lit. ~ nicht weniger sicher.

vežantìs: ai. *bṛhatí*, got. *frijondi*. Vgl. *patìs* bei Bezzenberger [10]).

žẽmę (l. *žẽmę*?). Das *-ę* der (*j*)*ē*-Stämme steht auf einer Linie mit dem *-ą* der *o*-(idg. *ā*-)Stämme.

vil̃kui: ai. *asmaí*, gr. *θεῷ*.

szalè. Von Hirt als ein Lokativ auf *-é* der idg. *i*-Deklination aufgefasst [11]).

mergà, *vilkù*. Von Hirt wird für diese beiden Instrumentalendungen idg. Vokal + Nasal angenommen. Für *mergà* trifft das zu [12]), für *vilkù* aber nicht; dieses hat einfach idg. *-ṓ* [13]).

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1) Im 1. Bde. der *IF.* (1892), S. 1 ff., 195 ff.
2) R. Kretschmer, *KZ.* XXXI (1892), 358.
3) H. Hirt, *aaO.*, 22. 4) H. Hirt, *aaO.*, 27.
5) S. in erster Linie J. Zubatý, *IF.* VI (1896), 284 ff.
6) S. J. Zubatý, *aaO.*, F. Specht, *Grammat. Einleitung* (s. S. 20 Fussn. 5), S. 99.
7) H. Hirt, *aaO.*, S. 231. 8) H. Hirt, *aaO.*, S. 215.
9) S. E. Sievers, *PBrB.* XVI (1892), 567. 10) S. oben S. 62.
11) H. Hirt, *aaO.*, S. 27. S. jetzt zu diesem Worte K. Būga, *Švietimo darbas* Nr. 9—10 (1921), S. 131.
12) S. O. Hujer, *Slovanská deklinace jmenná* (1910), 158 f., Verf., *Altpreussische Studien* (1918), XVI f.
13) S. K. Brugmann, *Grundriss* II², 2 (1911), 188, Verf., *aaO.*, 87.

Eine Formation wurde von keinem der bisher genannten Forscher berücksichtigt, und zwar die 3. Ps. Präs. und Prät. auf lit. *-o*, *-ė*: *klaũso*, *sùko*, *ẽmė*. Der nicht verschobene Akzent setzt zirkumflektierte Endung voraus; vgl. g. *βῆ*, *στῶ*, *φῆ* [1]).

Aus dem Vorhergehenden ergibt sich, dass die Regel: lit. Zirkumflexus = gr. idg. Zirkumflexus, got. Länge [2]), lit. Gravis aus Akut = gr. idg. Akut, got. Kürze nur eine Ausnahme hat und zwar den Akk. Sg. F. *rañką*, *žõlę*. Diese Ausnahme ist unerklärt. Der Gedanke liegt nahe, dass der Zirkumflexus der litauischen Akkusativendung mit demjenigen der slavischen (**rǫ̂kǫ*, r. *rúku*, skr. *râku*) zusammenhänge und auf die baltoslavische Zeit zurückgehe. Wie ist dann aber die Umlegung der Intonation zu erklären? Etwa nach *-om*, *-im*, *-um*? Das wäre wenig wahrscheinlich [3]). Der Ursprung des Zirkumflexus von lit. *-ą* (aus *-ām*) und *-ę* ist also als dunkel zu betrachten [4]); eins soll aber ausdrücklich hervorgehoben werden: dass diese eine Ausnahme das durch soviele Beispiele sichergestellte Gesetz von der litauischen Vertretung indogermanischer Auslautsintonationen unerschüttert lässt.

Eine nur scheinbare Ausnahme sind Pronominalformen wie *tẽ*, *jẽ*, *tũ* (Instrum.), *tũdu*, *tẽdvi*. Hier haben Satzbetonungsverhältnisse gewirkt. Wir machen es uns wohl zu bequem, wenn wir nur die proklitische Stellung als Ursache des Zirkumflexes betrachten. Wir begnügen uns am besten mit der etwas unbestimmten Formulierung, dass nicht genau bestimmbare Satzbetonungsverhältnisse die Intonation einsilbiger Pronominalformen modifiziert haben.

§ 33. Viel weniger altertümlich als das Litauische ist das Slavische, erstens weil keine slavische Sprache in von altersher auslautenden Silben mehr als eine Intonation kennt [5]), zweitens weil bereits damals, als noch zwei Auslautsintonationen existierten, die indogermanische Verteilung von Akut und Zirkumflex nicht mehr unverändert geblieben war.

In denjenigen serbokroatischen Mundarten, welche den Akzent an seiner ursprünglichen Stelle bewahrt haben, tritt sowohl alter Akut wie Zirkumflexus als ˜ auf: so lautet im Čakavischen von Novi der Nom. Sg. *ženȁ*, der Akk. Sg. *ženȕ* [6]). Dies sind die einzigen slavischen Dialekte, wo der Akzent an seiner alten Stelle geblieben ist und wo zugleich noch Intonationsunterschiede bewahrt geblieben sind. In den nicht zahlreichen Fällen, wo der Ausgang das sogenannte „čakavische ´", m. a. W. eine „nowoakutowa", hat, liegt offenbar stets ein ursprünglicher Akut

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1) S. § 21.

2) Ich zweifle nicht daran, dass die germanischen Auslautquantitäten, abgesehen von einigen weniger wichtigen Faktoren (wie etwa ausl. *-s*), hauptsächlich durch den idg. Gegensatz Akut: Zirkumflex bedingt werden (anders jetzt R. C. Boer, *Oergermaansch handboek*, 1918, S. 69). Für das Litauische ist diese Frage natürlich von untergeordneter Bedeutung.

3) S. zu dieser Frage O. Hujer, *aaO.* 98 und die daselbst mitgeteilte Literatur.

4) Die Tatsache, dass auch sonst in den slavischen Ausgängen oft sekundäre Intonationsqualitäten vorliegen, macht die Annahme bereits urbaltoslavischer Intonationsumlegung unsicherer als sie sonst wäre.

5) Abgesehen von einigen Fällen mit der sekundären Intonation „nowoakutowa".

6) S. A. Belić, *Izvěstija* XIV (1909), 2, 226.

vor: N. Pl. Neutr. čak. pos. *nebesá*, — G. Sg. F. čak. pos. *nogé*, — G. Plur. pos. *vūká* [1]), was sich aus der Akzentverschiebung nach De Saussures Gesetz ergibt. Auch sonst ist das De Saussuresche Gesetz das einzige Mittel, die ursprüngliche Intonation slavischer Auslautsilben zu bestimmen.

Wenn wir nun mit diesem Kriterium an das slavische Material herantreten, so ergibt sich, dass ein Teil desselben zum Litauischen und zum Indogermanischen stimmt, ein anderer Teil aber nicht. Uebereinstimmung liegt vor bei:

(mit Akut): r. *rukú*, skr. *rúka*: lit. *rankà*, gr. *τιμή*,

r. *rukám*, čak. *rūkán*: lit. *rankóms*,

r. *pol'á*, skr. *pòlja*: got. *juka*,

r. *nesú*: lit. *neszù*, got. *nima*. Allerdings ist zu beachten, dass die Endungen nicht genau identisch sind: lit. *-u*, got. *-a* aus idg. *-ō*, r. *nesú* aber = abg. *nesǫ*,

(mit Zirkumflex): r. *bóga*, skr. *bȍga*: lit. *dẽvo*,

r. *bógu*, skr. *bȍgu*: lit. *dẽvui*, gr. *θεῷ*. Freilich glaubt nur ein Teil der Forscher an die Identität der slavischen Endung mit der baltischen und griechischen [2]),

r. *bógě*, čak. *bȍgi*: lit. *namẽ*, gr. *οἴκοι*,

r. *rúki*, skr. *rûke*: lit. *rañkos*, got. *gibos*. Freilich sind die Endungen nicht vollkommen identisch,

r. *kósti*, skr. *kȍsti* (Gen. Sg.): lit. *naktẽs*, got. *anstais*,

r. *dómu*, *iz domu*: lit. *sūnaũs*, got. *sunaus*,

r. *kósti*, skr. *kȍsti* (N. Pl.): lit. *nãktys*. Freilich sind die Endungen nicht genau dieselben: lit. *-ys* ist wohl aus *-ijes* entstanden,

r. *lěža*, slov. *ležę̑*: lit. *turį̃s*, *turį̃*,

skr. dial. (Ozrinići) *pîta*, *žîvie*: lit. *sùko*, *ẽmė*.

In diesem Zusammenhange erwähne ich auch den Akk. Sg. F. r. *vódu*, *bórodu*, skr. *vȍdu*, *brâdu*. Hier stimmt das Baltische zum Slavischen, das Griechische und Germanische aber haben eine andere, wohl ältere Intonation.

Das Slavische weicht in folgenden Fällen vom Baltischen und den andern idg. Sprachen ab [3]):

r. *rukí*, skr. *rúkē*: lit. *rañkos*, gr. *τῑμῆς*, got. *gibos*. Allerdings sind die Endungen nicht genau dieselben,

r. *rukě̑*, skr. *rúci* (Dat. Lok. Sg.): lit. *raũkai*, gr. *τῑμῇ*, got. *gibai*,

r. *tóju*: lit. *mergà*,

r. *čérti*, skr. *bȍzi*: lit. *gerì*, *gerė̃-ji*, gr. *ἄνθρωποι*,

r. *dvá*, *óba*, skr. *dvâ*, *ȍba*: lit. *abù*, gr. *ποταμώ*,

r. *óbě*, skr. *ȍbje*: lit. *abì*,

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1) S. Verf., *RS.* IX (1921), 80 ff. Anders T. Lehr-Spławiński, *das.*, 124 f. Trotz der von Lehr angeführten polabischen Genitive *slâmój*, *śorój* kann ich für r. *rukí*, *nogí*, čak. *rūké*, *nogé* mit verschobenem Akzente keine zirkumflektierte Endung annehmen.

2) S. H. Pedersen, *KZ.* XXXVIII (1905), 323 ff., A. Meillet, *RS.* VII (1914/15), 3.

3) S. Verf., *RS.* IX (1921), 83 f. mit Fussnoten, T. Lehr-Spławiński, *das.*, 122 ff.

r. *óči*, skr. *ðči*: lit. *avì*,
skr. *rùkū*, slovinz. *rąkŭ*: lit. *pusiaũ*,
r. *pletí*, skr. *plèti*: lit. *te-sukẽ*, gr. *παιδεύοις*, *-οι*, got. *nimais*, *-ai* [1]).

Es ist mir nicht möglich, diese Unregelmässigkeiten zu erklären; ich wüsste nicht, was diesen Kategorien im Gegensatz zu denjenigen, wo die Intonation zu derjenigen anderer Sprachen stimmt, gemeinschaftlich ist. Sogar wäre es m. E. möglich, jedes direkte Band zwischen dem Akut bezw. Zirkumflexus slavischer Endungssilben und den gleichnamigen indogermanischen und baltischen Intonationen vollständig zu leugnen und diese zwei slavischen Intonationen für sekundäre Errungenschaften des Slavischen zu halten, auf eine ähnliche Weise wie die viel jüngeren „nowoakutowa" und „nowocyrkumfleksowa".

§ 34. Wie bereits bemerkt wurde [2]), unterscheiden die Kürzen keine Intonationen, abgesehen von einigen jüngern Erscheinungen des Slavischen. Trotzdem will ich den ursprünglich kurzen Vokalen der Auslautsilben ein paar Worte widmen, indem ich darauf hinweise, dass im Litauischen *naktìs* und *sūnùs*, was Intonation und Quantität betrifft, vollkommen auf einer Linie mit (**galvâ*>) *galvà* stehen, während das *a* von *kélmas*, *tìltas*, *tãkas*, *rãtas* in vielen Dialekten, wo *-is* und *-us* bewahrt bleiben, ausfällt. Die Endung *-as* ist, abgesehen von zusammengesetzten Adjektivformen wie *geràsis*, nie haupttonig.

Mit dem Vokalwegfall in *kelms*, *taks* usw. lässt sich derjenige in *moteřs* G. Sg., *móters* N. Pl. vergleichen. Das Altlitauische kennt hier noch die volle Endung *-es* [3]). Auch ist im Altlitauischen die Endung *-mus* des Dativ Plural noch sehr gebräuchlich, im Gegensatz zu neulit. *-ms*. Im Gegensatz zu *-es* hatte dieses *-mus* nie den Hauptakzent.

Bewahrt bleibt, abgesehen von solchen Mundarten, wo die Vokalreduktion am allerweitesten fortgeschritten ist, das *-e* des Vokativs: *dẽve*, *dẽvè* [4]). Gauthiot hat für diese Form ein indogermanisches *-ē* angenommen [5]); ich halte aber diese Annahme für unnötig. Wenn *-ùs* (*sūnùs*) auf idg. *-ŭs* zurückgeht, so kann *-è* idg. *-ĕ* fortsetzen. Ausserdem braucht der Vokativ mit seiner eigentümlichen Satzbetonung nicht den für andere Wörter geltenden Betonungs- und Quantitätsregeln unterworfen gewesen zu sein.

Die Frage kann gestellt werden, ob vielleicht die Akzentzurückziehung in *kélmas*, *dẽvas* urbaltoslavisch ist, denn auch dem Slavischen fehlt der oxytonierte Nomin. oder vielmehr: Nomin.-Akk. Sg. auf *-ă*. Wir

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1) In dieses Verzeichnis nahm ich nicht den Instr. Plur. auf *-y* auf, welcher von einigen Forschern für die direkte Fortsetzung der idg. Formation auf *-ōĭs* gehalten wird (s. H. Pedersen, *KZ.* XXXVIII, 1905, 325, A. Meillet, *RS.* VII, 1914/15, 5), obgleich ich nicht ganz sicher bin, dass T. Lehr, *Ze studjów nad akc. słow.* (1917), S. 21, *O prasłowiańskiej metatonji*, S. 22 richtig das *-y* für zirkumflektiert hält. Auch die Endungen, welche auf idg. *-ons*, *-ins*, *-uns* zurückgehen, liess ich weg; s. dazu S. 47 mit Fussn. 5.

2) S. § 5 und § 12.

3) S. F. de Saussure, *IF.* IV (1894), 456 ff.

4) S. A. Bezzenberger, *BB.* XXI (1896), 295 (Fussnote zu 294).

5) R. Gauthiot, *La fin de mot en indo-européen* (1913), S. 177.

müssen diese Frage aber verneinend beantworten. Erstens hat lit. *geràsis*, das wohl keine bereits vorbaltische Zusammenrückung ist, noch die Endbetonung, zweitens weist die slavische „nowoakutowa" (r. dial. *stǫl*, čak. *králj*) auf erst slavische Zurückziehung des Akzentes hin. Dieselbe musste stattfinden, weil in mehrsilbigen Formen der Halbvokal den Hauptakzent nicht behalten konnte.

§ 35. Die Intonationen nicht auslautender Silben.

Sowohl das Baltische wie das Slavische unterscheiden auch in nicht auslautenden Silben zwei Intonationen langer „tranches vocaliques" [1]). In haupttonigen Silben werden dieselben in einigen Sprachen noch jetzt auseinander gehalten, z. B. lit. *stónas*: *prõtas*, skr. *dȉm*: *sîn*, während in andern Fällen die Wirkung des De Saussureschen Gesetzes in der frühern Haupttonsilbe einen Zirkumflexus voraussetzt, im Gegensatz zu andern gleichartigen Formen, wo ein Akut vorliegt, welcher den Akzent festhielt, z. B. lit. *protìs*: *stónu*, r. *bĕgú*: *lĕ́zu*.

In den beiden Sprachzweigen kommt die zweierlei Intonation sowohl bei idg. langen Monophthongen wie bei den Fortsetzungen von nasalis oder liquida sonans und von idg. Diphthongen (inclusive *or* u. dgl. Gruppen) vor. Die litauischen Verhältnisse veranlassen uns, diese Kategorien jede für sich zu behandeln.

§ 36. Die idg. langen Monophthonge.

Wir fangen mit dem Litauischen an, wo weniger als im Slavischen Metatonien und sekundäre Intonationen die ältern Verhältnisse getrübt haben.

Die Hauptfrage ist diese: Gehen die zwei Intonationen des Litauischen auf zwei bereits indogermanische Intonationen zurück oder sind sie anders zu erklären? Diese Frage hängt mit der andern Frage zusammen: Unterschied das Indogermanische bei den langen Vokalen mehr als eine Intonation?

Diese zweite Frage gibt zu einer allgemeinen Bemerkung Anlass.

Es gibt wohl kaum eine Sprache auf der Welt, welche keine Intonationsunterschiede kennt, die mit der Struktur der Wörter und mit der Funktion derselben zusammenhängen. Was Sievers über die „relative Tonlage" geschrieben hat [2]), gilt wohl mutatis mutandis für alle Sprachen. Wenn z. B. im Deutschen das *a* von *ladete* eine etwas andere Quantität und eine etwas andere Intonation hat als dasjenige von *lade*, so ist das eine nicht nur auf das Deutsche beschränkte Erscheinung. Die Mehrzahl aber derjenigen Intonationsnüancen, welche ein geübtes Ohr in einer lebenden Sprache unterscheidet, lässt sich mit denjenigen Mitteln, worüber bisher die Wissenschaft verfügt, für weit zurückliegende Perioden nicht mehr nachweisen. Und was sich nicht nachweisen lässt, das müssen wir ignorieren. Ohne jeden Zweifel hat auch das Indogermanische sowohl bei kurzen wie bei langen Vokalen mit der „relativen Tonlage" zusammenhängende Intonationen gekannt, so dass die oben gestellte Frage:

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1) Jüngere, sekundäre Intonationen wie den lettischen Stosston oder die slav. „nowoakutowa" und „nowocyrkumfleksowa" lasse ich ausser Betracht.

2) E. Sievers, *Grundzüge der Phonetik* [5] (1901), § 663—668.

Unterschied das Indogermanische bei den langen Vokalen mehr als eine Intonation? — überflüssig scheinen könnte. Die Frage bezieht sich aber nur auf solche Intonationen, denen man auf induktivem Wege auf die Spur kommen kann.

Welche indogermanischen Sprachen besitzen nun in nicht auslautenden Silben mehr als eine Intonation? Ausser dem Baltischen und Slavischen kommt hier nur der indisch-iranische Sprachzweig in Betracht [1]), aus dessen ältesten Quellen, Veda und Avesta, wir die vielbesprochene „Zerdehnung eines Vokales in zwei" kennen. Bei der Besprechung der Intonationen auslautender Silben wurde diese Erscheinung bereits erwähnt. Sie beschränkt sich aber nicht auf die Ausgänge (ein sehr häufiges Beispiel ist die Endung *-ām* des Gen. Plur.), sondern sie kommt auch bei inlautenden Vokalen vor, z. B. *vā́ta-*, *dā́svant-*, *pāyú-*, *dāsá-*, *mātṛ́-*, *vīrá-*, *çū́ra-* [2]). Nun haben diejenigen, welche für auslautende Silben Zusammenhang der indisch-iranischen Dehnung mit indogermanischen Intonationsverhältnissen angenommen haben, in den arischen gedehnten Vokalen die Fortsetzung indogermanischer zirkumflektierter Laute erblickt [3]), und tatsächlich ist diese Auffassung auf viele Fälle anwendbar, wie etwa auf die Endungen *-ām* (Gen. Plur.), *-āt* (Abl. Sg.), auf die Akkusative *gām*, *dyām*. Aber nicht auf alle Fälle: so setzt der Gravis von lit. *manę̀* (durch Kreuzung des Stammes *man-* und des Akk. **mę̀*; vgl. auch r. *meńá*) für idg. **mēm* Akut voraus, trotz des gedehnten *ā* von ved. avest. *mām*. Und unter den Fällen von Dehnung in nicht-auslautenden Silben gibt es einige, wo dem arischen gedehnten Vokale ein sowohl slavischer wie baltischer Akut gegenübersteht:

ai. *mātṛ́-*: lit *móte*, skr. *mā́ti*,
ai. *vātá-*: lit. *vė́ti*, *vė́jas*, skr. *vā́jati*, *vā́tas*.

Wir dürfen also nicht die Regel aufstellen, dass die arische Dehnung auf idg. Zirkumflexus hinweise; dafür wäre Übereinstimmung mit denjenigen Sprachzweigen, welche in nicht auslautenden Silben mehr als eine Intonation unterscheiden, also mit dem Baltischen und Slavischen [4]), nötig. Und auch haben wir nicht das Recht, die baltischen und slavischen Intonationen in direkten Zusammenhang mit der arischen Dehnung zu bringen. Wenn Bezzenberger [5]) für Metatoniefälle wie lit. *mazgóti*: *mazgõtė* einen indogermanischen Tonwechsel voraussetzt, welcher mit ai. *çū́ra-* ‘stark’: *çū́ra-*, *çū́ura-* ‘Held’, *svarā́j-* ‘Herrscher’: *svarā́jia-* ‘Selbstherrschaft’ zu vergleichen wäre, so schwebt eine solche Annahme vollständig in der Luft, solange eine regelmässige Korrelation arischer Quantitäten und baltisch-slavischer Intonationen nicht nachgewiesen ist.

Wenn die indisch-iranische Dehnung über den Ursprung der balti-

1) S. § 31. Dem dort zu den griechischen Intonationen Bemerkten brauche ich nichts hinzuzufügen.

2) Das Material bei J. Wackernagel, *Altindische Grammatik* I (1896), S. 49 ff.

3) S. oben S. 63 Fussn. 4.

4) Das Griechische kommt hier nicht in Betracht, weil in dieser Sprache die Intonation der nicht-auslautenden Silben von der Quantität der Auslautsilbe abhängig und keine Erbschaft der Grundsprache war.

5) A. Bezzenberger, *BB.* XXI (1896), 313 f.

schen Intonationen nicht auslautender Silben kein Licht verbreitet, so wird die Wahrscheinlichkeit, dass dieselben auf indogermanische Intonationen zurückgehen, sehr gering. Bezzenberger, welcher eine grosse Anzahl Fälle von litauischer Metatonie zusammengestellt hat, möchte nicht für alle dieselbe Erklärung geben, aber wenigstens für einen Teil (z. B. lit. *mazgóti: mazgótė*) geht er von Akut und Zirkumflex der Grundsprache aus [1]). Keine Sprache ausserhalb des Baltischen und Slavischen unterstützt eine solche Vermutung, sogar bilden die slavischen Verhältnisse für die baltischen eine sehr schwache Stütze, weil nur in sehr seltenen Fällen (etwa lit. *búti: bũtų*, čech. *spáti: spat*; lit. *lándžioti: lįsti*, r. *voróčat': vórot*; *vorotít'* [2]) hat wohl ursprüngliche Formansbetonung) die Metatonie den beiden Sprachzweigen gemeinsam ist. In solchen Fällen kommt der Gedanke auf, ob die Metatonie vielleicht der baltisch-slavischen Periode angehört; bei denjenigen Kategorien aber, wo der Tonwechsel sich bloss auf das Baltische oder Slavische beschränkt, liegt die Annahme erst baltischer oder erst slavischer Tonumlegung näher. Und schliesslich, was diejenigen Wörter betrifft, denen keine nahe verwandten Bildungen mit anderer Intonation zur Seite stehen, hier fehlt uns jedes Zeugnis anderer Sprachen, das auf idg. Ursprung der litauischen Gegensätze (etwa *kótas: pròtas*) hinwiese.

Es ist also begreiflich, dass De Saussure für die Erklärung der Intonationen der litauischen langen Monophthonge andere Wege gesucht hat. De Saussure hat nachzuweisen versucht [3]), dass der Akut die regelmässige Intonation der indogermanischen langen Monophthonge ist: *ó, é, ŕ, ý, ú*. Diejenigen Wörter, wo *õ, ẽ, ũ, ỹ, ũ* vorliegen, hat De Saussure in folgende Kategorien eingeteilt:

1. Lehnwörter, z. B.: *vỹnas, bũras, rõdas, czẽsas, põnas, dỹvas*.

2. Junge litauische Wörter [Lautnachahmungen u. dgl.], z. B.: *czõžti* ‘glisser’, *kriõkti* ‘grogner’, *szniõkszti* ‘souffler bruyamment’.

3. „innovations grammaticales”, z. B.: *slẽpti, lẽkti, dũkrą, ẽsame* [4]).

4. Formen mit durch Metatonie entstandenem Zirkumflex: *pavẽjui, pakõjui; bẽgis, dỹgis; pũdžius*. Die Wörter auf *-ius* sind die einzige Kategorie, wo die Metatonie ausnahmslos auftritt. Für die Metatonie ist es einstweilen kaum möglich Regeln zu geben.

Ich halte diese Ansicht De Saussures für richtig. Wenn man in einem Wörterbuche oder in einer ausführlichen Grammatik, wie die Kurschatsche, das litauische Wortmaterial durchmustert, so fällt es rasch auf, wieviele Fremdwörter mit zirkumflektiertem Monophthonge es gibt

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1) A. Bezzenberger, *BB.* XXI (1896), 313 f. Dagegen hält Bezzenberger, *BB.* XVII (1891), 224 den Zirkumflexus von *añtinas* (: *ántis*) für sekundär, anerkennt also die Möglichkeit jüngerer Metatonie in litauischen Suffixalbildungen.

2) S. § 48, 4te und 5te Alinea.

3) F. de Saussure, *MSL.* VIII (1894), 426 ff.

4) Formen wie *pūvù, pũva; gyjù, gỹja* gehören nicht hierher; ihre Längen sind etymologisch als *ų, į* aufzufassen; s. E. Wolter (nach Jaunys), *Mitt. d. lit. litt. Ges.* III (1893), 546 f., F. Fortunatov, *Razbor sočinenija G. K. Uljanova* [im LXIV. *Sbornik der Petersburger Akademie*], S. 25 ff., W. Porzeziński, *K istorii form spr'aženija v baltijskich jazykach* (1901), S. 94 f.

und wie wenig zahlreich anderseits, abgesehen von gewissen Bildungen, bei denen teilweise Metatonie vorliegt, die echt litauischen Wörter mit zirkumflektiertem Monophthonge sind. Freilich hat De Saussure nicht für alle Ausnahmen eine befriedigende Erklärung gegeben; mich jedenfalls befriedigt die Deutung von *lẽkti*, *slẽpti* als „innovations grammaticales" nicht vollständig und auch *võgti*, *bẽrė*, *ẽmė* sind mir nicht ganz klar. Gerne glaube ich, dass die Intonation *ẽ*, *õ* sekundär ist und dass wir dieselbe irgend einer Analogiewirkung zuschreiben müssen [1]), aber wie die Entwicklung stattgefunden hat, das weiss ich nicht. Dasselbe gilt für Nomina wie *prõtas*, *žmõgų*, wo, ebenso wie bei *ẽmė*, der lange Vokal auf die indogermanische Zeit zurückgehen dürfte (vgl. das got. Adj. *froþs*, lat. *homō*, gr. *πώγωνες*). Vermutlich hängt das *õ* von *žmõgų* (im Gegensatz zum Plural *žmónės*) irgendwie mit der Bildung des *-gu*-Stammes aus dem alten Konsonantstamme, dessen Nominativ im altlit. *žmů̃* vorliegt, zusammen, und der Gedanke kommt auf, ob dieser Nominativ vielleicht die Intonation des neuen Wortes beeinflusst hat, — aber das ist bloss ein unbegründeter Gedanke, und auf *prõtas* u. dgl. ist eine solche Hypothese nicht anwendbar.

§ 37. Viel weniger klar als die litauischen Verhältnisse sind die slavischen. Grosse Schwierigkeiten macht hier der oft innerhalb eines Paradigmas auftretende Intonationswechsel, z. B.:

skr. *dȁti*: čak. *dâl*, *dālȁ*, r. *dalá*, *dálo*,

skr. *pȁsti*: skr. dial. *pádēm*, r. *padú* (Akzentverschiebung infolge Zirkumflektierung des *a*).

Vgl. auch Fälle wie r. *vídět'*, čech. *viděti*: r. *vidát'*, čech. *vídati* (slav. **vidȁti* wohl aus **vîdati* nach De Saussures Gesetz) — oder: klr. *bíčy*, skr. *bjȅći*: r. *bĕgú*, *bĕžíš*, skr. *bjèžīš*; r. *bĕgat'*, čech. *běhati*: r. *-bĕgát'*, čech. *-bíhati* [2]).

Bei solchen Zeitwörtern ist es unmöglich, wenn man von slavischem Standpunkte die Sache betrachtet, zu entscheiden, welche die ursprüngliche Intonation derselben ist. Die litauischen Verhältnisse legen die Vermutung nahe, dass die ursprüngliche Intonation aller inlautenden langen idg. Monophthonge der Akut sei; solange aber der Ursprung des Zirkumflexes, der in einem grossen Teil der Verbalformen vorliegt, dunkel ist, dürfen wir nicht ohne Weiteres die litauische Regel auf das Slavische ausdehnen, so wie Hirt es gemacht hat [3]), welcher m. E. den slavischen Intonationswechsel zu wenig berücksichtigt hat.

Neuerdings hat K. H. Meyer versucht, die doppelte Intonation der slavischen Längen als die regelrechte Fortsetzung einer ähnlichen Doppeltheit der idg. Grundsprache zu deuten [4]). Aber einen Beweis hat er m. E. nicht geliefert. Er erblickt denselben offenbar in der Tatsache, dass das slav. *ě*, insofern es einen idg. Monophthong fortsetzt, sowohl mit stei-

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1) S. Verf., *IF.* XXXIV (1914/15), 373 f., — über ostlit. *bė'riau*, *praswárā* auch F. Specht, *Grammat. Einleitung* (s. S. 20 Fussn. 5), S. 38.

2) S. Verf., *KZ.* XLIX (1919/20), 84 ff.

3) H. Hirt, *Der idg. Akzent* (1895), S. 128. S. übrigens unten S. 73 ff.

4) Karl H. Meyer, *Slavische und indogermanische Intonation* (1920).

gender wie mit fallender Intonation vorkommt: einerseits skr. *djèva*, *djènēm*, *djèti*, *mjèsec* usw., anderseits skr. *lîjen*, *tîjelo*, *zvîjer* usw. [1]). Ich wüsste aber nicht, was diese Doppeltheit für die Grundsprache beweist, wenn sie nicht mindestens in éiner andern Sprache wiederkehrt. Und das ist nicht der Fall. Sogar das Litauische zeigt uns ganz andere Verhältnisse. In einer Fussnote [2]) verweist Meyer auf De Saussures oben besprochenen Aufsatz. Er referiert De Saussures Meinung nicht ganz richtig, wenn er behauptet, dass dieser Gelehrte „für alle offenen langen Silben im Uridg. den Stosston" annehme, „wenn kein besonderer Umstand ihn modifiziere". De Saussure hat bloss gesagt, dass die litauische Intonation der idg. langen Monophthonge stets die *rude* sei; über die Qualität der idg. Tonbewegung sagte er nichts. Deshalb sind auch die weiteren Worte Meyers verfehlt: „Die Auffassung ist unrichtig und gründet sich eben auf das Litauische, das hier eine Uniformierung vorgenommen hat". Aber auch abgesehen davon, dass er De Saussures Meinung unrichtig referiert, ist an Meyers Bemerkungen einiges auszusetzen. Woher weiss Meyer, dass das Litauische „eine Uniformierung vorgenommen hat"? Er hätte das Recht das zu behaupten, wenn aus der Übereinstimmung wenigstens zweier idg. Sprachen das Vorhandensein zweier Intonationen der idg. langen Monophthonge hervorginge, aber eine solche Übereinstimmung hat weder Meyer noch irgend ein anderer Forscher nachgewiesen. Wenn er nun trotzdem ohne weitere Begründung die slavischen Verhältnisse [3]) für altertümlicher hält als die litauischen, so kann ich diese Ansicht nur als leichtfertig bezeichnen, und ich muss Meyer das Recht absprechen, eine der schönsten Arbeiten eines Gelehrten von De Saussures Bedeutung mit der Bemerkung abzufertigen: „Auch methodologisch ist De Saussures Arbeit anfechtbar".

Endgültig widerlegbar ist natürlich Meyers Ansicht nicht. Es kann im Indogermanischen zwei Intonationen nicht auslautender langer Vokale gegeben haben, und die Möglichkeit, dass jedenfalls ein Teil der slavischen Akute auf eine Art idg. Akut, ein Teil der slavischen Zirkumflexe auf eine Art idg. Zirkumflex zurückgehe, ist nicht zu leugnen. Aber es ist eine haltlos in der Luft schwebende Möglichkeit, nichts mehr. Viel wahrscheinlicher ist es mir, dass das älteste Urslavische ebenso wie beinahe alle andern idg. Sprachen éine Intonation für die idg. langen Monophthonge besessen hat, und angesichts der litauischen Verhältnisse liegt dann die Vermutung nahe, dass diese Intonation der Akut gewesen ist. Dann hätte also z. B. skr. *dâti* eine altertümlichere Intonation als etwa

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1) K. H. Meyer, *aaO.*, S. 23 ff. — S. O. Hujer, *Listy filologické* XLVIII (1921), 150 ff.

2) K. H. Meyer, *aaO.*, S. 19 Fussn. 1.

3) Meyers Material gibt von den slavischen Verhältnissen ein sehr unvollkommenes Bild. Zu skr. *pòbjeći* erwähnt er in einer Fussnote „abg. *bĕgъ* 'Flucht', lit. *bẽgis*, sbkr. *bîjeg*, uridg. **bẽ̂go/is*," aber er schweigt von r. *bĕgú* (: lit. *bė̃gu*); sub voce **sĕkti* teilt er nicht mit, dass das Präsens im Gegensatz zum Infinitiv Zirkumflexus und dadurch hervorgerufene Oxytonierung hat: r. *sĕkú*, skr. *sijèčēm*. Zu idg. **bẽ̂go/is* ist noch zu bemerken, dass die idg. Wurzel *bh* hat (gr. *φέβομαι*) und dass lit. *bẽgis* ein *jo*-Stamm ist.

čak. *dȃl*, *dālȁ*, r. *dalá* (aus **dȃla*). Freilich ist es nicht möglich, für alle Zirkumflexe eine befriedigende Erklärung zu geben. In einem Teil der Fälle könnte man von ursprünglich endbetonten Formen ausgehen und den Zirkumflexus nach der oben besprochenen Regel von Meillet [1]) erklären. Meillet deutete auf diese Weise skr. *sîn*, dieselbe Erklärung könnte für čak. *dȃl* gelten. Damit wären aber bei weitem nicht alle Zirkumflexe erklärt. Auf r. *pólot'* : lit. *páltis* (immobile) wurde bereits hingewiesen [2]); vgl. weiter etwa r. *bĕgú* (aus **bẽgǫ*) : lit. *bẽgu*, skr. *zvȉjer* : liṭ. *žvėrį*. In der jüngern slavischen Periode liefert die Verteilung der Intonationen der ursprünglichen Längen ein so buntes Bild, dass man dieselbe einfach regellos nennen kann. Wenn ich für eine ältere Periode den Akut als die allgemeine und regelmässige Intonation der ursprünglichen Längen betrachte, so tue ich das erstens wegen des Litauischen, zweitens weil es jedenfalls éine Formkategorie im Slavischen gibt, wo, soviel ich sehe, tatsächlich ein ausnahmsloser Akut vorliegt. Diese Kategorie sind die Infinitive mit idg. langem Monophthonge:

r. *klast'*, skr. *klȁsti*, slov. *klásti*, čech. *klásti*, slz. *klãsc*,
r. *krast'*, s. *krȁsti*, sl. *krásti*, č. *krásti*, slz. *krãsc*,
r. *pást'* ("fallen"), s. *pȁsti*, sl. *pásti*, č. *pásti*, slz. *pãsc*,
r. *bĕč*, klr. *bíčy*, skr. *pò-bjeći*,
r. *gryzt'*, s. *grȉsti*, sl. *grízti*, č. *hrýzti*, slz. *grũsc*,
r. *ěst'*, s. *jȅsti*, sl. *jẹ́sti*, č. *jísti*, slz. *jȉgsc*,
r. *sĕst'*, s. *sjȅsti*, sl. *sẹ́sti*, č. *sésti*, *sísti*, (slz. *sîndẹ*),
r. *lĕzt'*, s. *-ljesti*, sl. *lẹ́sti*, č. *lézti*, slz. *lȉgsc*,
r. *sĕč'*, s. *sjȅći*, sl. *sẹ́ći*, ač. *sieci*, slz. *sȉgc*,
r. *žit'*, s. dial. *žȉt* [3]), slz. *žũc*,
r. *dat'*, s. *dȁti*, sl. *dáti*, slz. *dȁc*
(ebenso alle zweisilbigen Infinitive auf *-ati*),
r. *dĕt'*, s. *djȅti*, sl. *déti*, č. *díti*
(ebenso alle zweisilbigen Infinitive auf *-ĕti*),
r. *pit'*, s. *pȁti*, sl. *píti*, č. *píti*, slz. *pjȋc*
(ebenso alle zweisilbigen Infinitive auf *-iti*),
r. *kryt'*, s. *krȉti*, sl. *kríti*, č. *krýti*, slz. *krũc*
(ebenso alle zweisilbigen Infinitive auf *-yti*).

Es ist eine bekannte Tatsache, dass auch die mehrsilbigen Infinitive auf *-ati*, *-ĕti*, *-iti* [4]) einen Akut auf dem *a*, *ĕ*, *i* haben. Das ergibt sich u. a. aus der Kürze dieser Vokale im Serbokroatischen und aus dem

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1) S. § 27. Vgl. auch S. Kul'bakin, *Izvěstija* XI (1906), 4, 246 f., J. Endzelin, *Russkij filol. Věstnik* LXXV (1916), 297 ff., A. Šachmatov, *Očerk drevnějšago perioda* (1915), S. 71.

2) S. den Schluss von § 27. Wie dort gezeigt wurde, stellt sich diese unerklärte Anwendung des Zirkumflexes neben folgende drei regelmässige:

1. skr. *rûku*: lit. *rañką*, *rañkos*, — litauslavisches Barytonon,

2. skr. *glâvu*: lit. *galvà*, *gálvą*, — litauisches Oxytonon mit akutierter Stammsilbe,

3. skr. *zîmu*: lit. *žẽmą*, *žẽmės*, litauisches Oxytonon mit zirkumflektierter Stammsilbe.

3) S. S. Ivšić, *Rad* CXCVII (1913), 62.

4) Mehrsilbige Infinitive auf *-yti* gibt es nicht.

Fehlen der Endbetonung (im Gegensatz etwa zu r. *rodilá*, čak. *rodīlȁ*, sl. *rodíla* aus **rodilà* [1]).

Eine merkwürdige Form ist čech. *jeti*. Aus akutiertem *ě* wäre eine čechische Länge zu erwarten, — aber aus einem Zirkumflex ebenso, denn slav. **jěti* wäre zu **jětì* geworden und die vorhaupttonige Länge wäre lang geblieben, wie etwa in *jíti* (slav. *iti*). *Jeti* kann die Kürze von den Kompositis bekommen haben, wobei möglicherweise das Bedürfnis, dieses Verbum von *jíti* 'gehen' zu unterscheiden, mitgewirkt hat; auch kann das Präsens *jedu* Einfluss gehabt haben. Dialektisch kommt *jét'* vor [2], das vielleicht die regelmässige Fortsetzung der slavischen akutierten Form ist. Auf jeden Fall darf *jeti* nicht gegen die These, dass die Infinitive mit idg. langem Monophthonge im Slavischen einen Akut haben, angeführt werden.

Von zwei Zeitwörtern kommen sowohl oxytonierte wie barytonierte Infinitive vor; letztere haben Akutus der Stammsilbe, erstere setzen, wenn sie lautgesetzlich sind, Zirkumflex dieser Silbe voraus. Diese zwei Zeitwörter sind:

r. *pri-ob-rěstí*: skr. *s-rȇsti*. Slov. *ob-rẹ́sti* kann jeder der beiden Formen entsprechen [3].

r. *pastí* (Präs. *pasú*), skr. dial. (Prčanj, Ozrinići), *s-pȃst* [4], posav. *pȃst*, Brlić *pásti* [5]: klr. *pásty*, Vuk *pȃsti*, čak. *pȃst* (Novi [6]), slz. *pȃsc*. Slov. und čech. *pásti* können jeder der beiden Formen entsprechen.

Für diese beiden Zeitwörter halte ich Barytonierung und akutierte Wurzelsilbe für wahrscheinlich, denn bei dieser Annahme stimmen dieselben zu allen andern Verben mit idg. langem Monophthong. Bei *pasti* ist die barytonierte Form auch geographisch die verbreitetste (NB. slz. *pȃsc*), während bei *-rěsti* jede Form mit Sicherheit in je einer Sprache vertreten ist. Was die endbetonten Formen anbetrifft, r. *pastí* usw. können dem Bedürfnis entsprungen sein, dieses Zeitwort von *pasti* 'fallen' zu unterscheiden, und r. *pri-ob-rěstí* ist wohl dem Typus *gnestí* (: *gnetú*), *plestí* (: *pletú*) gefolgt, ebenso wie das Präteritum dieses selben Zeitwortes, welches bekanntlich *priobrël* ausgesprochen wird.

Vielleicht ist dem obigen Verzeichnisse noch hinzuzufügen: r. *strič*, klr. *strýgty*, skr. (auch čak.) *strȉć(i)*, slov. *stríči*, čech. *stříci*. Die Möglichkeit ist aber nicht ausgeschlossen, dass das *i* auf einen idg. Diphthong zurückgeht. Auf jeden Fall wird slz. *stříc* eine sekundäre Langstufe haben; das ist wahrscheinlicher als das umgekehrte, dass die russischen und serbokroatischen Formen beide sekundäre Betonung haben sollten [7].

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1) S. oben § 18.

2) S. J. Gebauer, *Histor. Mluvnice* III, 2 (1898), S. 133.

3) Das *ẹ́* ist wohl idg. *ē* und kein *oi*; s. wegen der Etymologie S. Mladenov, *Studii po slav'ansko i sravnitelno ezikoznanie* (1920) [aus dem XIII—XIV *Godišnik na Sofijskija universitet, za* 1917—1918 *g.*], S. 106.

4) Bei M. Rešetar, *Die serbokroat. Betonung s.w. Mundarten* (1900), S. 158.

5) S. S. Ivšić, *Rad* CXCVII (1913), 73, mit Fussnote 4.

6) S. A. Belić, *Izvěstija* XIV (1909), 2, 240.

7) Widerholt hat man für den slavischen Infinitiv auf *-ti* alte Oxytonierung angenommen, u.a. neuerdings T. Lehr-Spławiński, *O prasłowiańskiej metatonji* (1918), S. 14 Fussnote und F. Trávníček, *Listy filol.* XLVIII (1921), 47. In meiner Anzeige

§ 38. Die idg. kurzen Monophthonge.

Nicht nur bei den langen Monophthongen, sondern auch bei andern „tranches vocaliques" setzen die baltischen Intonationen indogermanische Quantitäten fort.

Bereits war die Rede davon, dass litauisches ˜, in einem Teil der Dialekte daneben `, die Intonation der alten Kürzen ist [1]). Bekanntlich stehen ˜ und ` in einem gewissen Gegensatz zu ´, denn die Silben mit ˜ ` geben nach De Saussures Gesetze ihren Akzent der folgenden akutierten Silbe ab, während ´ an seiner Stelle bleibt. Es ergibt sich also, dass der Gegensatz ¯ : ˘ der Grundsprache im Litauischen allmählich in einen Intonationsgegensatz übergegangen ist. Anfangs war die Intonation eine Begleiterscheinung der Quantität, und noch gibt es Dialekte, wo *ã*, *ẽ* kürzer sind als *é*, *ó*, *ý*, *ú*, *ű*, aber andere Mundarten haben diese Quantitätsunterschiede aufgegeben [2]), so dass dieselben bloss in der modifizierten Gestalt von Intonationsunterschieden fortleben. Bekanntlich verhalten sich auch im Slavischen die ursprünglich kurzen Silben den Akzentgesetzen gegenüber wie der Zirkumflexus und nicht wie der Akut.

§ 39. Die idg. nasales und liquidae sonantes.

Der litauische Gegensatz: einerseits *ir̃*, *il̃*, *im̃*, *iñ*, seltener *ur̃*, *ul̃*, *um̃*, *uñ*, anderseits *ìr*, *ìl*, *ìm*, *ìn*, seltener *ùr*, *ùl*, *ùm*, *ùn* entspricht dem indogermanischen Gegensatz zwischen kurzen und langen Sonanten: *r̥* : *r̄*, *l̥* : *l̄*, *m̥* : *m̄*, *n̥* : *n̄*, oder, nach der durch Hirts Buch über den Ablaut ziemlich verbreiteten Auffassung: *ₑr* : *ₑrə*, *ₑl* : *ₑlə*, *ₑm* : *ₑmə*, *ₑn* : *ₑnə*. Die Arbeiten Fortunatovs [3]) und De Saussures [4]) haben das klar gezeigt. Fortunatov had sich hauptsächlich auf die *r*- und *l*-Gruppen beschränkt, obgleich er die *m*- und *n*-Gruppen nicht vollständig ignoriert [5]); Material mit *im*, *in* gab erst De Saussure.

Fortunatov hat richtig gesehen, dass lit. *ir̃*, *il̃* dem altindischen *r̥*, dagegen *ìr*, *ìl* dem ai. *īr*, *ūr* entspricht. Sogar ist er noch weiter gegangen, indem er die Gleichungen aufstellte:

ai. *r̥* = lat. *or*, *er*, *ol*, gr. *αρ*, *ρα*, *αλ*, *λα*,

ai. *īr*, *ūr* = lat. *rā*, *lā* (*rē*, *lē*), gr. *ρω*, *ορ*, *λω*, *ολ* [6]).

Sein Material ist folgendes:

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der Lehrschen Arbeit habe ich diese Ansicht bekämpft (*RS.* IX, 1921, 91 f.). Ich hätte den dort angeführten Gründen noch einen hinzufügen können, welcher der im Texte besprochenen Klasse mit Akutus der Wurzelsilbe entnommen werden kann. Dass der Akut hier an seiner alten Stelle steht, das ergibt sich aus dem § 27 Erörterten. Nach der daselbst von mir akzeptierten Meilletschen Regel wäre aus *i*-Stämmen **klastъ'-*, **datъ'-* usw. auch bei akutierter Wurzelbetonung **klâstъ-*, **dâtъ-* zu erwarten, und der Kasus auf akutiertes *-i*, der als Infinitiv fungiert, könnte nur Endbetonung haben.

1) S. oben § 8. S. auch F. de Saussure, *MSL.* VIII (1894), 435 ff.

2) S. oben § 8. *ẽ* u. dgl. stehen, was ihre Quantität anbetrifft, überall auf einer Linie mit *é* usw.

3) F. Fortunatov, *AfslPh.* IV (1880), 583 ff.

4) F. de Saussure, *MSL.* VIII (1894), 431 ff., 438 ff.

5) *AaO.*, S. 583: „beide Betonungsarten sind in den baltischen Sprachen auch in den Gruppen *i* oder *u* + liquida oder nasalis + consonant vorhanden".

6) S. jetzt H. Hirt, *Indogermanische Grammatik, Teil II: der idg. Vokalismus* (1921), S. 131 ff.

lit. *vil̃kas*: ai *vṛ́kaḥ*,
lit. *miř̃tas*, *miř̃ti*: ai. *mṛtáḥ*, *mṛtiḥ*,
lit. *kiř̃stas*, *kiř̃sti*: ai. *kṛttáḥ*, *kṛ́ttiḥ*,
lit. *viř̃stas*, *viř̃sti*: ai. *vṛttáḥ*, *vṛttiḥ*,
anderseits: lit. *ìlgas*: ai. *dīrgháḥ*,
lit. *pìlnas*: ai. *pūrṇáḥ*,
lit. *vìlna*: ai. *úrṇā*, *ūrṇā́*,
lit. *tìltas*: ai. *tīrthám* [Eine sehr zweifelhafte Etymologie],
lit. *žìrnis* (‘Erbse’): ai. *jīrṇáḥ* (‘gebrechlich’) [1]),
lit. *mìltai*: ai. *mūrṇáḥ*,
lit. *gìrtas* (‘betrunken’): ai. *gīrṇáḥ*,
lit. *gìrtas* (‘gepriesen’): ai. *gīrṇaḥ*, *gūrtáḥ*, *gūrṇaḥ*,
lit. *pìrmas*: ai. *pū́rvaḥ*.

De Saussure fügte diesen Beispielen noch folgende hinzu:

lit. *ketviř̃tas*: gr. *τέταρτος*,
lit. *kirmẽlẽ*, Akk. *kiř̃mẽlę*: ai. *kṛmiḥ*,
lit. *tiř̃sztas* (‘pâteux, à moitié desséché’): lat. *to(r)stus*, ai. *tṛṣitaḥ*,
lit. *virszùs*, Akk. *viř̃szų*, schwache Stufe zu ai. *varṣman-*, *varṣiṣṭhaḥ*,
lit. *viř̃bas*: gr. *ῥάβδος*,
lit. *piř̃sztas*: ai. *spṛṣṭáḥ* (‘touché’) [Unsichere Etymologie],
lit. *piř̃sztas* (von *perszù* ‘demander en marriage’): ai. *pṛṣṭaḥ*,
lit. *miř̃sztas*: ai. *pra-mṛṣṭaḥ*,
lit. *diř̃ztas*: ai. *dṛḍhaḥ*,
apr. *tīrts*: ai. *tṛtīyaḥ*,
lit. *szim̃tas*: gr. *ἑκατόν*,
lit. *septiñtas*, *deviñtas*, *desziñtas*. „Sans comparer directement *δέκατος*, *εἴνατος*, il est certain qu'on ne peut supposer qu'une nasale *brève*,"
lit. *tiñklas*: gr. *τατός*, ai. *tataḥ*, *tantram*,
lit. *giñklas*, *giñczas*, *giñti*: ai. *hatáḥ*, gr. *-φατος*,
lit. *pa-miñklas*, *at-miñti*: ai. *mataḥ*, gr. *μέματον*,
lit. *im̃ti*: lat. *emptus* („qui, dans son opposition à *domitus*, *vomitus*, suppose racine *(j)em-* (monosyllabique) et par conséquent forme faible *(j)m̥-* per *m̥* b r e f") [2]), —
und mit Akut: *gìrti*, Inf. zu *gìrtas* ‘laudatus’; s.o.,
gurklỹs (Akk. *gùrklį*), *gìrksznis*: *gìrtas* ‘ivre’; s.o.,
szirszů, *szirszlỹs* (*ìr* wegen Donalitius VII, 207): lat. *crābro*,
spìrti. „L'indien *sphūr-* ne manque que par hasard,"
lit. *pìlkas*: ai. *palitaḥ*, *paliknī*,
lit. *ìrklas*, *ìrti*: gr. *ἐρέτης*, *ἐρετμός*, ai *aritram*, germ. **rōþra-* (ahd. *ruodar*),
lit. *gìrna*: ai. *grāvan-*,
lit. *pa-žìntas*, *pa-žį́stu*: lat. *gnārus*, ai. *jānāmi*,

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1) Wegen der Bedeutung vergleicht Fortunatov, *aaO.* 587 Fussnote 29 r. *gorόch* ‘Erbse’, skr. *gr̀ah* ‘Bohne’: ai. *gharṣ-* ‘reiben’, lat. *pisum* ‘Erbse’ usw.: ai. *piṣ-*.

2) Die Etymologie „Participe *gimtas* ‘né’ = scr. *ga-tas* ‘allé’", welche De Saussure in einer Fussnote mitteilt (S. 440), möchte auch ich aus dem Texte weglassen.

lit. *tìmsras*: ai. *tamisrā*, lat. *tenebrae*,

lit. *dùmti*: ai. *dhmā-*,

lit. *ìntė*: ai. *yātā*. Kurschat entnimmt dieses Wort den Wörterbüchern von Szyrwid und Nesselmann; deshalb „on ne sait quel fond il est permis de faire sur l'intonation qu'il lui donne."

De Saussure bespricht zwei scheinbare Ausnahmen: *szirdìs*, Akk. *szìrdį̃*: ai *hṛd-*, gr. *κραδ-* und *rìmti*: ai. *rataḥ*. Das erste soll seinen Akut von der dehnstufigen Form **szėr-* (= gr. *κῆρ*; vgl. apr. *seyr*, *sīran*) bekommen haben, das zweite von dem *-sta*-Präsens *rìmsta*, mit welchem *mìrszta* ‚il meurt' (: *miřti*) sich vergleichen lasse. Diese Deutungen sind vielleicht richtig, aber auch sonst wäre die Anzahl der Ausnahmen so gering, dass sie die Regel von Fortunatov und De Saussure nicht zu erschüttern vermögen.

§ 40. In dem oben zitierten Aufsatz hat Fortunatov bereits hervorgehoben [1]), dass den litauischen Gruppen *ĩl*, *ĩr* usw. ein slavischer zirkumflektierter Sonant, dagegen lit. *ìl*, *ìr* usw. ein slavischer akutierter Sonant entspricht: *vĩlkas* = skr. *vṛ̂k*, *ìlgas* = skr. *dṛ̀gh*, skr. *vṛ̀na* = lit. *vìlna*, skr. *pṛ̂n* = lit. *pìlnas*, skr. *žṛ̂t*, ablautend mit lit. *gẽltas*. Ausser diesen Beispielen Fortunatovs vgl. skr. *gṛ̂lo*: lit. *gùrklį*, skr. *jéti* (aus älter-slav. **ję̂ti*) = lit. *ĩmti*, skr. *mèti*: lit. *mìnti*, skr. *dṛ̀ti*: lit. *dùmti* [2]), poln. *pótdzieurięta* u. dgl. [3]) (welche zusammen mit *dzieuiąty*, čak. *devétī* usw. ein slav. **devę̂tə* usw. voraussetzen): lit. *deviñtas*.

Eine Ausnahme bildet lit. *pìnti*: skr. *péti*. Ich entscheide nicht, ob wir hier eine leichte und eine schwere Wurzel nebeneinander voraussetzen müssen (so liesse sich etwa das litauische Formenpaar *gį̃ti* ‚zur Weide treiben' : *gį́ti* ‚wehren' auffassen, welche Formen von ein und derselben idg. Wurzel gebildet sind) oder Entgleisung annehmen; man beachte, dass das Substantiv skr. *pṛ̀to*, poln. *pęto*, čech. *pouto* eine akutierte Wurzelsilbe voraussetzt, ebenso wie lit. *pántis*. Auf keinen Fall dürfen wir wegen des Gegensatzes lit. *pìnti* : skr. *péti* an der Regelmässigkeit der Entsprechungen lit. *iñ*, *ĩl* usw. = skr. *ê*, *û* usw., lit. *ìn*, *ìl* usw. = skr. *è*, *ù* usw. zweifeln.

Es ist nicht überflüssig darauf hinzuweisen, dass sämtlichen in diesem § genannten Nominibus mit skr. ˋ, insofern sie im Baltischen in genau entsprechender Lautgestalt vorkommen, „immobile", d.h. von altersher barytonierte litaulettische Wörter entsprechen: lit. *vìlna*, lett. *ĩlgs*, *pĩlns*. Lit. *gurklỹs*, Akk. *gùrklį* ist freilich „mobile", aber es ist auch lautlich mit skr. *gṛ̀lo*, urslav. **gərdlo*, **gṛdlo* nicht vollkommen identisch. Aus alten Oxytonis (lit. „mobile") mit akutierter Pänultima (lit. *galvà*, *gálvą*) wären Wörter vom Typus skr. *gláva*, *glâvu*, *glâve* zu erwarten. Dem skr.

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1) F. Fortunatov, *aaO.*, 583 ff.

2) Möglicherweise sind skr. *mèti*, *dṛ̀ti* mit den litauischen Formen identisch, daneben besteht aber die Möglichkeit eines Ablautverhältnisses (vgl. abg. *mrěti* aus **merti*: lit. *miřti*). In diesem zweiten Falle wären skr. *ê*, *û*, urslav. *ę́*, *ǫ́* wohl als idg. *ena*, *oma* aufzufassen; s. § 44.

3) S. Verf., *RS.* VII (1914/15), 157 ff.

vȗk entspricht ein lit. mobiles Nomen (Pl. *vilkaĩ*). Diese lit. Betonung ist aber sekundär: vgl. ai. *vṛ́kaḥ*, got. *wulfs* [1]).

§ 41. Die idg. Kurzdiphthonge.

Die indogermanischen Kurzdiphthonge, wozu auch die Gruppen von Kürze + *l*, *r*, *m*, *n* gehören, haben im Litauischen Zirkumflexus. Ein sehr reiches Material hat De Saussure gesammelt [2]); ich teile nur einen Teil davon mit [3]): *peñkios*: ai. *páñca*, *leñgvas*: ai. *raṁhas-*, *szlaũnys*: ai. *çróniḥ*, *laũkas*: ai. *lokaḥ*, *dẽvas*: ai. *deváḥ*, *žẽmą*: ai. *hemantaḥ*, *eĩti*: ai. *émi*, *lẽžia*: ai. *léhmi*, *reñti*: ai. *rantum*, *raṁsyate*, *vẽsz-* (abl. mit idg. **vîḱ-*), *snẽgas* (abl. mit idg. **snigᵘh-*), *klaũso*: ai. *çroṣate*, *neszą̃s*, *nèszantį̀*: ai. *-ant-*, *sniñga*: lat. *ninguit*.

Es ist De Saussure nicht entgangen, dass es Wörter gibt mit ´, wo wir ˜ erwarten würden. Er teilt dieselben in drei Kategorien ein, von denen bloss die dritte wirkliche Ausnahmen enthalten soll. Die erste umfasst solche Formen, „dont on ne sait si elles ont existé de tout temps", z.B. *lúngas*, *várpa*, *lẽpa*. Was diese und ähnliche Wörter anbetrifft, welche ausserhalb des Baltischen bezw. des Baltischen und Slavischen nicht vorkommen (*lẽpa* = slav. *lípa*), so ist an die doppelte Möglichkeit zu denken, dass sie nach dem Diphthonge ein *ə* verloren haben [4]) oder dass sie einen idg. Langdiphthong haben [5]). Die von De S. zitierten drei Wörter sehen nicht als Lehnwörter aus. Wären sie das, so hätten sie für das baltische Intonationssystem gar keine Bedeutung. Für die zweite Kategorie: „les formes qui ont existé de tout temps, mais dont on ne peut prouver qu'elles aient toujours offert une diphthongue" — gibt De S. keine Beispiele; ich weiss nicht, was für Wörter er meint; etwa die soeben genannten Bildungen mit innerem *ə*? Als eigentliche Ausnahmen hat De Saussure folgende Wörter angeführt [6]):

v-ėnas (: gr. *οἶνή*, lat. *ūnus*, got. *ains*, ai. *ekaḥ*),
véidas, *véizdmi* (: ai. Wurzel *vid-*, *ved-*),
mẽlas, *méilė* („si on compare *μειλίχιος*"),
jẽszkau (: ai. Wurzel *iṣ-*, *eṣ-*),
mẽžiu, *mẽszlas* (: idg. Basis *miǧh-*, *meiǧh-*),
máiszas („qu'on rapproche de scr. *mẽṣas* ᶜbélierᵓ, *mẽṣī* ᶜpeau de bélierᵓ"),
táukas (nach De S. aus idg. **teuko-*, = ahd. *dioh*),
ráudmi (: ai. *rodimi*; dieses zitiert auch De S.; „l'intonation n'est pas bien attestée"),

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1) Das De Saussuresche Material besteht im Allgemeinen aus sehr einfachen Bildungen. Sonst wäre mehr als jetzt mit der Möglichkeit von Metatonie zu rechnen. Man beachte etwa lit. *vìlkė*, dessen Akut Bezzenberger aus indogermanischen Betonungsverhältnissen erklärt hat (s. oben § 26, S. 49); ich möchte vielmehr an eine jüngere, erst baltische oder sogar litauische Metatonie denken.

2) F. de Saussure, *MSL.* VIII (1894), 440 ff.

3) Im Allgemeinen wähle ich Beispiele mit Äquivalenten oder sehr nahen Verwandten im Altindischen, weil diese Sprache deutlich die Lang- und Kurzdiphthonge auseinander hält.

4) S. § 43.

5) S. § 45.

6) Das Material aus andern Sprachen füge ich selber hinzu, insofern nicht ausdrücklich bemerkt wird, dass es von De Saussure herrührt.

riáugmi, *rdugas* (De S. zitiert dazu gr. *ἐρευγ-*),
pláuti („en regard de *πλεῦσαι* (cf. *plaŭ-k-ti*)"),
bérnas (De S. vergleicht got. *barn*),
„et un certain nombre d'autres, parmi lesquels *pérdžu* contre gr. *πέρδομαι*, scr. *pard-*".

Es ist kaum auszumachen, wie jedes dieser Wörter zu erklären ist. In einem Teil der Fälle können wir aber über den Ursprung des Akutes jedenfalls etwas vermuten. De Saussure hat bereits auf eine „tendance curieuse du verbe en *-mi*, *-ėti*, et *-mi*, *-oti* à la métatonie rude" aufmerksam gemacht. Der Gedanke kommt hier auf, ob nicht diese *mi*-Präsentia indogermanische Dehnstufe gehabt haben; dann würden Langdiphthonge anzunehmen sein und der Akut wäre vollkommen in Ordnung [1]). Man denke an die indischen athematischen Präsentia der 2. Klasse von Verbalstämmen auf *-u-*, welche ebenfalls Dehnstufe zeigen: *yauti* usw. Noch ein Fall dieser Art dürfte *bėgmi* (später durch *bėgu* ersetzt) sein, welches bekanntlich zu einer kurzvokalischen indogermanischen Wurzel (gr. *φέβομαι*, *φόβος*) gehört. Auch für das Slavische, wo mehrere Präsensstämme nebeneinander vorliegen (*bĕgo-*, *bĕži-*, *bĕgno-*), gehen wir am besten von einem dehnstufigen *mi*-Präsens aus. Wie alle andern idg. Sprachen, so hat auch das Baltische allmählich das *mi*-Präsens durch andere Bildungen, u.a. durch ein *jo*-Präsens, ersetzt. Die Möglichkeit ist also nicht ausgeschlossen, dass auch in Präsentia wie *mėžiu*, *pérdžu* ein altes *mi*-Präsens steckt; ein ai. *mi*-Präsens von einer Wurzel derselben Struktur ist *mārjmi*. In andern Fällen könnte man den Schwund eines *ə* vermuten [2]), wie etwa in *bérnas* (idg. **bherəno-s*?). Was aber dieses Wort und *táukas* betrifft, so beachte man lett. *bèrns*, *taũki*, denen im Litauischen zirkumflektierte Stämme entsprechen würden [3]). *Pláuti*, das De Saussure zu gr. *πλεῦσαι* stellt, könnte auch dem gr. *πλώω* näher stehen, dessen langer Vokal auch in got. *flodus* (*o* < *ōu*) vorliegt. Lit. *máiszas* ist nach Endzelin unrichtig anstatt *maĩszas*. Soviel ich sehe, sind *vėnas*, *véidas*, *jėszkau* die einzigen Wörter, für deren Akut sich keine Erklärung finden liesse. *Vėnas* kann trotz des unerklärten *v-* nicht von apr. *ains*, got. *ains* usw. getrennt werden, welches idg. Wort ohne jeden Zweifel einen Kurzdiphthong hat, — für *véidas*, von der Wurzel *veid-*, *vid-*, darf keine Dehnstufe angenommen werden, wenn auch dieses Wort zu einer andern Stammklasse gehört als gr. *εἶδος* und eine andere Betonung hat (die „mobile" Flexion weist auf alte Endbetonung hin), — und auch bei *jėszkau* wäre Dehnstufenvokalismus unbegreiflich; die Wurzel ist leicht, und im Gegensatz zu lit. *jėszkoti* ist für slav. *iskati* (r. *iskát'*, *išču*) zirkumflektiertes *i* anzunehmen. Ein paar unerklärte Ausnahmen widerlegen aber die für die idg. Kurzdiphthonge aufgestellte Regel nicht; man denke an die unerklärten Abweichungen der lettischen Intonation von der litauischen und an die nicht geringe Anzahl slavischer Nomina, welche in den Einzelsprachen eine verschiedene Intonation oder Betonung haben.

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1) S. § 45.
2) S. § 43.
3) S. J. Endzelin, *BB.* XXV (1899), 267.

§ 42. Hirt hat das baltische Gesetz für die Vertretung der Kurzdiphthonge auch auf das Slavische ausgedehnt, und er wird recht haben. Wenn wir das Material De Saussures mit dem entsprechenden slavischen vergleichen (insofern die einzelnen Wörter in den beiden Sprachzweigen vorkommen), so ergibt sich folgendes Bild:

lit. *žą̃sį̃*: slov. *gǫ̂s*, *gosî*, r. *guś*, *gúśa*, G. Pl. *guséj*,

lit. *peñkios*: skr. *pêt*,

lit. *paĩszas*: r. *porošá* [1]),

lit. *gaĩdas*: r. *górod*,

lit. *baĩzdą*: r. *bórodu*,

lit. *aũsį̃*: čak. *ûho*, *nȕ ūho* [2]), slov. *uhǫ̂* (aber štok. *ȕho*),

lit. *saũsas*: skr. *sûh*, r. *such*, *suchá*, *súcho*,

lit. *baũsti* (idg. *bheudh-*, *bhoudh-*): r. *bl'udú*, *bl'ustí*,

[lit. *dẽvas* und čech. *div* darf man, obgleich Laute und Intonationen übereinstimmen und obgleich sie zu éiner Wurzel gehören, kaum ohne Weiteres identifizieren],

lit. *žẽmą*: r. *zimá*, *zímu*,

lit. *eĩti*: r. *idtí* (das *d* nach dem Präsens), skr. *ìti*,

lit. *lẽžia*, *lẽžti*: r. *lizát'*, *lížú*, *lížeš*. Diese slavische Flexion mit im Infinitiv und in der 1. Pers. S. Präs. verschobenem Akzente und „nowoakutowa" in der weitern Präsensflexion setzt alten Zirkumflexus auf der Wurzelsilbe voraus,

lit. *veĩsti*: r. *vórot*,

lit. *keĩta*, *kartà*, *kaĩtą*: skr. *dvákrāt*, čak. *dvākràt*, slov. *kràt*, *kráta*,

lit. *veĩbą*: r. *vérba*, skr. slov. *vŕba* [das lit. Wort ist entlehnt],

lit. *veĩka*: r. *volokú*,

lit. *snẽgas*: skr. *snȉjeg*, *snȉjega*,

lit. *szvẽsti*: skr. *svȉjet*, *svȉjeta*,

lit. *klaũso*: slov. *slùh* [3]),

lit. *neszą̃s*, *nẽszantį̃*: r. *síd'a*, slov. *sędę̂*.

Im Allgemeinen entspricht also dem litauischen Zirkumflexus auch ein slavischer Zirkumflexus, und in den seltenen Fällen, wo andere Verhältnisse vorliegen (r. *vérba*, slov. *kràt*), stimmen die slavischen Sprachen untereinander nicht überein. Wir dürfen also die Regel: idg. Kurzdiphthong = lit. Zirkumflexus = slav. Zirkumflexus — aufrecht erhalten [4]).

§ 43. Die idg. Gruppen *orə* u. dgl.

Die lit. diphthongischen „tranches vocaliques" *ár*, *ái*, *ė́* usw. haben einen doppelten Ursprung.

Es ist das Verdienst Bezzenbergers, auf die Zugehörigkeit zahlreicher

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1) Aus **poĩrsę* nach dem Gesetze De Saussures. S. A. Meillet, *IF.* XXV (1903), 428.

2) S. A. Belić, *Izvěstija* XIV (1909), 2, 221.

3) Dieses Beispiel hat einen geringen Wert. Diese ganze Wortsippe bietet Schwierigkeiten. Man beachte lit. *kláusiu* neben *klaũso*, worauf De Saussure bereits aufmerksam machte, und im Slavischen r. *slýšat'*: *slychát'*.

4) Das De Saussuresche Material ist nicht vollständig, es ist aber ohne jeden Nebengedanken zusammengestellt worden, und deshalb durften wir es für unsern Zweck benutzen. Weil es ziemlich umfangreich ist, glaube ich den aus demselben gezogenen Schlüssen einen grossen Wert beimessen zu dürfen.

Wörter mit dieser Betonung zu zweisilbigen schweren Wurzeln hingewiesen zu haben [1]): *ár* usw. ist die litauische Gestalt derjenigen idg. Lautgruppen, welche Hirt [2]) VI (Vollstufe 1) genannt hat: *orə* usw. Bezzenbergers Beispiele sind sehr zahlreich, aber nicht stets sind die zur Vergleichung herangezogenen Wörter aus andern Sprachen für die „Zweisilbigkeit" der Wurzeln beweisend; so ergibt sich z.B. aus gr. *βελόνη* (: *gélti*) und aus russ. *pelésyj* (: *pálszas*) sehr wenig oder gar nichts bezüglich der ursprünglichen Gestalt der Wurzeln. In andern Fällen sind die Etymologien nicht einwandfrei oder wenigstens unsicher (*mélžu*: got. *miluks; pélkė*: gr. *παλάσσω*). Aber wenn wir bloss die ganz sicheren Beispiele herausnehmen, so sind diese so zahlreich, dass sie keinen Zweifel an der Richtigkeit von Bezzenbergers Regel übrig lassen, zumal weil es keine Wörter mit ˜ gibt, welche zu schweren Wurzeln gehören, abgesehen von jüngern Ableitungen, für welche Metatonie anzunehmen ist und von Bezzenberger bereits angenommen wurde, z.B. *añtinas*: *ántis*, *kañdis*: *kándu* [3]). Ich begnüge mich deshalb mit einer kleinen Auslese aus Bezzenbergers Material:

lit. *béržas*: ai. *bhūrjáḥ*,
lit. *gérvė*: gr. *γέρανος*,
lit. *témsta*: ai. *tamisrám*,
lit. *vémti*: ai. *vámiti*, *vāntáḥ*,
lit. *žénklas*: ai. *jānāti*, gr. *γνῶσις*, lat. *gnārus*,
lit. *žéntas*: ai. *jñātíḥ*, *jāmātā*, gr. *γνωτός*,
lit. *ántis*: ai. *ātíḥ*, gr. *νῆσσα*, lat. *anas*, ahd. *anut*,
lit. *árti*: gr. *ἀρόω*, *ἄροτρον*, lat. *arāre*,
lit. *kálti*: lat. *clādes*.

§ 44. Bezzenberger hat bereits auch das Slavische in Betracht gezogen, und er hat trotz des Vorhandenseins altlitauischer Formen wie *geruſche*, *ellenis*, *amißinas*, *amußinas* die Vermutung ausgesprochen, „dass schon in lituslavischer Zeit betonter hochstufiger erster Vocal einer zweisilbigen Wurzel bei Wegfall von deren zweitem Vocal nach Liquida oder Halbvocal und wahrscheinlich auch Nasal sowie vor folgendem Consonanten einen bestimmten, wahrscheinlich gestossenen Accent annahm" [4]). Im Russischen soll eine so betonte Lautverbindung als *orò*, *erë* auftreten. Das slavische Material hat Bezzenberger nicht gesammelt, aber seine Regel: idg. *orə* wird zu slavischem akutiertem *or-* — ist ohne jeden Zweifel richtig [5]). Folgende Wörter aus Bezzenbergers litauischem Verzeichnisse kommen auch im Slavischen vor:

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1) A. Bezzenberger, *BB.* XVII (1891), 221 ff.

2) H. Hirt, *Der indogermanische Ablaut* (1900); ders., *Indogermanische Grammatik. Teil II*: *Der indogermanische Vokalismus* (1921).

3) Ausserdem zitiert Bezzenberger ein paar Wörter, „deren Wurzel sich schon in sehr früher Zeit vereinfacht hat, falls nicht für sie geradezu einsilbige Nebenformen zweisilbiger Wurzeln vorauszusetzen sind." Diese Wörter sind: *sūpnas*, welches zu derselben leichten Basis gehört wie gr. *ὕπνος*, übrigens aber gar keine diphthongische „tranche vocalique" enthält, — *gel̃tas*: apr. *gelatynan*, — *meñkas* : ai. *manāk*, lat. *mancus*, — *tañti* : apr. *attrātwei*, — *szveñtas*, „wenn mit skr. *çvāntá* zusammenhängend."

4) A. Bezzenberger, *aaO.*, S. 227.

5) S. auch H. Hirt, *Der idg. Akzent* (1895), S. 132 ff.

lit. *béržas*: r. *berëza*. Allerdings gehören diese Wörter zu verschiedenen Stammklassen,

[*mélžu*: skr. *mṹsti* stehen in Ablaut. Das Präsens *múzēm* hat wohl Endbetonung infolge eines sekundären Zirkumflexes auf der Wurzelsilbe; vgl. *pádēm*: *pȁsti*, *prédēm*: *prèsti* usw.],

[*sérgmi*: klr. *sterečú*, Präs. r. *steregú* [1]). Das *mi*-Präsens lit. *sérgmi* gehört kaum hierher [2]); die Wurzel wird kaum zweisilbig-schwer gewesen sein. *Sárgas*, *sérgiu*, *sérgėti* mit ' nach *sérgmi*?],

lit. *at-*, *už-vérti*: skr. *ù-vṛjeti*. Die Simplexform würde **vṛ̀jėti* lauten [3]); wir haben hier also einen Gegensatz wie lit. *pìnti*: skr. *péti* [4]),

lit. *žéntas*: abg. *zętъ*, Gen. *zęti*, skr. *zèt*, slov. *zèt*, *zę́ta*. Allerdings ist das slavische Wort ein *i*-Stamm, das baltische ein *a*-Stamm,

lit. *ántis*: skr. *ṹtva*. Beide wohl aus einem alten Konsonantstamm,

lit. *kálti*: r. *kolót'*, skr. *klṹti*,

lit. *kárvė*: r. *koróva*, skr. *krṹva*. Allerdings zu verschiedenen Flexionsklassen gehörig,

lit. *málti*: r. *molót'*, skr. *mljȇti*. Der qualitative Ablaut hat für uns jetzt keine Bedeutung,

lit. *lėti*: skr. *lìti*.

Vgl. weiter noch lit. *bárti*: r. *borót'-śa*.

Die einzige wirkliche Abweichung ist lit. *-vérti*: skr. *ùvṛjeti*. Wie bereits bemerkt, erinnert dieser Gegensatz an lit. *pìnti*: skr. *péti*, und ebensowenig wie *péti* darf *ù-vṛjeti* gegen die Regel, wovon es eine Ausnahme bildet, angeführt werden.

Was die Chronologie anbetrifft, so bezweifle ich, ob der Wegfall des *ə* urbaltoslavisch ist [5]). Auch in andern Teilen des idg. Gebietes ist das *ə* bis in die historische Zeit bewahrt geblieben (ai. *bhávitum*, gr. *γέρανος*, lat. *anatis* G. Sg., ahd. *anut*). Weshalb sollten wir nun für die im Allgemeinen so altertümlichen slavischen und baltischen Sprachen eine so frühe Zeit für den Wegfall annehmen wie die baltoslavische Periode, — angenommen dass dieselbe wirklich bestanden hat? M. E. kann in solchen altlitauischen Formen wie *geruſche*, *amißinas*, *amußinas* der Schwa-Vokal noch vorhanden sein [6]).

§ 45. Die idg. Langdiphthonge.

Der Reihe nach besprachen wir die litauische und slavische Vertretung der idg. einfachen Längen und Kürzen, der langen und kurzen nasales und liquidae sonantes, der Kurzdiphthonge (incl. *on*, *or* usw.),

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1) Diese Wörter sind kaum voneinander zu trennen, obgleich lit. *s* nicht mit slav. *st* identisch ist.

2) S. oben S. 80. Vgl. noch lit. *mérdmi*: *miřti*.

3) S. A. Leskien, *Untersuchungen über Quantität und Betonung in den slav. Sprachen. I BC.* (1893), S. 52 [578], Verf., *AfslPh.* XXXVI (1916), 365 f.

4) S. § 40.

5) W. Streitberg, *IF.* III (1894), 315 f. dachte sogar an idg. Wegfall des *ə*; aber alit. *amiβinas* usw. machten ihn zweifeln.

6) Vgl. über die Vertretung von Vr (*orə*) usw. in den einzelnen Sprachzweigen H. Hirt, *Indogermanische Grammatik. Tl. II*: *Der idg. Vokalismus* (1921), S. 114 ff. Hirt meint, im Lit. und Slav. sei *ə* „vollständig geschwunden" mit Hinterlassung einer Dehnung (S. 116 f.).

der Gruppen *orə*, *ojə* usw. Es bleiben nur noch die Langdiphthonge übrig. Diese Laute bieten der Forschung deshalb grosse Schwierigkeiten, weil sie nur im arischen Sprachzweige nicht mit den Kurzdiphthongen lautlich zusammengefallen sind. Am deutlichsten treten die Langdiphthonge in einigen Formkategorien hervor: in den Nominativen Sg. vom Typus *gaúḥ*, *dyaúḥ* und in dem *s*-Aoriste [1]). Nun sind das aber gerade solche Kategorien, die im Litauischen verloren gegangen sind [2]). Das Slavische hat zwar den dehnstufigen *s*-Aorist bewahrt (in allen Personen ausser der 2. 3. Ps. Sg.): abg. *rěchъ*, *basъ*, mit Diphthongen: *pęsъ*, *mrěchъ*, *čisъ*, aber die einzige lebende Sprache, welche in Betracht käme, uns über die Intonation zu belehren, die serbokroatische, hat die Betonung des Infinitivs auf die Formen des *s*-Aoristes ausgedehnt, auf dieselbe Weise wie auch die Aoriste auf *-oh*, *-uh*, *-ah*, *-ih*, *-jeh* die Infinitivbetonung haben, — z. B.: *klêh*, *zàklēh*, posav. *zaklẽ* [3]): Inf. *kléti*, *zàklēti* [4]), posav. *zaklẽt; mrȉjeh*, *ùmrijeh*: *mrijèti*, *ùmrijeti;* in der Mundart der Montenegriner Ozrinići, wo die Infinitive *zȁklēt*, *ùmrijet*, *izȁsūt* betont werden, lauten auch die Aoriste *zȁklēh*, *ùmrijeh*, *izȁsūh* [5]).

Die Annahme liegt sehr nahe, dass die indogermanischen Langdiphthonge im Litauischen, und wohl auch im Slavischen, Akutus haben; die Symmetrie des Intonationssystemes lässt uns das erwarten. Und das nicht sehr reichhaltige Material stimmt zu dieser Vermutung. Schon vor vielen Jahren hat Schulze nach Anlass von lit. *sáulė* geschrieben: „Lit. *áu* darf als regelrechter Vertreter eines *āu* angesehen werden, mag letzteres nun unursprünglich vor Consonanten getreten sein wie in *sáulė* oder nicht" [6]). Ein ähnliches Verhältnis wie lit. *sáulė*: gr. *ἠέλιος* liegt vor bei lit. *sziáurė*: abg. *sěverъ* [7]).

Das klarste Beispiel von Langdiphthongen, welche im Litauischen Akutus haben, liefert die Verbalklasse von *bliáuju*, *bliáviau*, *bliáuti; džiáuju*, *džiáviau*, *džiáuti* [8]). Hier haben alle Verbalformen dieselbe Ablautgestalt der Wurzel, mit idg. *āu*, *āv* (teilweise auch *ōu*, *ōv*? [9])); nur ist im Präteritum diese Lautgruppe über zwei Silben verteilt, während im Präsens- und Infinitivstamme das *u* zur ersten Silbe gehört. Auch *áugu*,

1) Bekanntlich sind viele Langdiphthonge bereits in indogermanischer Zeit zu langen Monophthongen geworden. Hauptsächlich gilt das für *ēi* > *ē* und *ōu* > *ō*.

2) Natürlich lasse ich auslautende Langdiphthonge, wie etwa *-ēi* > *-i* im Lok. Sg. der *i*-Stämme, hier weg. Die Auslautsintonationen behandelte ich § 32 f.

3) S. S. Ivšić, *Rad* CXCVII (1913), 91.

4) Wegen der Betonung *klêh*, *mrȉjeh* vgl. štok. *krâlj* = čak. *králj* aus **korl'ъ*.

5) S. M. Rešetar, *Die serbokroat. Betonung südwestlicher Mundarten* (1900), S. 162.

6) W. Schulze, *KZ.* XXVII (1885), 428 Fussn. 3. S. auch H. Hirt, *Der idg. Akzent* (1895), S. 138.

7) A. Bezzenberger nannte *BB.* XVII (1891), 224 *sáulė* und *sziáurė* unter den Wörtern mit weggefallenem *ə*. Er hat sich das Gebiet dieser Formen zu umfangreich gedacht. Übrigens bemerkt er richtig (S. 227), dass wir nicht berechtigt sind, „aus jedem wurzelhaften lit. *ár*, *ér*, russ. *orò*, *erë* u.s.w. auf frühere Zweisilbigkeit der betr. Wurzel zu schliessen."

8) Mehr Beispiele bei F. Kurschat, *Grammatik der littauischen Sprache* (1876), S. 314 ff.

9) Auf die Frage, wie idg. *ō* und *ōu* im Litauischen auftreten, brauche ich jetzt nicht einzugehen.

áugau, *áugti* wird einen Langdiphthong haben: die Wurzel ist bekanntlich *aveg-* (vgl. gr. *ἀέξω*, got. *wahsjan* usw.), woraus bei Anfangbetonung bereits in früh-indogermanischer Zeit *āu* entstanden war.

Aus dem Slavischen ist es schwer, ebenso klare Beispiele anzuführen. Weil aber auch sonst das Slavische, was die Vertretung der indogermanischen Quantitäten anbetrifft, mit dem Litauischen zusammengeht (von zahlreichen, oft unerklärbaren Metatonien abgesehen), so zweifle ich nicht an der slavischen Vertretung der Langdiphthonge durch akutierte Vokale. Als Beispiel hat man widerholt r. *voróna*, skr. *vṛ̀na* = lit. *várna* angeführt, worin man dann eine vṛddhi-Bildung zu dem idg. Worte, das im Litauischen *varnas*, im Russischen *vóron*, im Serbokroatischen *vrân* lautet, erblickt [1]). Ich halte aber daneben die Möglichkeit einer erst baltoslavischen Metatonie nicht für ausgeschlossen. — Möglicherweise steckt ein Langdiphthong in einem Teil der Infinitive der Typen *čuti*, *piti* [2]), *pěti*, welche bekanntlich im Serbokroatischen ˋ haben; man beachte speziell *liti*, das dem lit. *lėti* entsprechen kann (idg. Stamm **lēi-ti-*, mir wahrscheinlicher als das von Bezzenberger vermutete **lojə-ti-* [3]), woraus nur die litauische, nicht die slavische Form zu erklären wäre).

§ 46. Aus dem Vorhergehenden ergibt sich ein überraschend symmetrischer Bau des litauischen Intonationssystemes. Während in auslautenden Silben der Akut und Zirkumflexus die Fortsetzung zweier Intonationen indogermanischer langer Silben sind, für welche wir dieselben Namen verwenden dürfen, leben in nicht auslautenden Silben in den zwei Intonationen die indogermanischen Quantitätsunterschiede fort und zwar in folgender Weise:

einfacher langer Vokal hat lit. Akut (*ó* usw.),

einfacher kurzer Vokal hat lit. Zirkumflexus oder Gravis (*ã*, *à* usw.)

[dieses gilt sowohl für die idg. Vollstufenvokale wie auch für die Schwundstufenvokale: lit. *ý*, — *ĩ*, *ỳ*],

Langdiphthong hat lit. Akut (*ái*, *ár* usw.),

Kurzdiphthong hat lit. Zirkumflexus (*aĩ*, *aũ* usw.),

r̄, *l̄*, *m̄*, *n̄* haben lit. Akut (*ỳr* usw.),

r̥, *l̥*, *m̥*, *n̥* haben lit. Zirkumflexus (*iũ* usw.) [4]),

ausserdem entstand aus solchen Gruppen wie *orə*, *ojə* ein akutiertes *ár*, *ái*, *ė́* usw.

Im Slavischen sind die Verhältnisse weniger durchsichtig. Wie sich die slavischen Auslautsintonationen schwerlich aus den indogermanischen herleiten lassen, so bekommt man auch in den nicht auslautenden Silben, speziell bei den idg. langen Monophthongen, oft die Vorstellung einer vollständigen Regellosigkeit. Weil aber sogar bei den idg. langen Monophthongen jedenfalls éine grammatische Kategorie stets Akutus hat und

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1) S. u.a. H. Hirt, *Der idg. Akzent* (1895), S. 140.

2) Ein Teil der Infinitive dieser Klasse kann idg. *ī* haben, vgl. *kryti* usw. mit idg. *ū*.

3) A. Bezzenberger, *BB.* XVII (1891), 223.

4) Genetisch stehen *r̄* usw. auf éiner Linie mit idg. *ī*, *ū*, — *r̥* usw. mit *i*, *u*. Diese Übereinstimmung ist also von der älter-indogermanischen Periode bis ins heutige Litauische bewahrt geblieben.

einige andere Arten von „tranches vocaliques" (an erster Stelle die alten Kürzen, bei denen jeder Akut durch jüngere Metatonie entstanden ist) ziemlich treu zu den litauischen Regeln stimmen, so werden wir für das ältere Slavische eine ähnliche Verteilung der Inlautsintonationen annehmen dürfen wie im Litauischen vorliegt.

§ 47. Metatonie.

Das in seinen Grundzügen so einfache Intonationssystem des Baltischen und Slavischen ist viel verwickelter geworden durch die Metatonien, welche hauptsächlich im Slavischen eine grosse Rolle spielen, aber auch für das Baltische nicht ohne Bedeutung sind [1]).

Bereits De Saussure hat in seinem widerholt von mir angeführten Aufsatze „A propos de l'accentuation lituanienne" auf ein paar wichtige Fälle von litauischer Metatonie hingewiesen [2]); den Namen „métatonie" hat er folgenderweise definiert: „Il nous sert à désigner tout changement d'intonation dont le principe n'est pas encore clair, et dont le résultat, en attendant, se traduit à nos yeux par une *alternance* de l'intonation (caractéristique de *certaines classes de formes*, comme toutes les alternances); ainsi *vẽjas* — *pavẽjui*, *kója* — *pakõjui*, *sáulė* — *pasaũliui*, *kálnas* — *pakal̃niui*". Dann erwähnt De Saussure noch einige andere Klassen, wo bisweilen oder sogar oft Metatonie vorliegt:

die nomina actionis auf *-ia-*: *bẽgis* usw.; hier geht bloss „rude" in „douce" über, nicht umgekehrt, —

die Verba auf *-inti*: *svẽikinti* von *svẽikas* und andere, aber *truñpinti* von *truñpas*, —

válkioti zu *vel̃ka* und andere derselben Art, —

die abgeleiteten Nomina auf *-ius*: *kur̃pius* von *kùrpė* usw. Dies ist die einzige Kategorie, wo die Metatonie ausnahmslos vorliegt, —

die Adjektive auf *-us* („complètement infecté de métatonie douce"; es gibt aber Ausnahmen: *lýgus*, *sótus*), z.B. *meilùs*, *meĩlų*: *méilė*.

Aus dem De Saussureschen Materiale sieht man klar, dass die Metatonie nicht an bestimmte Arten von „tranches vocaliques" gebunden ist. Sie kommt sowohl bei einfachen Längen wie bei allen diphthongischen Gruppen (*ei* usw., *ė*, *ů*, *al* usw., *il* usw.) vor.

Schon einige Jahre vor De Saussure hatte Bezzenberger auf die Metatonie hingewiesen, indem er solchen Wörtern wie lit. *añtinas*, *kañdis* eine sekundäre Intonation zuschrieb [3]). Dann hat er in 1896 in seiner Anzeige von Hirts Buch über den Akzent eine grosse Anzahl Fälle von Intonationswechsel zusammengestellt [4]), wobei er aber die Erklärung nicht ausschliesslich in einer erst baltischen oder litauischen Umlegung der Intonation suchen möchte; einen Teil der Fälle fasst er als „Folgen verschiedener Accentstellung" auf, bei andern denkt er an die Möglichkeit eines bereits indogermanischen Intonationswechsels. Die von Bezzenberger zusammengestellten Formkategorien sind folgende:

1) Vgl. meinen Aufsatz *Z powodu metatonji słowiańskiej i bałtyckiej. Prace lingwistyczne ofiarowane J. Baudouinowi de Courtenay* (1921), S. 3 ff.

2) F. de Saussure, *MSL.* VIII (1894), 429 ff.

3) A. Bezzenberger, *BB.* XVII (1891), 224.

4) A. Bezzenberger, *BB.* XXI (1896), 311 ff.

Verba auf *-inu*, z. B. *drą̃sų* : *drą́sinu*,
Verba auf *-stu*, z. B. *sẽnas* : *sę́stu*,
Verba auf *-ioti*, z. B. *riñkti* : *ránkioti*,
Verba auf *-oti*, z. B. *reñti* : *rýmoti* [1]),
Verba auf *-auti*, z. B. *klỹkti* : *klýkauti*,
Nomina auf *-ė́*, z. B. *leñkti* : *lénkė́* [2]),
Verba auf *-dinu*, z. B. *jóti*, *jódau* : *jõdinu*; vgl. *paklóju* : *paklõdė́*,
Verba auf *-ûti*, z. B. *báltas* : *balt̃ûju*, *geltónas* : *gel̃tonůja*, *paĩkius* : *páikiûti*,
Verba auf *-yti*, z. B. *prẽsz* : *prẽszytis*,
Nomina auf *-is* (Stamm auf *-ia-*), z. B. *áugu* : *ũgis*, *pů̃lu* : *pů̃lis*,
Nomina auf *-tė́*, z. B. *bė́gti* : *bė́gtė̃*, *bẽgtę*; *mazgóti* : *mazgõtė́*,
Nomina auf *-esis*, z. B. *ė́du* : *ẽ̃desis*,
Nomina auf *-klas*, z. B. *gìnti* : *giñklas*,
Nomina auf *-klė́*, z. B. *baidýti* : *baidỹklė́*,
Präfixe, z. B. *prì-žadu* : *prẽ-žastį* [3]),
Nomina auf *-estis*, *-esnis*, z. B. *móku* : *mòkestis*, *mõkesnis* [4]),
Nomina auf *-slu-*, z. B. *móku* : *mòkslu*,
Adjektive auf *-inas*, z.B. *táukas* : *taũkinas*,
Subst. gegenüber Adj., z.B. *áuksztas* ‘hoch’ : *aũksztas* ‘der obere Bodenraum’,
lõpas, *lõpis* : *lópyti*,
rẽ̃kti (*rẽ̃ksmas*) : *rė́lka* (*rė́lkauti*),
džówiau : *džowà* (*džõwos*),
žmónės : *žmõgų*, *žmõną*,
Nomina auf *-onė́*, z.B. *dė́kawóju* : *dė́kawõnė́*,
dů̃ti : *dů̃nis*,
siúti : *siũlę*,
Nomina auf *-ius*, z.B. *ąsótas* : *ąsõczus* usw.,
Zusammensetzungen, z.B. *bùrną* : *pabuñnis*, *kója* : *pakõjui*, *gìrna* : *szlůtgiĩrnė́*,
Nomina auf *-ybė́*, z.B. *ankstýbas* : *ankstỹbė́*,
Nomina auf *-ynė́*, z.B. *beržýnas* : *beržỹnė́*.

Es folgen dann eine Anzahl lettischer Beispiele, welche ich hier weglasse, erstens weil Bezzenberger die Dialekte mit nur zwei Intonationen zugrunde gelegt hat, zweitens weil später Endzelin ein viel ausführlicheres Verzeichnis zusammengestellt hat, welches wir sogleich besprechen werden.

Dem reichhaltigen Materiale Bezzenbergers lassen sich noch einige Kategorien hinzufügen, und zwar, ausser einigen von Endzelin für das

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1) *Rýmoti* hat wohl die regelmässige Intonation der idg. langen Monophthonge.

2) Hierher auch wohl *vil̃kas* : *vìlkė́*. Bezzenberger leitet S. 297 diesen Gegensatz aus idg. Betonungsverhältnissen her. Das ist mir wenig wahrscheinlich: vgl. r. *volk* : *volčica*, *volčicha*, welches wohl nach De Saussures Gesetz aus slav. **vl̥̑ci-* entstanden ist.

3) Damit zusammen nennt B. Fälle wie *àpskutu* : *ãpskutos* mit alter Kürze.

4) In diesem Zusammenhang nennt B. auch *lũkurti* (: *láukti*).

Lettische und Litauische angeführten Formationen (s. u.): *-tu*-Stämme, z.B. *lẽti* : *lẽtùs*, *lẽtų*. So erklärt sich: der dialektisch noch bewahrte Intonationsunterschied zwischen Infinitiv einerseits und Optativ anderseits [1]), — reflexive Verbalformen, z. B. *stója*, *stójo*, *sėdo* : ostlit. *stojõs*, *sėdõs*, Kurschat (Neues Testament) *stôjas*, *stôjos(i)*, *stôsis*, *stôkis*, *stôjęsi*, *sẽstis* [2]).

Wenn wir all diese Kategorien überblicken [3]), so lässt sich kaum etwas Gemeinsames ausfindig machen, das als die Ursache der Metatonie anzusehen wäre. Wir sind noch ebenso weit wie De Saussure im Jahre 1894 war, als er schrieb [4]): „Les causes de métatonie sont probablement diverses, et sans aucun rapport entre elles, selon les cas dont il peut s'agir. Nous montrerons, sans pouvoir aborder la question dans le présent travail, que dans plus d'un cas, cette cause est phonétique." Eins möchte ich ausdrücklich betonen: die Metatonie, wie sie jetzt im Litauischen vorliegt, wird auf keinen Fall indogermanisch sein. Die „regelmässig" auftretenden Intonationen sind die Fortsetzung indogermanischer Quantitäten; dann zerstörte allmählich die Metatonie das „regelmässige" Intonationssystem.

Ebensowenig wie im Litauischen lässt sich im Lettischen für die Metatonieerscheinungen éine allgemeine Grundursache ausfindig machen. In mehreren Fällen gehen Litauisch und Lettisch zusammen. In den beiden Sprachen wird die Metatonie sich nicht auf einmal, sondern im Verlaufe eines längern Zeitraumes entwickelt haben, und es ist sehr gut möglich, dass sie in gewissen Fällen auf die litaulettische oder sogar auf die urbaltische Periode zurückgeht. Endzelin hat in seinem Aufsatz „Wechsel der Intonationen (Metatonie)" [5]) das hierhergehörige lettische Material folgenderweise eingeteilt:

substantivierte Adjektive, z.B. *stãvs* ‘aufrecht’ : *stàvs* ‘Wuchs’ (vgl. lit. *dùksztas* : *aũksztas*),

Nominalstämme auf *-o-*, z.B. *velt* ‘wälzen’ : *vàls* ‘Heuschwade’ (vgl. lit. *lópyti* : *lõpas*; *nẽžti* : *nėžas* [6])),

Nominalstämme auf *-į̆o-*, z.B. *malt* ‘mahlen’ : *màlis* ‘das zu mahlende Korn’ (vgl. lit. *kándu* : *kañdis*), *krèir(a)s* ‘sinister’ : *k'eĩris*, *kreĩlis* ‘Linkhand’,

ē-Stämme, z. B. *dzert* ‘trinken’ : *dzìres* ‘Trinkgelag’ (vgl. lit. *ankstýbas* : *ankstỹbė*, *málti* : dial. *mõlė*), *snìegs* ‘Schnee’ : *sniẽdze* ‘Schneeammer’ (vgl. lit. *vilkas* : *vìlkė*),

į̆ā-Stämme, z. B. *sẽt* ‘säen’ : *sėja* ‘Saat’, *dìrst* ‘cacare’ : *diřša* Schimpfwort, — dazu : Verba auf *-ât* (ursprünglich denominativ), z.B. *mìzt* ‘harnen’ : *mĩža*, *mìžât*, *èlst* ‘keuchen’ : *eĩšât* ‘tief aufatmen’ (vgl. lit. *riũkti* : *ránkioti*),

ā-Stämme, z. B. *brèkt* ‘schreien’ : *brę̃ka* ‘Geschrei’ (vgl. lit. *rẽkti* : *rė̃ka*), — dazu : Verba auf *-ât* (urspr. denom.), z. B. : *brę̃kât* ‘viel schreien’, *èlst* ‘keuchen’ : *eĩsât* ‘keuchen’,

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1) S. J. Endzelin, *KZ.* XLIV (1911), 50 f., 57, W. Schulze, *das.*, 130. S. auch § 48.
2) S. W. Schulze, *aaO.*, 131 f.
3) S. noch S. 62 Fussn. 6.
4) F. de Saussure, *MSL.* VIII (1894), 429.
5) J. Endzelin, *IF.* XXXIII (1913/14), 107 ff.
6) Bei diesem Worte wird auf K. Būga, *Aistiškį studijai* I (1908), S. 86 verwiesen.

Verba auf *-ît*, z. B. *braũkt*: *braũcît* ‘streichen’,

Verba auf *-inât*, z. B. *brèkt*: *brẽcinât* ‘zum Schreien veranlassen’ (vgl. lit. *sveĩkas*, *sveĩkti*: *svéikinti*),

Verba auf *-êt*, z. B. *rlest*: *riẽtêt* ‘rollen’ (vgl. lit. *skę̃sti*: *skéndėti*),

Präsentia auf *-sta*, z. B. *dzìmt* ‘geboren werden’: *dziñstu* (vgl. lit. *miřti*: *mìrsztu*),

vereinzelte Fälle: *clems* ‘Dorf’, *clemiñš* ‘Gast’: *kaĩmiñš* ‘Nachbar’, — *zìema* ‘Winter’: *ziẽmelis* ‘Norden’, usw.,

der erste Teil zusammengesetzter Wörter: *prìekš* ‘vor’: *priẽkšaũts* ‘Schürze’, *ìe-*, *nùo*, *pìe*: *iẽ-*, *nuõ-*, *piẽ-* in nominalen Komposita (vgl. lit. *nů̃*: *nůbraukos* usw.); *kùr* ‘wo’: *kuř̃p* ‘wohin’ u. dgl. (vgl. lit. *namẽ*: *namėpi*); *dìe(v)s* ‘Gott’: *diẽzgan* (aus *dievs-in-gan* oder *dievs-un-gan* (vgl. lit. *Dubõs girià*: *Dubósgirė*),

Vokativ: *tẽ(v)s* ‘Vater’: *tè(v)*,

Imperativ („vereinzelt”, „namentlich wenn in bittendem Tone gesprochen wird”), z. B.: *tu nãc* ‘du kommst’: *nàc* ‘komm!’

§ 48. Im Slavischen ist die Metatonie ebenfalls eine sehr häufige Erscheinung. Einerseits liefern die slavischen Metatonie-Erscheinungen ein bunteres Bild als die baltischen, weil neben solchen sekundären Intonationen, welche mit altem Akut und Zirkumflex zusammengefallen sind, auch andere auftreten, welche ihre abweichende Tonbewegung bis in die einzelsprachliche Periode bewahrt haben; anderseits aber gestattet uns gerade das Auftreten dieser zweiten Gruppe von Intonationen einen Einblick in die Chronologie der slavischen Metatonie.

Es gibt einige Fälle, wo einem slavischen Tonwechsel ein ähnlicher baltischer entspricht. Ein solcher Fall ist: r. *vóron*, s. *vrân*: r. *voróna*, s. *vrȁna*, lit. *vařnas*: *várna*. Man hat hier an einen bereits indogermanischen Quantitätsunterschied gedacht [1]). Eine solche Vermutung lässt sich nicht widerlegen, anderseits aber schwebt sie vollkommen in der Luft, solange dasselbe Wortpaar in keinem andern indogermanischen Sprachzweige nachgewiesen ist. Neben dieser ersten Möglichkeit gibt es eine zweite: dass die Metatonie aus baltoslavischer Zeit stammt. Aber auch diese Hypothese ist unbeweisbar. Sollte sie richtig sein, so können wir uns das gegenseitige Verhältnis der Formen auf zwei Weisen vorstellen: entweder ist die „mobile” Deklination von lit. *vařnas* (Plur. *varnaĩ*) sekundär und die slavische Barytonierung alt, oder das „mobile” litauische Paradigma geht regelmässig auf ein älteres, wohl baltoslavisches, endbetontes Paradigma zurück [2]). In dem ersten Falle bestünde zwischen baltoslav. **vornos* und **vornā* bloss ein Intonationsunterschied; in dem zweiten Falle ginge mit dem Intonationswechsel ein Betonungswechsel zusammen. Sogar könnte auch noch an die Möglichkeit gedacht werden, dass auch **vornā* ein indogermanisches Oxytonon wäre [3]). Auf jeden Fall wäre für baltoslav. **vornos* zirkumflektiertes, für **vornā* akutiertes *or* anzunehmen. — Ausser den zwei Möglichkeiten, welche wir besprachen:

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1) S. § 45.

2) Über die slavische Akzentzurückziehung s. § 27.

3) S. § 29, speziell S. 59 f.

1. idg. **vornos* : **vōrnā*, 2. baltoslav. Ursprung der Metatonie — liesse sich auch an noch jüngern Ursprung derselben denken und zwar in der baltischen bezw. slavischen Periode. Weil aber weder im Baltischen noch im Slavischen eine Metatonie dieser Art eine irgendwie regelmässige Erscheinung ist, halte ich das für unwahrscheinlich.

Eine zweite merkwürdige Übereinstimmung zwischen Baltisch und Slavisch liegt vor in lit. *riñkti* : *ránkioti*, r. *vórot*, s. *vrât* : r. *voróčať*, s. *vrȁćati* [1]). Wenn dieser Verbaltypus auf *-jāti* urbaltoslavisch ist, so ist die Möglichkeit einer urbaltoslavischen Metatonie nicht ausgeschlossen; beweisen lässt sich aber nichts, und die Möglichkeit einer erst baltischen bezw. slavischen Differenzierung der Intonationen ist auch da. Die Tatsache, dass gerade diese Wortkategorie, im Gegensatz zu andern wo gleichartige Bedingungen vorlagen (etwa die Nomina auf *-jā*), in den beiden Sprachzweigen die Metatonie zeigt, spricht nicht gegen urbaltoslavischen Ursprung derselben. Das oben [2]) nach De Saussure und Bezzenberger mitgeteilte Material aus dem Litauischen zeigt, wie auch in dieser Sprache das Auftreten bezw. Unterbleiben der Metatonie von nicht genau feststellbaren Gesetzen bestimmt wird.

Eine dritte Kategorie, wo Baltisch und Slavisch zusammengehen, liegt in der Nominalklasse auf *-tu-* vor. In gewissen alt- und neulitauischen Dialekten begegnen wir dem Gegensatze *búti* : *bũtų* (Optat.) [3]) und in der litauischen Schriftsprache ist dieser einmal allgemein-litauische Gegensatz dort bewahrt geblieben, wo der *tu*-Stamm noch substantivische Funktion hat: *lẽti* : *lẽtų* (N. Sg. *lẽtùs*). Ein ähnliches Verhältnis liegt im Slavischen vor. Im Slovenischen und in geringerem Umfange auch im Čechischen existiert das Supinum bis auf den heutigen Tag, und in diesen Sprachen unterscheidet sich bei Verben mit akutiertem Infinitiv das Supinum von diesem Infinitiv durch seinen Zirkumflexus bezw. die daraus entstandene kurze Quantität, z. B. slov. *spáti* : *spât*, čech. *spáti* : *spat* [4]). Dieser Unterschied zwischen der Intonation des *ti*-Stammes und derjenigen des *tu*-Stammes ist so eigentümlich, dass die Übereinstimmung zwischen Baltisch und Slavisch kaum zufällig sein kann. Auf das Indogermanische kann der Intonationswechsel kaum zurückgehen. Bei lit. *vařnas* : *várna*, r. *vóron* : *voróna* war eine solche Auffassung möglich, weil hier die „tranche vocalique" aus Vokal + *r* besteht, bei welcher Lautgruppe bekanntlich der baltische und slavische Intonationswechsel einen indogermanischen Quantitätswechsel fortsetzen kann (idg. **vornos* : **vōrnā*); in solchen Fällen aber wie lit. *búti* : *bũtų*, slov. *bíti* : *bît* wäre ein bereits indogermanischer Intonations- oder Quantitätswechsel eine vollständig unbegründete Fiktion. Gegen baltoslavischen Ursprung aber lässt sich

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1) R. *vorotit'*, s. *vrátiti* hat wohl älterurslav. Betonung des *i*; s. die vorletzte Alinea von § 29 und weiter unten sub 14*c*. Ausführlicher in meinem Aufsatz über die Betonung der *i*-Verba, *AfslPh.* XXXVII (1918), 1 ff.

2) § 47.

3) S. J. Rozwadowski, *IF.* VII (1897), 253, J. Endzelin, *KZ.* XLIV (1911), 50 f., 57, W. Schulze, *das.*, 130.

4) S. T. Lehr-Spławiński, *O prasłowiańskiej metatonji* (1918), S. 14 f. und die daselbst zitierte Literatur.

kaum etwas einwenden, und bereits früher habe ich mich für diese Chronologie ausgesprochen [1]). Eine Sache habe ich aber damals nicht auf gebührende Weise beachtet, und zwar die mobile Betonung von *lėtùs* : *lẽtų*, welche auf urbaltische Oxytonierung dieses Nomens hinweist [2]). Es fragt sich nun: war dieses die ausnahmslose Betonung der Verbalnomina auf *-tu-*? Und, wenn das der Fall sein sollte, geht diese Betonung auf das Urbaltoslavische zurück? In diesem Falle wäre die Möglichkeit, dass der Zirkumflexus von lit. *lẽtų* durch eine erst baltische oder litauische Metatonie entstanden sein sollte, nicht ausgeschlossen, denn der slavische Zirkumflexus alter Oxytona kann ebensogut einen alten Akut wie einen alten Zirkumflex fortsetzen, z. B. s. *sîn* : lit. *sūnų* (mit idg. langem Monophthong) [3]). Leider ist es unmöglich, über die frühurbaltische Betonung der Nomina auf *-tu-* und im Allgemeinen derjenigen auf *-u-* viel Sicheres zu sagen. Das Leskiensche Material der *-tu-* Stämme [4]) ist wenig umfangreich und *lytùs*, *lėtùs* ist das einzige Wort, dessen Betonung angegeben wird. Und aus Kurschats Verzeichnissen [5]) ergibt sich, dass die immobilen (barytonierten) Nomina auf *-u-* sämtlich Stämme auf *-iu-* haben, mit Ausnahme von *turgus*, das ein Lehnwort sein kann, und von *Jėzus* und *Kristus*. Nun sind diese Verhältnisse gewiss unursprünglich, denn im Indogermanischen kamen sowohl barytonierte wie oxytonierte *u*-Stamme vor; s. das Material in Brugmanns Grundriss, wo speziell zu den *tu*-Stämmen bemerkt wird [6]): „Der Wortton wechselte zwischen Wurzelbetonung und Formansbetonung und zwar im Ai. in weitem Umfang in Zusammenhang mit Vollstufe und Schwundstufe der Wurzel, z. B. *gántu-ṣ̌ dhắtu-ṣ̌* : *ṛtú-ṣ̌ aktú-ṣ̌*. Bei den dem Verbalsystem als Infinitiv usw. angegliederten Kasus erscheint diese Verschiedenheit auch zwischen den verschiedenen Kasusformen, z. B. *gántum ėtum dhắtum* : *gatvắ itvắ hitvắ*, wobei allerdings zu berücksichtigen ist, dass der Instr. auf *-tvắ* auch zu den *-tu̯o-* : *-tu̯ā-*Stämmen (§ 337 ff.) gerechnet werden kann. Beispiele für den Accentwechsel im Germ. sind: got. *dauþus*, *wulþus* : *flōdus*, *skildus*". Die indischen und griechischen *iu*-Stämme, welche Brugmann anführt, sind bis auf eine einzige Ausnahme (ai. *dásyu-ḥ*) Oxytona, also gerade umgekehrt als im Litauischen. Und die sonstigen *u*-Stämme zeigen abwechselnd Barytonierung und Oxytonierung. Wie die *u*-Stämme im Litauischen eine „mobile" Klasse geworden sind, ist schwer zu sagen, aber auf keinen Fall kommt diese „mobile", in einer frühern Periode oxytonierte Flexion von altersher allen *u*-Stämmen zu. Was die Supina anbetrifft, so dürfte die Betonung von ai. *gántum*, *étum*, *dhắtum* [7]) auf ursprachliche Barytonierung hinweisen; deshalb halte

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1) S. *RS.* IX (1921), 87 f.
2) S. § 23. 3) S. § 27.
4) A. Leskien, *Die Bildung der Nomina im Litauischen* (1891), S. 414 [564].
5) F. Kurschat, *Grammatik der littauischen Sprache* (1876), S. 202 f.
6) K. Brugmann, *Grundriss der vergleich. Gramm. der idg. Sprachen* II², 1 (1906), S. 440 f. Über die *iu*-Stämme *das.*, S. 223 ff., über das Suffix *-u-* S. 178 ff., über *-nu-* und *-snu-* S. 290 ff., über *-ru-*, *-lu-* S. 384 ff.
7) Diese Betonung ist ausnahmslos. S. W. D. Whitney, *Indische Grammatik*, (1879), S. 335 f.

ich es für wahrscheinlich (obgleich es sich nicht stricte beweisen lässt), dass lit. *bũtų*, slov. *bît*, *spât*, čech. *spat* regelrecht auf idg. barytonierte Formen zurückgehen; in diesem Falle ist es sehr wahrscheinlich, dass die Metatonie der baltisch-slavischen Periode angehört. Zu diesem Schlusse gelangten wir, ohne die weit verbreitete Endbbetonung des litauischen Optativs zu berücksichtigen [1]). Es fragt sich nun: spricht diese Betonung (*bũtũ*, *bãgtũ*, *užaitũ* usw.) nicht für alte Oxytonierung? Tatsächlich glaube ich, dass die oxytonierten Formen nicht durch junge Akzentverschiebung entstanden sind, sondern demselben oxytonierten Paradigma angehören, welches dem „mobilen" Paradigma *lẽtùs* : *lẽtų* zugrundeliegt. Nun ist aber die Verwendung des Akkus. Sg. auf *-tų* in optativischer Funktion eine erst baltische, wohl sogar nachurbaltische Erscheinung (nicht altpreussisch!); sie dürfte aus einer Periode stammen, als die *-tu*-Stämme bereits die oxytonierte Flexion verallgemeinert hatten. Dagegen ist das Supinum eine indogermanische grammatische Kategorie und zwar gebrauchte die Grundsprache in dieser Funktion bereits den Akkus. auf *-tum*, dessen Zugehörigkeit zum Paradigma der *-tu*-Stämme vielleicht bereits im Idg., jedenfalls aber in den einzelnen Sprachzweigen verhältnismässig schwach empfunden wurde. Im Lit. hat das Supinum dieselbe Intonation wie der Infinitiv; angesichts der Nominalform *lẽtų*, des Optativs *bũtų* und des Supinums slov. *bît*, čech. *spat* dürfen wir aber wohl fürs Urbaltische ein Supinum **bũtum* annehmen, welches später den Akut des Infinitivs herübernahm.

Nicht baltoslavisch, aber doch wohl sehr alt sind einige Fälle, wo innerhalb des Verbalparadigmas slavischer Zirkumflex (der nach De Saussures Gesetz seinen Akzent einer folgenden akutierten Silbe abtreten musste, und, wenn keine solche Silbe folgte, denselben nach dem Wortanfange hin zurückwerfen konnte) und Akut miteinander wechseln. Einige Beispiele sind:

skr. *bȉti* : r. *prí-byl*, *bylá*, čak. *bîl*, *bîlȁ*,

skr. *dȁti* : r. *pró-dal*, *dalá*, čak. *dâl*, *dālȁ*, *dán* (1. Ps. Sg. Präs., mit „nowoakutowa" aus Zirkumflexus),

skr. *rodȉti* : čak. *rȍdīl*, *rodīlȁ*, slov. *rodîť*, *rodíla*, r. *rodilá*,

skr. *pȁsti*, *pȁla*, r. *pála* : skr. dial. *pádēm*, r. *padú*,

skr. *prȅsti*, *prȅla*, r. *prála* : skr. *prédēm*, r. *pradú*,

r. *vídětʹ*, č. *viděti* : r. *vidátʹ*, č. *vídati*,

klr. *bíčy*, skr. *bjȅći*, r. *bĕgatʹ*, č. *běhati* : r. *bĕgú*, *bĕžíš*, skr. *bjèžīš*, r. *-bĕgátʹ*, č. *-bíhati*.

Schon einige male habe ich diese Formen besprochen [2]). Erklären lassen sie sich bei dem jetzigen Stande der Wissenschaft kaum. Dieser Umstand, sowie der Zusammenfall der durch Metatonie entstandenen Intonation mit dem ältern Zirkumflexus weisen wohl auf eine sehr frühe

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1) Vgl. dazu F. Specht, *Grammatische Einleitung* (s. S. 20 Fussn. 5), S. 27 f., 116 f., 230, 250.

2) Verf., *Zu den slavischen Iterativen vom Typus bĕgati*, *KZ.* XLIX (1919/20), 84 ff.; — *Z powodu metatonji słowiańskiej i bałtyckiej*, *Prace lingwistyczne ofiarowane Janowi Baudouinowi de Courtenay* (1921), S. 3 ff. S. auch oben § 37.

Periode hin. Bei jüngerer slavischer Metatonie liegen wohl stets „nowoakutowa" und „nowocyrkumfleksowa" vor und jedenfalls in einem Teil dieser Fälle lässt sich die Ursache der Metatonie feststellen oder vermuten.

Eine ebenfalls ziemlich alte Metatonie (wenn auch jünger als die zuletzt besprochene) liegt in nominalen Zusammensetzungen wie r. *povorót*, *vodovorót*, skr. *golòvrat*, slov. *povràt*, čech. *pokaz*, *závrat*, poln. *zwrot*, *zápis*, slovinz. *pr̂ĭz̨ǫ̀ɲd* (Langstufe *ǫ̀ɲ* vor dem auslautenden tönenden Konsonanten) vor. Bei diesen Zusammensetzungen mit einem ausserhalb der Komposition zirkumflektierten zweiten Gliede liegen zwei Betonungstypen vor, und zwar ausser dem angeführten Typus mit Metatonie ein anderer mit Zurückwerfung des Akzentes auf das erste Glied: r. *póvod*, *ótkup*, skr. *pȍvrāt*, *kȍlovrāt*, poln. *powrót*, *kołowrót* [1]). Bezüglich gewisser Formen aus Sprachen mit fester Betonung herrscht einige Unsicherheit, welchem der zwei Typen sie angehören [2]); das Vorhandensein der zwei Typen ist aber nicht zu leugnen. Ich bin nicht imstande endgültig zu entscheiden, ob in solchen Zusammensetzungen der sekundäre Akut langer Silben (**po-vorťə̄*, *za-kládə̄* usw.) vollständig mit dem alten Akut zusammengefallen ist. Lehr-Spławiński hat das angenommen [3]). Schwierigkeiten macht zwar der kurze Vokal von č. *pokaz*, *závrat*; weil aber auch der alte Akut bisweilen auf eine schwerlich erklärbare Weise durch čechische Kürze vertreten wird (z. B. *had*, *čas*), so ist die Möglichkeit nicht zu leugnen, dass *pokaz*, *závrat* ihre Kürze auf dieselbe Weise erhalten haben wie jene und ähnliche Formen mit altem Akut. Entscheiden lässt sich die Sache kaum [4]).

Auch in der Gruppe Präposition + Nominalkasus glaube ich, dass ein sekundärer Akut aus Zirkumflexus nachzuweisen ist: ragus. *vráta* : *nà vrāta* (durch Abstrahierung aus solchen Gruppen ozrin. *vrâta*, r. *voróta* — neben *vorotá*) [5]), s. *plȇjen* : r. *v polón* und dann auch *polón* [6]). Solche Formen sind aber sehr selten, sie sind wohl oft gleich nach ihrer Entstehung unter dem Einflusse der ohne Präposition gebrauchten Formen wieder geschwunden; gebräuchlicher ist die ebenfalls auf das Urslavische zurückgehende Akzentzurückziehung, welche etwa in r. *zá gorod* vorliegt. Den Akut von rag. *nà vrāta*, r. *v polón* halte ich für jünger als denjenigen von r. *povorót* usw. Die Länge von skr. *vrāta*, *vrâta* dürfte eine Art „nowoakutowa" voraussetzen.

Auch in der verbalen Zusammensetzung wird ein Zirkumflexus in einen Akut verwandelt, welcher den Akzent vor Verschiebung auf die nachfolgende Silbe schützt; z. B. štok. *slòmīš*, *nàlomīš* (: *lòmīš*), dial. *oplètēm* (: *pletêm*), slz. *dǫ́ɲl̨sẽš* usw. [7]). Dieser Typus von Zusammensetzungen

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1) Ein reiches Material von *i*-, *o*- und *ā*-Stämmen dieser beiden Betonungstypen bespricht A. Leskien, *AfslPh.* XXI (1899), 334 ff.

2) S. Verf., *RS.* IX (1921), 88 f.

3) T. Lehr-Spławiński, *O prasłowiańskiej metatonji* (1918), S. 31 f.

4) S. Verf., *aaO.*

5) S. Verf., *AfslPh.* XXXVI (1916), 358 f.

6) S. Verf., *AfslPh.* XXXVII (1918), 29.

7) S. Verf., *AfslPh.* XXXVI (1916), 365, 367, XXXVII (1918), 10, T. Lehr-Spławiński, *Ze studjów nad akcentem słowiańskim* (1917), S. 51, *RS.* IX (1921), 117.

ist wohl jünger als die Nominalzusammensetzungen, und auch den sekundären Akut halte ich für jünger als denjenigen von r. *povorót*. Weil die meisten der bewahrt gebliebenen Formen mit diesem Akut kurzen Vokal haben und die wenig zahlreichen Fälle mit Länge [1]) über die Qualität des Akutus nichts aussagen, lässt sich nicht entscheiden, ob dieser Akut mit dem altererbten Akute zusammengefallen ist. Bei einer Kategorie von Verbalformen, welche wir nicht ohne Weiteres mit den Formen des Verbum finitum auf eine Linie stellen dürfen, und zwar bei den Infinitiven skr. *zàklēti* (: *kléti*), *ùmrijeti* (: *mrijèti*), *òtrēsti* (: *trésti*) [2]), ist es klar, dass der sekundäre Akut eine andere Qualität gehabt hat als der alte Akut, welcher bekanntlich im Serbokroatischen als Kürze auftritt.

Diese letzte Formkategorie führt uns bereits zu den durch jüngere Metatonie entstandenen, von altem Akut und Zirkumflex abweichenden Intonationen „nowoakutowa" und „nowocyrkumfleksowa" hinüber. Bevor wir aber dieselben besprechen, möchte ich noch eine kurze Bemerkung machen zu den im Vorausgehenden besprochenen Kategorien von Zusammensetzungen, wo die Metatonie offenbar durch die Stellung in nicht erster Silbe hervorgerufen wurde. Diese Position hat auch in andern Sprachen eine Intonationsumlegung hervorgerufen; so hat Sievers eine solche für nhd. *behalten, vergehen*, engl. *forget* im Gegensatz zu d. *halten, gehen*, e. *get* konstatiert [3]); — und auf slavischem Boden beschränkt sie sich nicht auf die angeführten Komposita: so tritt in der Mundart von Lěka, welche Šachmatov untersucht und beschrieben hat [4]), der Vokal *ω*, welcher aus akutiertem *o* entstanden ist [5]), u. a. in allen nicht anlautenden haupttonigen Silben auf. Der Gedanke kommt auf, dass bereits im Urslavischen in dieser Stellung die kurzen und ursprünglich zirkumflektierten Vokale akutiert gesprochen seien, und Formen wie *sswrtă*, wo der Vokal der ersten Silbe geschwunden ist, dürften für diese Annahme sprechen. Anderseits aber haben *sto*, *χto*, *(š)šo* (aus *sъto*, *kъto*, *čьto*) *o* und kein *ω*, — und auch slav. *dъva*, *dъvě* haben in den Einzelsprachen, welche die Intonationen noch unterscheiden, zirkumflektierte Intonation: skr. slov. *dvâ*, skr. *dvîje*, slov. *dvê*, r. *pó dva*, *pó dvě*. Dass hier der Zirkumflexus nicht sekundär ist, dürfte aus r. *óba*, *óbě*, skr. *ȍba*, *ȍbje*, slov. *obâ*, *obê* hervorgehen, welche ebenfalls zirkumflektierte Ausgänge voraussetzen [6]). Ich vermag russ. dial. (Lěka) *sto*, *χto*, *(š)šo*, skr. slov. *dvâ* usw. nicht anders zu erklären als durch die Annahme, dass hier im Urslavischen der kurze bezw. zirkumflektierte Vokal keine akutierte Betonung bekommen hat. Obgleich es a priori sehr wahrscheinlich ist, dass das *o* von urslav. *sъto*, *kъto*, *čьto* eine etwas andere Tonbewegung hatte als dasjenige von *tȏ* oder *bȏgъ* und das *a* von *dъva* eine etwas andere als etwa dasjenige von *dâlъ*, auf keinen Fall dürfen wir eine mit altem

1) Etwa klr. *propádu*; auch r. *obúju*? S. *AfslPh.* XXXVI, 367.

2) S. Verf., *AfslPh.* XXXVI, 365 ff.

3) E. Sievers, *Grundzüge der Phonetik*[5] (1901), S. 249.

4) A. Šachmatov, *Opisanie Lěkinskago govora Egorjevskago uězda R'azanskoj gubernii. Izvěstija* XVIII, 4 (1914), 173 ff.

5) S. T. Lehr, *RS.* VIII (1918), 252 f. und die daselbst angeführte Literatur.

6) S. Verf., *Neophilologus* V (1920), 113 ff.

Akut oder mit „nowoakutowa" zusammengefallene Intonation annehmen. Lehr-Spławiński geht also zu weit, wenn er unter den urslavischen Intonationsänderungen die „zmiana cyrkumfleksowej intonacji zgłosek akcentowanych niepoczątkowych na akutową" ohne jede weitere Einschränkung erwähnt [1]); er hält diese „zmiana" sogar für älter als diejenige Metatonie, welche „nowocyrkumfleksowa" und „nowoakutowa" hervorgerufen hat. Anderseits aber hat die Tendenz, den Zirkumflexus und die damit gleichartige primäre Intonation der Kürzen im Inlaut zu vermeiden, in einem gewissen Umfange, sogar in sehr weitem Umfange im Urslavischen gewirkt. Das geht aus den oben besprochenen Zusammensetzungen und auch aus solchen Fällen wie r. *pródal*, skr. *prȍdao*, r. *ná golovu*, skr. *nȁ glāvu*, slov. *na glâvǫ*, r. *ná vodu*, skr. *nȁ vodu*, slov. *na vǫ̑dǫ* hervor, wo der inlautende Zirkumflexus eines Wortes oder einer aus Proklitika + Nomen bestehenden Wortgruppe auf die Anfangssilbe zurückgeworfen wurde. Wir haben es hier mit einer slavischen Tendenz zu tun, welche sich in verschiedenen Perioden geltend gemacht hat, sogar noch nach der urslavischen Zeit, damals speziell im Serbokroatischen [2]). Im Urslavischen war der Umfang etwas eingeschränkt. Ausser r. dial. (Lěka) *χto*, *(š)šo*, *sto* und den Zahlwörtern *dəva*, *dəvě* und wohl auch čak. *hćî* kenne ich aber keine Formen, wo weder Akzentzurückziehung noch Intonationsumlegung nachweisbar ist. Wann die Tendenz inlautenden haupttonigen Zirkumflexus zu vermeiden sich zuerst geltend gemacht hat, ist kaum mit Sicherheit zu sagen.

Obgleich die relative Chronologie der slavischen Metatonieerscheinungen sehr viel Unsicheres enthält, dürfen wir im Allgemeinen annehmen, dass die jüngste urslavische Schicht durch diejenigen Fälle gebildet wird, wo „nowoakutowa" und „nowocyrkumfleksowa" auftreten [3]). Die „nowoakutowa" entstand aus ursprünglichem Zirkumflexus [4]) und auch tritt sie bei kurzen Vokalen auf, drittens auch in ursprünglich vortonigen langen und kurzen Silben, auf welche der Hauptakzent zurückgezogen wurde; die „nowocyrkumfleksowa" entstand aus altem Akut. Die Bezeichnungen sind m. E. insofern nicht vollständig richtig, als wohl nicht alle Fälle von urslavischer „nowoakutowa" dieselbe Tonbewegung gehabt haben, und ebensowenig alle Fälle von „nowocyrkumfleksowa". Bei letzterer fällt es auf, dass nur ein Teil der Fälle, wo das Slovenische ^ hat, auch ein čakavisches ^ zeigt, während im Štokavischen diese Fälle noch weniger zahlreich sind; dort wo kein ^ auftritt, liegt die gewöhnliche Entsprechung des alten Akutes vor. Daraus dürfte sich ergeben, dass nicht alle Fälle von „nowocyrkumfleksowa" wirklich eine zirkumflektierte Intonation gehabt haben. Was wir „nowocyrkumfleksowa" nennen, ist wohl vielmehr eine Anzahl von aus altem Akute entstandenen sekundären Intonationen,

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1) T. Lehr, *O prasłowiańskiej metatonji* (1918), S. 48.

2) S. A. Šachmatov, *Izvěstija* VI (1903), 1, 343 ff., Verf., *Revue des études slaves* I (1921), 36 f.

3) Diese sehr bequemen Namen hat J. Rozwadowski geschaffen (*Historyczna fonetyka czyli głosownia języka polskiego*, im II Bd. der *Encyklopedya polska*, 1915).

4) Bloss in auslautenden Silben setzt m. E. die „nowoakutowa" einen alten Akut fort; s. Verf., *RS.* IX (1921), 80 ff.; anders T. Lehr-Spławiński, *das.*, 124 f.

welche teilweise dem Akut sehr ähnlich geblieben sind, teilweise mehr nach dem Zirkumflexus hinneigen. Im Russischen begegnet uns in denjenigen Fällen, wo andere Sprachen „nowocyrkumfleksowa" voraussetzen, ausnahmslos ein steigender Ton, welcher natürlich bloss bei polnoglasie deutlich wahrnehmbar ist; das weist auf einen bedeutenden Unterschied zwischen altem Zirkumflex und „nowocyrkumfleksowa" hin; man beachte auch, dass Silben mit „nowocyrkumfleksowa" vor folgendem Akut ihren Akzent bewahren. Es gibt auch mehr als eine Variation von „nowoakutowa". So weicht in denjenigen russischen Dialekten, die *ѡ* und *o* unterscheiden, die Repräsentation der „nowoakutowa" des Gen. Plur. von derjenigen anderer Formkategorien ab: *por*, *sof (sovъ)*, aber *srѡk*, *vѡľď*, *χѡcyš*. Offenbar war im Urslavischen die Tonbewegung eine etwas andere. A priori ist das gar nicht unwahrscheinlich, weil ja auch die Bedingungen, welche die Metatonie hervorriefen, andere waren.

In einigen Fällen stehen „nowoakutowa" und „nowocyrkumfleksowa" genetisch auf einer Linie: unter gleichen Bedingungen entstand aus altem Akut „nowocyrkumfleksowa" und aus altem Zirkumflexus „nowoakutowa". In andern Fällen, wo die „nowocyrkumfleksowa" durch einen Akut der folgenden Silbe hervorgerufen wurde, steht ihr bei den ursprünglich zirkumflektierten und kurzen Vokalen Akzentverschiebung nach dem Gesetze De Saussures gegenüber. Und wo eine ursprünglich vorhauptonige Silbe durch Akzentzurückziehung eine sekundäre Intonation bekommt, so ist dies ausnahmslos die „nowoakutowa".

Nur in éiner Sprache ist jedenfalls eine der beiden sekundären Intonationen als eine besondere, von den primären abweichende Intonation bewahrt geblieben, und zwar im Serbokroatischen, genauer: in gewissen čakavischen und posavischen Mundarten dieser Sprache, wo ein steigender Ton von einer besondern Qualität [1]) in denjenigen haupttonigen Silben vorliegt, für welche urslavische „nowoakutowa" anzunehmen ist. Dieses sogen. čakavische ′ hat uns den Schlüssel zum Verständnis der sekundären Intonationen in die Hand gegeben [2]). Eine Vergleichung der čakavischen Formen mit ′ mit den entsprechenden Formen anderer Sprachen hat uns gelehrt, wie die „nowoakutowa" in den einzelnen Slavinen auftritt. Bei einigen Formkategorien mit „nowoakutowa" liess sich dann auch eine parallele Metatonie des ursprünglichen Akutes konstatieren („nowocyrkumfleksowa"). Im Gegensatz zu den langen Vokalen hatten die kurzen im ältern Slavischen nur éine Intonation, welche sich den Akzentgesetzen gegenüber verhielt wie der Zirkumflexus. Im jüngern Urslavischen hat es daneben eine Art akutierter Kürze gegeben; das war schon längere Zeit bekannt; es geht aus dem nicht verschobenen Akzente von r. *vóľa*, skr. *vȍlja*, slov. *vǫ́lja* (das *ǫ́* weist auf alte Barytonierung hin) hervor, und auch aus dem nicht zurückgeworfenen Akzente von r. *na vóľu*, skr. *nà volju*, slov. *na vǫ́ljǫ* (: r. *ná vodu*, skr. *nȁ vodu*, slov.

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1) S. S. Ivšić, *Rad* CLXXXVII (1911), 147 ff., A. Belić, *Izvěstija* XIV (1909), 2, 204, *RS.* V (1912), 165.

2) S. A. Belić, *Južnoslovenski filolog* I (1913), 38 ff., *Akcenatske studije* I (1914), J. Rozwadowski, *Encyklopedya polska* II, (1915), 319, Verf, *AfslPh.* XXXVI (1916), 322.

na vǫdǫ). Aus jüngern Untersuchungen hat sich ergeben, dass in russischen Mundarten, u. a. in derjenigen von Lěka [1]), dieses akutierte *o* einen vom sonstigen *o* abweichenden, geschlosseneren oder diphthongischen Klang hat und dass es u. a. in denselben Fällen auftritt, wo zirkumflektierte Länge zu „nowoakutowa" geworden ist [2]). Lehr hat geglaubt, auf weissrussischem Boden die Spuren auch eines akutierten *e* nachweisen zu können, das hier wie ein diphthongisches oder geschlossenes *ė* auftreten soll [3]).

Über die Ursachen derjenigen Metatonie, durch welche die „nowoakutowa" und „nowocyrkumfleksowa" entstanden sind, hat Lehr-Spławiński eine Arbeit veröffentlicht [4]), worin er drei solche Ursachen annimmt: 1. das Vorhandensein eines Akuts in der folgenden Silbe, 2. die Nachbarschaft eines Halbvokales, 3. die Anhängung einer Enklitika und die dadurch erfolgte „ilościowo zredukowana wymowa enklitycznych form zaimkowych". In einer ausführlichen Besprechung dieser Lehrschen Arbeit habe ich eine in vielen Punkten abweichende Ansicht ausgesprochen [5]). Weil ich in dieser Schrift, welche den slavischen Betonungs- und Intonationsverhältnissen nur insofern gewidmet ist, als dieselben für das Verhältnis zum Baltischen wichtig sind, das Problem der jüngern slavischen Metatonie nicht allzu ausführlich besprechen will, verweise ich für eine genauere Erörterung des Pro und Contra der verschiedenen Ansichten auf die angeführte Literatur und begnüge mich mit einer Aufzählung der Formkategorien mit „nowoakutowa" und „nowocyrkumfleksowa" und mit einer kurzen Andeutung der Erklärung, welche mir am plausibelsten vorkommt.

1. Gen. Plur. auf slav. *-ā*: Mit „nowoakutowa": čak. *glâv*, *rúk*, *kós*, slov. *glâv*, *rǫ́k*, *kǫ́s*, č. *hláv*, *rúk*, *nóh*, poln. *głów*, *rąk*, ap. *koos*, russ. *golóv*, *ruk*, *kos* [6]), — mit „nowocyrkumfleksowa": čak. slov. *krâv*, *dêl*, č. *krav*, *děl*. Vermutlich wird hier die Metatonie mit der starken Reduktion des Auslautes (*-ōm̃* > *-ā*) zusammenhängen [7]), welche die Tonbewegung des ganzen Wortes beeinflusst haben wird. Einige Forscher haben geglaubt, dass jedes *-ā*, *-ъ* eine Metatonie hervorgerufen habe [8]), diese Ansicht ist aber meiner Meinung nach [9]) nicht haltbar. So dürfen wir für den Nomin. Akk. Sg. Mask. auf *-ā*, *-ъ* keine Metatonie annehmen, ebensowenig für den N.-A. Sg. Fem. auf *-ъ*. Wenn in čak. *drȁgóst*, štok. *svétōst*, č. *svátost*,

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1) Ein Verzeichnis der bisher bekannten Mundarten, welche diesen Laut kennen, gibt T. Lehr, *RS.* VIII (1918), 252 f.

2) S. oben S. 94, wo mitgeteilt wird, dass dieser von Šachmatov mit dem Zeichen *ω* bezeichnete Laut in nicht-anlautenden Silben der einzige Repräsentant des slav. *o* ist.

3) T. Lehr, *RS.* VIII (1918), 257.

4) T. Lehr-Spławiński, *O prasłowiańskiej metatonji* (1918).

5) Verf., *RS.* IX (1921), 78 ff. In demselben Hefte eine Arbeit Lehrs: *N. van Wijka najnowsze prace o akcencie słowiańskim* (S. 109 ff.).

6) Zum *o* (auch in Lěka; nicht *ω*) s. oben S. 96.

7) S. Verf., *Izvěstija* XX, 3 (1915), 32 ff.

8) S. Kul'bakin, *Izvěstija* XI, 4 (1906), 293 f., T. Lehr-Spławiński, *O prasłowiańskiej metatonji* (1918), S. 40 ff., jetzt auch F. Trávníček, *Listy filologické* XLVIII (1921), 104 ff.

9) Verf., *RS.* IX (1921), 94 ff.

ap. *świątość* eine „nowoakutowa" vorliegen sollte, so sind hier andere Bedingungen als das auslautende *-ъ* mit im Spiele gewesen [1]).

2. Das athematische Präsens. Čak. *dân, dâš, dâ; jîn, jîš, jî; povîn, povîš, povî* und die ihnen entsprechenden langvokalischen Formen des Slovenischen, Čechischen und Lechischen setzen „nowoakutowa" voraus, und diese kann kaum anders als durch metatonische Umlegung eines Zirkumflexus entstanden sein. Offenbar hat dabei der Halbvokal der Endung (*damъ* usw.) eine Rolle gespielt. Schwer zu beantworten ist die Frage, weshalb der Halbvokal hier anders gewirkt hat als etwa in *bogъ, suchъ, kostъ*. An eine ursprüngliche Betonung **damъ̀, *dasì, *dastъ̀*, welche uns gestatten würde die Intonationsverhältnisse dieser Formen ebenso aufzufassen wie diejenigen von *bobъ̀*, **korl'ъ̀* (s. sub 13), ist kaum zu denken. Auch kann der Ausgang *-si* der urslavischen 2. Ps. Sg. uns keine Deutung der Metatonie ermöglichen. Es bleibt nichts anderes übrig als einen alten Intonationsunterschied zwischen verbalen und nominalen Formen anzunehmen, wogegen prinzipiell kaum etwas einzuwenden ist [2]).

3. Gewisse Formen mit inlautendem Halbvokal und zwar Nomina auf *-ъkъ, -ьcь, -ъka* usw. Bei altem Akut tritt die „nowocyrkumfleksowa" klar hervor im Slovenischen: *dẽdьk, brâtьc, lisîčka* usw., während auch die Kürze von č. *dědek, kravka* u. dgl. und der an seiner Stelle gebliebene Akzent von slz. *dø̀bãtk* u. dgl. diese selbe Intonation voraussetzen. „Nowoakutowa" liegt in Formen wie skr. *glâvka* (čak. *glávka*), r. *golóvka*, č. *hlávka*, poln. *główka, rączka* vor [3]). Es versteht sich, dass *-ъkъ, -ьcь, -ъka* usw. die Tonbewegung der Wörter auf eine andere Weise beeinflussen mussten als einfacher auslautender Halbvokal.

4. Nomina auf *-ьja, -ьje*. Mit „nowocyrkumfleksowa" aus altem Akut: slov. *brâtja* (= čak. štok. *brȁća*, r. *brátьja*, poln. *bracá*); posav. *zdrâvl'e*, slov. *zdrâvje* (= č. *zdraví*, poln. *zdrowie*, r. *zdoróvьe*), — mit „nowoakutowa" aus altem Zirkumflexus etwa čak. *píće, prútjī*, slov. *lístjė, prȩ́tjė*, č. *kvítí, mládí*. Der nicht genügend erklärte Wechsel des Hauptakzentes (čak. *pȉće*, slov. *listjẹ́*, r. *dubvë*, č. *dubí* usw.) geht uns jetzt nicht an. Diese Kategorie hat mit der vorhergehenden und den beiden folgenden gemeinsam, dass die Metatonie vor einem ursprünglich zweisilbigen Suffixe eingetreten ist. Es würde aber schwer sein, für all diese Fälle eine gemeinschaftliche Formel zu finden.

5. Einige zweisilbige Endungen auf *-ъ* und zwar der Gen. Pl. auf *-ovъ*, der Dat. Plur. auf *-omъ, -amъ*, der Lok. Plur. auf *-ěchъ, -achъ* und die Präsensformen auf *-ešь (-eši), -etъ, -emъ, (-ete), -ǫtъ; -išь (-iši), -itъ* usw. Dass *-ovъ* „nowoakutowa" hat, versteht sich vonselber, weil ja vor dem *-ъ* des Gen. Plur. jeder zirkumflektierte oder kurze Vokal „nowoakutowa" bekommt. Diese „nowoakutowa" zieht den Akzent

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1) S. *RS.* IX, 98 f.

2) Vgl. den Abschnitt über „relative Tonlage" (§ 663—668) bei E. Sievers, *Grundzüge der Phonetik*[5] (1901).

3) T. Lehr-Spławiński, *O prasłowiańskiej metatonji* (1918), S. 26, zitiert auch Oxytona wie skr. *zúbac*, sl. *gólьc*, r. *zubéc*, wobei er bemerkt, dass Formen mit ursprünglichem Zirkumflex der Wurzelsilbe „często przerzucają akcent na sufiks." Kann aber die Oxytonierung hier nicht alt sein?

heran, wenn ein kurzer oder zirkumflektierter Vokal vorangeht: r. *bogóv*, *dubóv*, skr. *bògōvā*, *dúbōvā*, slov. *bogọ̑v*, *bregọ̑v*, slz. *gløsȍų*, *břegȍų*; ein vorhergehender Akut wird in „nowocyrkumfleksowa" geändert: slov. *obrȃzov*, slz. *vøbrȁzȍų*. Ähnliche Verhältnisse liegen bei den Dativen auf *-mъ* und den Lokativen auf *-χъ* vor; im Russischen, Slovenischen und Slovinzischen stimmt ihre Betonung mit derjenigen des Genitivs überein und zwar sowohl wenn der alte Vokalismus *-omъ*, *-ěchъ* beibehalten ist als wenn diese Endungen durch *-amъ*, *-achъ* ersetzt sind. Für das Material verweise ich auf Lehr-Spławiński [1]). — Sehr interessant sind die Präsensformen der *e/o-* und der *i*-Klasse. Bei den ursprünglich auf dem *i* betonten *i*-Verba und denjenigen *e/o*-Verba, welche vor dem *e/o* ursprünglich zwei Konsonanten hatten, hat die 1. Ps. Sg. eine andere Betonung als die weitern Personen, zu der 1. Ps. Sg. stimmt der Imper., z. B.: r. *češú*, *češí* (skr. *čèši*): *čéšeš; v'ažú*, *v'ažý* (skr. *véži*): *v'úžeš; tonú*, *toní* (skr. *tòni*): *tóneš; t'anú*, *t'aní* (skr. *tégni*): *t'úneš* [2]). Für die 2. Ps. Sg. und die weitern Personen des Indikativs gilt, abgesehen von den bereits erwähnten Kategorien, die Regel, dass von kurzer oder zirkumflektierter Wurzelsilbe der Akzent auf die Ausgänge tritt, während alter Akut in „nowocyrkumfleksowa" übergeht. Bei den Typen *čéšeš*, *v'úžeš*, *tóneš*, *t'úneš* hat die Wurzelsilbe eine „nowoakutowa", welche an der alten Stelle bleibt. Z. B.:

a. r. *pletëš*, *trasëš*, čak. *pletèš*, *trēsèš*, slov. *pletèš*, *tresèš*, č. *třeseš*, slz. *třąsěš;* r. *gostíš*, čak. slov. *gostíš.*

b. čak. *vêneš*, *krîješ*, aber *bûdeš*, slov. *bọ̑deš*, *krîješ*, č. *budeš*, *kryješ*, slz. *bȍųděš*, aber *krãjěš;* slov. *bâviš*, č. *bavíš.* Im Slovinzischen liegen wohl zwei verschiedene Vertretungen der „nowocyrkumfleksowa" vor, was vollständig den serbokroatischen Verhältnissen entspricht und vielleicht aus einem bereits urslavischen Unterschiede zwischen den einzelnen Fällen von „nowocyrkumfleksowa" zu erklären ist [3]). Slz. *bȍųdą*, *lêzą* haben wohl Langstufe nach den übrigen Personen; die lautgesetzliche Kurzstufe liegt noch im Imperativ vor: *bą̃zä*, *lązä* [4]). Russ. *búdeš*, *króješ* usw. sind für die Bestimmung der Intonation ohne Belang.

c. čak. *ȍčeš*, *vézeš*, *tȍneš*, *tégneš*, slov. *họ́češ*, *vẹ́žeš*, *tọ́neš*, *s-tẹ́gneš*, r. *chóčeš* (Lěka *chwcyš*), *v'úžeš*, *tóneš* (Lěka *twnet*), *t'úneš*, č. *kůleš* [5]), *vážeš*, *táhneš*, poln. *wiązesz*, *ciągniesz.*

Die Akzentverschiebung in Klasse *a* hat auch in der 1. Ps. Sg. stattgefunden, und zwar in einer frühern Periode als in den übrigen Personen; das glaube ich in frühern Arbeiten an der Hand des Materiales von Klasse *c* dargetan zu haben [6]). Lehr möchte für Klasse *b* auch eine 1. Ps. Sg. mit „nowocyrkumfleksowa" annehmen [7]). In meiner Besprechung von Lehrs Arbeit „O prasłowiańskiej metatonji" glaube ich aber nachgewiesen zu haben, dass Lehr sich von dem Einfluss des Akuts auf einen

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1) T. Lehr-Spławiński, *O prasłowiańskiej metatonji* (1918), S. 21—23.

2) Die Indikativformen zitiere ich bloss aus dem Russischen, weil das Serbokroatische die 1. Ps. Sg. auf *-u* < *-ų* verloren hat. S. weiter sub 12 und über die Klasse von *nósiš*, *molótiš* s. sub 14*c*.

3) S. auch S. 95 f.

4) S. Verf., *RS.* IX (1921), 107.

5) S. Verf., *AfslPh.* XXXVI (1916), 347.

6) *AfslPh.* XXXVI, 373 f., *RS.* IX, 103 ff.

7) T. Lehr-Spławiński, *O prasłowiańskiej metatonji* (1918), S. 11.

vorhergehenden Akut eine übertriebene Vorstellung gemacht hat und dass, wenigstens in zweisilbigen Wörtern, bei den wichtigen Kategorien des Infinitivs auf *-ti*, des Nomin. Sg. F. auf *-a* (abgesehen von speziellen Fällen wie slov. *znâla*), des N.-A. Sg. N. auf *-ę*, der 1. Ps. Sg. auf *-ǫ*, der 2. Pers. Imp. auf *-i* dieser Einfluss nicht zu spüren ist [1]). Zwar ist es sehr wahrscheinlich, dass Akut vor Akut im Urslavischen etwas anders intoniert wurde als vor Zirkumflexus oder vor Kürze oder am Wortende, der Unterschied war aber nicht so gross, dass er in den jetzigen slavischen Sprachen noch zu spüren wäre.

6. Der Instrum. Sg. auf *-ojǫ*. Auch diese Endung hat eine Art Akutus erhalten, welcher den Akzent einer vorhergehenden kurzen oder zirkumflektierten Silbe heranzog und vor welchem ein Akutus in „nowocyrkumfleksowa" überging:

a. r. *rukój(u)*, *zemlëj(u)*, čak. *rūkún*, *zeml'ún*, slov. *rokǫ́*, *zemljǫ́*, slz. *rąkǫ́*, *zemjǫ́*,

b. slov. *lípo* (: N. Sg. *lípa*), č. *lipou* (: *lípa*), slz. *løpātòų* (: *lùǫpată*).

7. Gewisse Nominative Sg. auf *-a*. Zirkumflexus und Kürze treten ihren Akzent der folgenden Silbe ab, Akut wird bisweilen zu „nowocyrkumfleksowa", hauptsächlich bei mehr als zweisilbigen Wörtern: slov. *zabâva*, č. *pověra* (: *víra*), slz. *zābāvă*. Im Slovinzischen beweist bekanntlich der nicht zurückgezogene Akzent die „nowocyrkumfleksowa"; für zweisilbige Formen, wo jede Akzentzurückziehung ausgeschlossen war, bietet uns diese Sprache kein ausschlaggebendes Material, das Čechische (*víra*) und das Slovenische (*vę́ra*) zeigen uns aber deutlich, das hier der slavische Akut nicht so stark modifiziert war, dass es jetzt noch konstatierbar wäre; in der Praxis dürfen wir also von einem unveränderten Akut reden. Nur in éinem Falle können wir in zweisilbigen Formen eine „nowocyrkumfleksowa" konstatieren, und zwar bei slovenischen Partizipialformen wie *znâla*, *gnâla*. Bei dieser Formkategorie bleiben auch sonst noch Rätsel zu lösen; schon in einer frühern Arbeit [2]) wies ich auf den unerklärten, sowohl im Slovenischen wie im Slovinzischen vorhandenen Gegensatz zwischen den *ě*-Verba und den *a*-, *ova*- und *i*-Verba hin: slov. *zelenę́la*, *letę́la* : *drę̑mâla*, *kupovâla*, *hvalîla*, slz. *stāřă*, *sìęʒă* : *třīmă*, *darøvă*, *čińīlă*.

8. Der Nom.-Akk. Plur Neutr. auf *-a*. Hier tritt von zirkumflektierter und kurzer Stammsilbe der Akzent auf die Endung: r. *derevá*, *pol'á*, skr. *drijèva*, *pòlja*; daneben auch Formen wie r. *ozëra* (neben *ozerá*; Sg. *ózero*), slz. *jezìøră*, čak. *jelîta* (Sg. *jèlito*). Akut geht in „nowocyrkumfleksowa" über: slov. *kopîta*, *dêla*, slz. *køpātă*. Dass hier die „nowocyrkumfleksowa" im Gegensatz zu den Nominativen Sg. auf *-a* auch in zweisilbigen Formen vorliegt, das hängt gewiss mit dem Quantitäts- bezw. Tonbewegungsunterschied zwischen den Endungen zusammen, welcher aus der Länge des *-a* des N.-A. Pl. N. im Čakavischen, Posavischen und Slovakischen hervorgeht [3]). Diese eigenartige Aussprache des *-a* hat auch

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1) Verf., *RS.* IX (1921), 90 ff., 107. 2) Verf., *aaO.*, 93.

3) S. Verf., *RS.* IX (1921), 81. Anders über das slovak. *-á* T. Torbiörnsson, *Die slovakische Vokalbalance und die Endung -a : -ā des Nom.-Ack. Plur. Neutr.* (1921) [aus: *Språkvetenskapliga Sällskapets i Uppsala Förhandlingar 1919—1921*].

die Akzentzurückziehung bei den alten Oxytona bewirkt, von welcher sub 14*a* die Rede sein wird.

9. Der Lokativ Sg. auf *-i* und *-u*. Bekanntlich sind diese Formen sehr oft endbetont: r. *sadú*, *kostí*; ähnliche Formen auch ausserhalb des Russischen. Dies ist die lautgesetzliche Betonung bei zirkumflektierter oder kurzer Wurzelsilbe [1]). Bei akutierter Wurzelsilbe tritt „nowocyrkumfleksowa" auf: slov. *obrâzu*, *orȇhu*, slz. *dǫklàdü*, *čelázï*. Diese Intonation wird sich wohl wie sub 7 auf die mehrsilbigen Wörter beschränken.

10. Einige zweisilbige Endungen mit zwei Akuten, deren erster in „nowocyrkumfleksowa" übergeht, und zwar die Instrumentalausgänge *-a-ma*, *-a-mi* und die dualischen Imperativendungen *-i-va*, *-i-ta*, welchen die Pluralformen sich angeschlossen haben: slov. *nogâma*, *glavâma; nogâmi*, *glavâmi; nesîva*, *hvalîva*, slovz. *ńesi͡ǘmȁ*, *χvali͡ǘmȁ*. Die Wortgestalt ist hier eine ähnliche wie bei den dreisilbigen Formen sub 7.

11. Die bestimmten Adjektivformen. Sowohl bei zirkumflektierter und kurzer wie bei akutierter Wurzelsilbe kommt Metatonie vor. Im ersten Falle entsteht „nowoakutowa", im zweiten „nowocyrkumfleksowa". Z. B.:

a. r. dial. *molódyj*, skr. *mlâdī*, čak. *mládī*, č. *skoupý*, poln. *skąpy*, slz. *skǫ́pï; r. nóvyj*, Lěka *nəvȁj*, čak. *bȍsī*, slov. *nǫ̑vi*, slz. *bùǫsï*. Daneben der oxytonierte Typus, mit Akzentverschiebung nach dem Gesetze De Saussures: r. *svjatój*, skr. *svètī*, č. *svatý*, poln. *święty*, slz. *sejątï; r. bosój*, čak. *novî*, slz. *nǫvî*,

b. skr. *stârī*, slov. *stâri*, slz. *stȃrï*. In den meisten serbokroatischen Mundarten, auch den čakavischen, kommt der Zirkumflexus nur bei wenigen Adjektiven vor, Belić hat aber in der Mundart von Kastav eine viel grössere Anzahl solcher Formen gefunden: *dûgī*, *mîlī*, *pûnī*, *sîtī* usw. Schwer zu lösen ist die Frage, ob der Gegensatz allg.-skr. *dȕgī* : Kastav *dûgī* auf einer verschiedenen Vertretung der „nowocyrkumfleksowa" beruht; eine andere Möglichkeit ist diese, dass *dȕgī* einen einfachen Akut hat, welcher dann wohl der Analogie der unbestimmten Form zuzuschreiben wäre [2]).

Die Ursache der bei den bestimmten Adjektivformen eingetretenen Metatonie wird in der Tonbewegung des Auslautes *-ōi*, vielleicht auch des Auslautes anderer Kasus des Paradigmas zu suchen sein. Obgleich das čakavische *-ī* zirkumflektiert ist, möchte ich die Intonation von slav. *-ōi* „nowoakutowa" nennen: man beachte den allgemein-slavischen oxytonierten Typus r. *svjatój* usw. Freilich wird im Urslavischen (wo *-ōi* noch zweisilbig gewesen sein wird) die Tonbewegung eine etwas andere gewesen sein als etwa in *rǫ́kō* (G. Pl.; čak. *rúk*) oder *dělá* (N.-A. Pl. N.; čak. posav. slovak. *-á*). Diese selbe Tonbewegung hat die Zurückwerfung des Akzentes in *bě̋lōi* usw. bewirkt, s. sub 14*b*.

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1) S. Verf., *IF.* XL (1922), 3—5, 31.

2) Über die Intonationen der Adjektivformen s. A. Belić, *Južnoslov. filolog* I (1913), 38 ff., *Akcenatske studije* I (1914) und die Rezensionen dieses Buches von J. Endzelin, *Russkij filol. Věstnik* LXXV (1916), 296 ff. und von mir, *IS.* VIII (1918), 171 ff. Über slz. *mȗǫlï*, *stȃǫrï* usw. s. daselbst S. 180 f.

12. Gewisse Formkategorien mit inlautenden Gruppen von zwei Konsonanten: Nomina auf Kons. + *-jā* [1]), — Präsentia auf Kons. + *-ješ(i)* usw. und auf Kons. + *-neš(i)* usw. Hier liegen „nowoakutowa" und „nowocyrkumfleksowa" vor.

a. r. *goróža*, *vól'a*, Lěka *wol'ă*, čak. *grája*, *vȍlja*, slov. *grája*, *vǫ́lja*, č. *hrúze*, *vůle*, poln. *gródza*, — und mit „nowocyrkumfleksowa" aus altem Akut: slov. *krâja* (= r. *kráža*),

b. r. *v'ážeš*, *kóleš* (in Lěka mit *ω*), čak. *vézeš*, *kȍlješ*, slov. *vę́zeš*, *kǫ́lješ*, č. *vážeš*, *kůleš*, poln. *wiążesz*, — mit „nowocyrkumfleksowa": čak. *mâžeš*, slov. *mâžeš*, č. *mažeš*, slz. *mãžēš*.

c. r. *t'áneš*, *tóneš* (in Lěka mit *ω*), čak. *tégneš*, *tȍneš*, slov. *tę́gneš*, *tǫ́neš*, č. *táhneš*, poln. *ciągniesz*, — anderseits mit „nowocyrkumfleksowa": čak. *vênеš*, slov. *vę̂neš*, č. *vadneš*, poln. *więdniesz*.

In diesen Kategorien hängt die Metatonie wohl mit der Konsonantengruppe, die auf den Vokal folgt, zusammen. In einer frühern Arbeit habe ich die Vermutung ausgesprochen, dass die Verlegung der Silbengrenze innerhalb der Konsonantengruppe der direkte Anlass zur Metatonie gewesen ist, und vor kurzem habe ich Lehr-Spławiński gegenüber diese Ansicht abermals verteidigt [2]). Ich halte sie auch jetzt noch für richtig.

13. Der Nom.-Akk. Sg. oxytonierter männlicher *o*-Stämme. Dieser Kasus hat „nowoakutowa": čak. *bél*, slov. *bę́t;* čak. *králj*, slov. *králj*, č. *král*, poln. *król*, *kąt;* čak. *mój*, slov. *mǫ́j*, č. *můj*, r. dial. *mωj;* čak. *dvór*, slov. *dvȍr*, č. *dvůr*, r. dial. *dvωr*. Die Akzentzurückziehung dürfte urslavisch, also älter als der Schwund des auslautenden Halbvokales sein. Die starke Schwächung des Halbvokales wird die Betonungsänderung bewirkt haben.

14. Andere Kategorien mit zurückgezogenem Akzente. Auch hier liegt „nowoakutowa" vor. Diese Kategorien sind:

a. der N.-A. Plur. oxytonierter Neutra, z. B.: čak. *kríla* (: Sg. *krīlȍ*), *sȅla*, slov. *ǫ́kna*, r. *dolóta*, *sëla*, Lěka *ωknă*,

b. die bestimmte Form der oxytonierten Adjektive: čak. *bélī*, *dȍbrī*, slov. *bę́li*, *dǫ́bri* [3]), r. *bělyj*, *dóbryj*, Lěka *gωlăj*, *dωbrăj*, č. *bílý*, poln. *biały*,

c. die Präsensflexion der ursprünglich auf dem *i* betonten *i*-Verba von der 2. Ps. Sg. an: čak. *mlátīš*, *nȍsīš*, slov. *mlátiš*, *nǫ́siš*, r. *molótiš*, *nósiš*, Lěka *nωsiš*, č. *mlátíš*, poln. *młócisz*.

Diese Formkategorien kennen Endbetonung bloss bei ursprünglichen Barytona, infolge der Wirkung von De Saussures Gesetz; die Endungen haben dann „nowoakutowa", besser: verschiedene Arten von „nowoakutowa" [4]). Die Akzentzurückziehung muss irgendwie mit der Tonbewegung der Ausgänge zusammenhängen [5]).

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1) Ebenso männliche Nomina wie skr. *vȍd'* und sächliche wie slov. *lǫ́že*.

2) S. Verf., *AfslPh.* XXXVI (1916), 368 ff., T. Lehr-Spławiński, *O prasłowiańskiej metatonji*, S. 30 f., Verf., *RS.* IX (1921), 103 ff.

3) S. T. Lehr-Spławiński, *RS.* IX (1921), 117. *Gǫ́li* wird, wie Lehr annimmt, einen durch Analogie hervorgerufenen Zirkumflexus haben.

4) Der Zirkumflexus von čak. *novî* steht in einem gewissen Gegensatz zu dem Akutus von *nebesá*, *brimená* und *gostíš*, *krīčíš*. S. S. 101 sub 11.

5) Eingehend hat T. Lehr-Spławiński diese Frage *RS.* IX (1921), 113 ff. behandelt.

15. Das *a*-Präsens. Bei denjenigen Zeitwörtern vom Typus *stǫpati*, *stǫpajǫ*, deren Infinitiv nach dem Gesetze De Saussures *-àti* betont, hat das Präsens von der 2. Ps. Sg. an „nowoakutowa" der Wurzelsilbe. Nur das Russische, wo *-aje-* nicht zusammengezogen wird, betont *stupáju*, *stupáješ* usw., aber die kleinrussische Mundart von Ublya, welche *a* aus *aje* hat, betont *byváju*, *bývaš* [1]). Ebenso čak. *stúpaš*, slov. *stǫ́paš*, č. *stoupáš*, poln. *stąpasz*. Von diesen Formen war bereits die Rede [2]); hier hat ebenso wie bei *nosiš(i)* usw. die Tonbewegung der Ausgänge eine Rolle gespielt.

Wenn wir diese 15 Kategorien überblicken, so ist es möglich, einige allgemeine Bedingungen ausfindig zu machen, welche die Metatonie hervorgerufen oder jedenfalls gefördert haben. Solche Bedingungen sind:

1. die Position vor einem Halbvokal, — aber abgesehen von Klasse 1, wo der Halbvokal im Urslavischen eine eigenartige Tonbewegung gehabt haben dürfte, und von Klasse 2, wo wir über Vermutungen nicht hinauskommen, hat offenbar der unbetonte auslautende Halbvokal zweisilbiger Wortformen keinen jetzt noch wahrnehmbaren Einfluss auf die Intonation der vorhergehenden Silbe gehabt. Vor dem ursprünglich betonten *-ъ*, *-ь* dagegen tritt der zurückgeworfene Akzent auch in zweisilbigen Formen als „nowoakutowa" auf (Nr. 13). Sonst wirkt der Halbvokal bloss in zweisilbigen Ausgängen modifizierend auf die Tonbewegung (Nr. 3, 4, 5, 11).

2. die Stellung vor einem Akut. Vor gewöhnlichem Akute findet die Metatonie bloss in mehr als zweisilbigen Formen statt (Nr. 7, 9, 10).

3. die Stellung vor auslautender „nowoakutowa", auch in zweisilbigen Formen (Nr. 8). Hierher rechne ich auch die zweisilbige Instrumentalendung *-ojǫ*, welche eine Art Akut erhalten hat, der den Akzent heranzieht, wenn Kürze oder Zirkumflex vorangeht, sonst Metatonie bewirkt (Nr. 6). Die zweisilbigen Ausgänge, welche auf Halbvokal ausgehen, inclusive die bestimmten Adjektive auf *-ъi* < *-ъjь* wurden sub 1 genannt, sie lassen sich aber von den Fällen mit „nowoakutowa" der Endung kaum trennen, weil ja auch in diesen Fällen eine sekundäre akutartige Intonation entstanden ist.

4. das Vorhandensein einer Gruppe von Kons. + *j* oder Kons. + *n* (Nr. 12).

5. eine Änderung der Tonbewegung nach der Haupttonsilbe (Nr. 15).

6. Akzentzurückziehung (Nr. 14).

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1) S. O. Broch, *AfslPh.* XVII (1895), 404, *Ugorusskoe narěčie sela Ubli* (1900), S. 106.
2) § 15.

ERGEBNISSE.

§ 49. Wir sind am Ende unserer Untersuchung. Wir haben diejenigen Intonations- und Betonungsprobleme besprochen, welche für die Beantwortung der in der Einleitung gestellten Frage, inwiefern die baltischen und slavischen Intonations- und Akzenterscheinungen für die Annahme einer baltisch-slavischen Periode sprechen, am wichtigsten sind. Es erübrigt nur noch, die Ergebnisse zusammenzustellen.

Das Kapittel über die Akzent- und Tonbewegung der baltischen und slavischen Sprachen steuert für die Lösung der baltisch-slavischen Verwandtschaftsfrage sehr wenig bei. Eine Vergleichung der litauischen Intonationen mit den lettischen und altpreussischen führte uns zur Annahme eines fallenden baltischen Zirkumflexes und eines steigenden Akutes [1]), und für das Urslavische sind ähnliche Verhältnisse anzunehmen. Diese Übereinstimmung ist aber kaum als eine Errungenschaft einer baltisch-slavischen Periode zu betrachten, vielmehr ist die baltische und slavische Tonbewegung aus der indogermanischen Grundsprache ererbt.

Das Kapittel über den Platz des Wortakzentes war hauptsächlich zwei Betonungsgesetzen gewidmet, welche mehrere Forscher für baltisch-slavisch gehalten haben, und zwar dem sogenannten Gesetze De Saussures und dem auf verschiedene Weisen formulierten Gesetze, nach welchem unter gewissen Bedingungen der Akzent auf eine akutierte Silbe zurückgezogen sei. Das De Saussuresche Gesetz hat ohne jeden Zweifel sowohl auf slavischem wie auf baltischem Boden gewirkt; die Übereinstimmung ist so merkwürdig, dass man geneigt ist, ohne eine eingehendere Untersuchung das Gesetz einfach für baltoslavisch zu halten, — aber bei einer nähern Prüfung zeigt sich die Unhaltbarkeit dieser Annahme. Wir haben es mit blossem Parallelismus zu tun, ein direkter Zusammenhang zwischen dem baltischen und dem slavischen Gesetze ist nicht plausibel zu machen. Und das Zurückziehungsgesetz kann höchstens ein paar Wörter erklären, deren Betonung in den baltischen und slavischen Sprachen von der aus andern Sprachen bekannten Betonung abweicht: lit. *dúmai*, skr. *dȇm* usw. Die Anzahl dieser Fälle ist aber so gering, dass auch die Annahme von idg. Dubletten oder von nicht lautgesetzlicher Entwicklung plausibel wäre [2]). Auch das mutmassliche Akzentzurückziehungsgesetz hat also für das „baltoslavische Problem" einen geringen Wert. Nur wenn andere Tatsachen eine baltoslavische Periode wahrscheinlich machten, so könnte

1) Leider ist für so weit zurückliegende Perioden eine irgendwie genaue Bestimmung der Tonbewegung unmöglich.

2) S. S. 59 f.

man vermutungsweise für lit. *dúmai*, skr. *dîm* u. dgl. ein, wenn auch nicht genau formulierbares, baltoslavisches Betonungsgesetz annehmen.

Es fragt sich nun also: begegneten wir bei unserer Untersuchung solchen Erscheinungen, welche sicher oder wahrscheinlich urbaltoslavischen Ursprunges sind?

In § 21 ergab sich uns für die thematischen Präsentia und für die zu *ā*-Infinitiven gehörigen *i*-Präsentia eine sowohl frühurbaltische wie frühurslavische Stammbetonung. Die Annahme baltoslavischen Ursprunges dieser Betonung liegt nahe und die Möglichkeit eines solchen Ursprunges möchte ich nicht leugnen. Sicherheit haben wir aber nicht, und zumal wenn Hirts Annahme eines idg. Nebenakzentes auf der Stammsilbe enklitischer Verbalformen richtig ist, so würde die Durchführung der Stammbetonung sehr gut auf zwei Sprachgebieten unabhängig voneinander stattgefunden haben konnen.

Einige male (§ 25 und § 28) wurde auf die sowohl litauische wie slavische Akzentzurückziehung im Nom. Plur. der *ā*-Stämme aufmerksam gemacht: r. *žëny*, lit. *gálvos*, wobei ich die Möglichkeit baltoslavischer Zurückziehung hervorhob. Mehr als eine Möglichkeit ist es aber nicht; die Wahrscheinlichkeit einer gemeinschaftlichen Entwicklung der Barytonesis wäre grösser, wenn in den beiden Sprachzweigen nur dieser éine Kasus den Stamm betonte und die andern Kasus der alten Oxytona auf *-ā* sowohl im Baltischen wie im Slavischen ihre alte Betonung bewahrten. Das ist aber nicht der Fall. Im Litauischen gibt es mehrere barytonierte Kasus und für die Betonung all dieser Kasus inclusive Nomin. Plur. hat bereits De Saussure richtigerweise eine einheitliche Deutung versucht; — dieses Prinzip ist sehr einleuchtend [1]). Und für das Slavische ist neben dem oxytonierten Paradigma (*žena*) mit Akzentzurückziehung in bloss éinem Kasus ein barytoniertes Paradigma anzunehmen, das in sehr vielen Fällen offenbar auf ein älteres oxytoniertes Paradigma zurückgeht (§ 27, 28). Sollen wir nun annehmen, dass im Baltoslavischen der N. Pl. Anfangbetonung erhalten hat und dass dann später auf slavischem Boden andere Kasus gefolgt sind? Dann bleibt der Gegensatz r. *ženú*, *žëny*: *gólovu*, *gólovy* unerklärt. Dieser Gegensatz ist weniger düster, wenn wir für *žëny* eine junge Akzentzurückziehung annehmen, welche erst stattfand, als **golva*, *zima* bereits Barytona waren.

Eine merkwürdige Übereinstimmung zwischen Litauisch und Slavisch ist weiter die zirkumflektierte Intonation der Akkusativendung idg. *-ām*: lit. *rañką*, s. *rûku*. Wenn das Slavische sonst ebenso treu wie das Litauische die idg. Auslautsintonationen bewahrt hätte, so wäre gemeinschaftliche Entwicklung dieses Zirkumflexes sehr wahrscheinlich. Aber im Slavischen gibt es soviele unerklärte Abweichungen von dem Idg. und Lit., dass *rûku* als eine slavische Neuerung kaum auffallen würde [2]). Lit. *rañką* ist um so auffälliger; mit der Möglichkeit einer baltoslavischen Intonationsänderung ist unbedingt zu rechnen.

Bei lit. *sùko*, *ėmė*, s. (Ozrinići) *pîta*, *žîvje* (§ 21) kann der Zirkumflex

1) S. den Anfang von § 22 und auch § 24.
2) S. S. 66 Fussn. 4.

der Endung indogermanischen Ursprunges sein (vgl. gr. βῆ); freilich wäre bei dieser Kategorie ein idg. Zirkumflex sehr auffällig, weshalb der Gedanke an baltoslavischen Ursprung desselben aufkommen kann. Ein solcher Gedanke ist aber allzu schwach begründet.

Die Ergebnisse unseres Kapittels über den Ursprung der Silbenintonationen scheinen für die Annahme einer baltisch-slavischen Periode zu sprechen, jedenfalls bei einer oberflächlichen Betrachtung. Die Hauptergebnisse dieses Kapittels sind diese: Im Indogermanischen haben zwei Intonationen auslautender langer Silben bestanden, welche im Litauischen bis auf heute treu auseinander gehalten werden. Im jüngern Urslavischen war das bereits nicht mehr der Fall, aber im ältern Urslavischen werden gewiss ähnliche Verhältnisse wie im Litauischen vorhanden gewesen sein: der indogermanische Unterschied zwischen akutierten und zirkumflektierten Endsilben wird ja kaum vor der ältern urslavischen Periode in dem idg. Dialekte, woraus das Slavische hervorging, aufgegeben sein. Nun sind mit diesen Auslautsintonationen sowohl im Baltischen wie im Slavischen zwei Inlautsintonationen zusammengefallen, und, obgleich die ursprünglichen Verhältnisse in den beiden Sprachzweigen, am meisten aber im Slavischen, durch Metatonie getrübt sind, war offenbar in einer ältern Periode die Verteilung der zwei Intonationen auf den beiden Sprachgebieten genau dieselbe, indem idg. langer Monophthong, Langdiphthong und lange nasalis oder liquida sonans Akut hatten, Kurzdiphthong und kurze nas. oder liq. son. Zirkumflex, während auch kurzer Monophthong eine zirkumflexartige Tonbewegung bekommen hatte. Was die Gruppen *oro* u. dgl. anbetrifft, welche in den beiden Sprachzweigen Akut haben, hier ist die Entwicklung offenbar jünger und es ist bloss Parallelismus, kein engerer Zusammenhang anzunehmen. Die übrigen Übereinstimmungen zwischen Baltisch und Slavisch sind aber so auffällig, dass man geneigt ist an eine gemeinschaftliche baltoslavische Entwicklung zu denken. Ich sehe keine Berechtigung eine solche Hypothese ohne Weiteres abzulehnen, möchte aber doch auf die Möglichkkeit hinweisen, dass bereits in der indogermanischen Periode *ā* usw., *ār* usw., *r̄* usw. nicht bloss durch ihre Quantität, sondern auch durch ihre Intonation sich von *ā́* usw., *ar* usw., *r̥* usw. unterschieden haben könnten; dann wäre der Unterschied *ā́r* : *ār̃* usw. viel älter als die baltoslavische Zeit.

Am allerwichtigsten scheinen mir solche dem Baltischen und Slavischen gemeinschaftlichen Metatoniefälle wie lit. *bū́ti* : *būtų*, slov. *bíti* : *bȋt*. Obgleich hier mit der Möglichkeit einer erst slavischen Akzentzurückziehung zu rechnen ist, welche den Zirkumflex des Supinums hervorgerufen hätte, halte ich eine solche Auffassung für wenig wahrscheinlich [1]). Dann ist aber die Übereinstimmung zwischen Baltisch und Slavisch so merkwürdig, dass direkter Zusammenhang als sehr wahrscheinlich zu betrachten ist; ich möchte hier eine baltoslavische Metatonie annehmen.

Eine solche Annahme ist um so plausibeler, wenn wir daran denken, wie wahrscheinlich eine, wenn auch kurze, baltoslavische Periode a priori ist; sogar Meillet hat das zugestanden [2]). Die Abweichungen zwischen

1) S. S. 90 ff. 2) S. S. 2 f. mit Fussnote 2 auf S. 3.

den Akzent- und Intonationssystemen der beiden Sprachzweige sind so gross, dass an eine gemeinschaftliche Entwicklungsperiode von langer Dauer kaum gedacht werden darf. Dass eine solche Periode aber vollständig zu leugnen sei, dagegen spricht ausser ihrer Wahrscheinlichkeit a priori auch eine so merkwürdige Übereinstimmung wie diejenige der zirkumflektierten Supina der beiden Sprachzweige. Ich entscheide nicht, welche von den in diesem § genannten Erscheinungen in die baltoslavische Periode zu verlegen sind, die Periode selber werden wir aber anerkennen müssen, und jedenfalls dürfte der Zirkumflex des *-tu*-Stammes, der im Supinum vorliegt, eine Errungenschaft dieser Periode sein.

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TWEE OUDE FRANSCHE VERHANDELINGEN OVER HET HINDOEÏSME

UITGEGEVEN EN TOEGELICHT

DOOR

W. CALAND

VERHANDELINGEN DER KONINKLIJKE AKADEMIE
VAN WETENSCHAPPEN TE AMSTERDAM
AFDEELING LETTERKUNDE
NIEUWE REEKS, DEEL XXIII, No. 3

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VAN WETENSCHAPPEN TE AMSTERDAM 1923

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INLEIDING

In het jaar 1915 werd als laatste van een drietal oude Portugeesche Verhandelingen over het Hindoeïsme door mij heruitgegeven en toegelicht een in het Nederlandsch uit het Fransch vertaalde en voor 't eerst in 1723 gedrukte tekst. Eerst later kon ik den titel vaststellen van de Portugeesche verhandeling, waarop de Fransche „dissertation" berust, en een antwoord trachten te geven op de vraag, wie de auteur dezer verhandeling is geweest. Sedert dien tijd zijn er twee uiterst belangrijke opstellen van de hand van Prof. Zachariae verschenen, waarin hij o.a. licht verspreidt over deze verhandeling, zoowel wat betreft hare geschiedenis als haar inhoud [1]). Hij bewijst, dat de oorspronkelijke tekst veel omvangrijker moet geweest zijn dan wat de in 1723 verschenen boven genoemde Fransche Dissertation geeft: dat ze zeven hoofdstukken moet hebben omvat. Terwijl nu Zachariae niet in de gelegenheid geweest is, de in Frankrijk aanwezige handschriften der Fransche oorspronkelijke bewerking te raadplegen, doch slechts brokstukken er van, door Jacquet in *l'Inde française* en elders medegedeeld, gekend heeft, ben ik zoo gelukkig geweest door bemiddeling van onzen Franschen gezant de drie door Zachariae vermelde handschriften van dien tekst te kunnen raadplegen. Twee daarvan bevinden zich in de Bibliothèque Nationale te Parijs, het derde, dat aan Jacquet onbekend is geweest en waarvan dus ook Zachariae niet meer dan den titel kende, bevindt zich in de Bibliotheek te St. Calais [2]). De twee handschriften der Bibliothèque Nationale bevatten, afgezien van afwijkingen van orthographischen aard, denzelfden tekst; het eene van deze twee handschriften (dat in folio, n°. 451) is omgewerkt, zoodat verscheidene passages geschrapt en de meeste zinnen veranderd zijn. Toch is overal de oorspronkelijke tekst gelukkig nog goed leesbaar. Klaarblijkelijk hebben die veranderingen ten doel, den tekst voor eene uitgave geschikt te maken. Dat de beide handschriften der Bibliothèque Nationale op één origineel teruggaan, staat absoluut vast: beide

[1]) Zie *Gött. Gel. Anzeigen* 1916, pag. 592 vgg. en: *„Über die Breve Noticia dos erros que tem os Gentios do Concão da India"* in: *Nachr. v. d. K. Gesellsch. der Wiss. zu Göttingen, Phil.-hist. Klasse* 1918, Heft. 1.

[2]) Zie *Nachrichte* pag. 8.

hebben hier en daar dezelfde omissies, waardoor de samenhang verbroken en de inhoud onbegrijpelijk wordt. Dit blijkt uit een vergelijking met het handschrift van St. Calais, dat in vele opzichten merkwaardig afwijkt van de recénsie der beide andere handschriften. Terwijl namelijk de passages, waar het op aan komt, d.w.z. waar de feiten medegedeeld worden, vrij wel eensluidend zijn, vindt men in de recensie der Parijsche handschriften zeer vele toevoegselen en digressies, die veelal onnoodig schijnen te zijn èn soms zich kenmerken door een eigenaardigen toon van minachting voor de Hindoes. Daar, waar de Portugeesche tekst uit citaten bekend is, komt de Parijsche recensie dichter dan die van St. Calais bij de Portugeesche.

De questie, welke de verhouding is van de Fransche tot de, helaas verlorene, Portugeesche recensie, is door Zachariae, daar die de Fransche slechts voor een klein gedeelte uit citaten kende, niet kunnen onderzocht worden. Zooveel staat reeds dadelijk vast, dat de Fransche *Relation des Erreurs* niet kan zijn een slaafsche vertaling van de Portugeesche *Breve Noticia*, zooals bijv. de Fransche tekst van het door Bernard uitgegeven werk is (waarop de laatste der „drie oude Portugeesche Verhandelingen" berust). Dit blijkt hieruit, dat al de vreemde namen en woorden in de Relation, door de wijze waarop de ś (bijv. van Śiva, Parāśakti, Śesa) of de ṣ (bijv. van Viṣṇu) of de *ā* en *u* (bijv. van Hanumat) worden weergegeven door *sh* en *ou*, op een Fransch, niet op een Portugeesch origineel wijzen. Er is nog een ander feit, dat er voor schijnt te pleiten, dat de auteur der Relation een Franschman, altans niet een Portugees is geweest; het is nl. nauwelijks te verwachten, dat een Portugees zich zoo ongunstig zou hebben uitgelaten over zijne voorgangers, als de auteur der Relation dit in het zevende hoofdstuk doet. Voorloopig krijgt men den indruk, dat de Relation de oudere tekst is en dat de *Breve Noticia* eene bewerking ervan is, doch vervaardigd door iemand, die zijn zaak verstond, die de vreemde namen kende en die, dit is waarschijnlijk, zijn origineel hier en daar verbeterde en aanvulde. Althans de Fransche vertaling van Bernard wijkt in menig punt af van de Relation; ten eerste in de indeeling der stof, daar hier bijv. een afzonderlijke beschouwing gewijd wordt aan de overeenkomst der heidensche met de christelijke overlevering (hoofdstuk 18—19), wat de oorzaak is, dat hier de geschiedenis van Rāma in tweeën gesplitst wordt (hoofdstuk 6 en 19), terwijl ze in de Relation als één geheel gegeven wordt. Bovendien worden in den Portugeeschen tekst, voor zoover die uit Bernard's bewerking bekend is, eenige feiten en namen medegedeeld, die in de Relation òf niet

worden aangetroffen, of anders worden voorgesteld [1]). Maar er is één feit, dat wel het sterkst voor de prioriteit der Relation spreekt. Zachariae neemt [2]) op gezag van Prof. Jacobi aan, dat de Portugeesche Verhandeling in het jaar 1647 geschreven is. Deze tijdsbepaling berust op de mededeeling van den auteur zelven, dat sinds den aanvang van het Kaliyuga 48448 jaren verloopen zouden zijn. Van dit onbegrijpelijke getal houdt Jacobi slechts met de laatste twee cijfers rekening. Nu stemmen de twee eindcijfers van 't jaartal der Portugeesche *Breve Noticia* overeen met die, welke in de Parijsche recensie der Relation gegeven worden (nl. 40548), doch het handschrift van St. Calais heeft: „quarente mils quatre cent quarante quatres ans" (pag. 41), en dit wijst op een datum die vier jaren vroeger valt.

Aangaande den auteur onzer verhandeling, hetzij der Fransche, hetzij der Portugeesche, verkeeren wij nog in het duister, daar het, hoewel niet onmogelijk, toch hoogst onwaarschijnlijk is, dat het origineel aan João de Brito moet worden toegeschreven [3]). Voortgezet onderzoek brengt daarover het volgende aan 't licht. Het titelblad der *Relation des Erreurs* van het handschrift van St. Calais schrijft de verhandeling toe aan „le R. P. Robert Nobily, de la Compagnie de Jesus, missionnaire aux Indes orientalles" [4]). Terecht heeft Zachariae de juistheid hiervan in twijfel getrokken, daar immers in het werk zelf van Roberto de' Nobili in den derden persoon gesproken wordt. En toch is waarschijnlijk deze mededeeling in haar kern juist. Dit wordt door drie feiten, naar het schijnt, bevestigd. Ten eerste door de wijze, waarop de auteur der Relation in het handschrift van St. Calais zich uit, waar hij zegt [5]): „Voicy en abregé la connoissance des Erreurs que l'on a de cette Gentilité... et ce que l'on a retiré des ecrits du R. P. Nobili Jesuiste" etc. Volgens deze passage, die in de Parijsche recensie anders luidt (hier worden Nobili's geschriften niet als bron aangegeven), bevat de verhandeling

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[1]) De zes sekten in hoofdstuk II (pag. 151 der drie oude Port. Verh.); het toevoegsel *chama-* voor *vamanem* in hoofdst. V; een trekje uit de geschiedenis van Prahlāda in hoofdst. V, pag. 158, r. 3—7; de langere toespraak tot Kaṃsa in hoofdst. VII, pag. 163 onderaan; de latten, waarop de asketen rusten in hoofdst. IX, pag. 171; de bevrijding van Ahalyā door Rāma in hoofdst. IX, pag. 177, de namen *papengui* (l. c.) en *nallé pambou* (pag. 189).

[2]) *Nachrichte*, pag. 18 vg.

[3]) Vgl. de onderzoekingen van Zachariae, *Nachr.* pag. 18 vgl.

[4]) In overeenstemming daarmede heet het in de „Table des principaux chapitres", die aan 't einde gevonden wordt en zeker wel van later maaksel is: „Etablissement de la mission en Maduré par l'auteur du present".

[5]) Verg. pag. 86.

dus materieel, bijeengebracht door den beroemden Jesuiten-missionaris. Nu zou men deze passage voor eene vervalsching kunnen houden, aangebracht uit de zucht, om dien beroemden man een deel van het auteurschap toe te kennen, doch de bewering, hier gedaan, wordt bevestigd door het volgende. De tweede verhandeling nl. in het handschrift van St. Calais, *La Gentilité du Bengala* bevat eenige gewichtige vingerwijzingen. Allereerst moge worden vermeld, dat deze verhandeling zonder twijfel door een Franschman is opgesteld, hetgeen vooreerst ook al weer blijkt uit de transcriptie der Indische namen en woorden, maar ook uit het feit, dat (zie pag. 125) het gewicht „*tolla*" door een Fransch gewicht wordt gepreciseerd en verder uit de groote sympathie, waarmee (zie pag. 153) de houding der Franschen te Pondicherry tijdens een hongersnood te Masulipatam vermeld wordt. De auteur beschrijft het „Heidendom" van Bengalen, dat natuurlijk in zijn wezen niet verschilt van dat der andere landstreken, doch hij deelt mede, wat hij in Bengalen heeft kunnen te weten komen. Dat hij zijne gegevens van dáár heeft, blijkt uit eenige woorden, die hij met *b* in plaats van *v* geeft (*beman, benta, bedherm*), hoewel hier geen consequentie heerscht, daar men bijv. *veida* en niet *beda* aantreft. Zoo moet ook volgens een deskundige het gebed op pag 151 oud-Bengālī zijn. Nu wordt, naar het schijnt, op twee plaatsen in deze *Gentilité du Bengala* verwezen naar de *Relation des Erreurs*. De merkwaardigste plaats is die, waar de auteur (zie pag. 136) zegt: „comme je l'ay raporté dans le 1er livre de la Religion des Gentils par le Pere Nobili Jesuiste". Nu komt de hier bedoelde beschrijving werkelijk voor in de *Relation der Erreurs* [1]. In verband hiermede beschouwe men den slotzin der verhandeling *la Gentilité du Bengala*, waar eveneens teruggewezen wordt naar „la 1re description des Gentils en general, de leurs coutumes et de leur religion", en wel naar het hoofdstuk, waarin het huwelijksritueel beschreven is. Deze beschrijving nu vindt men in der daad in de *Relation des Erreurs*. Weliswaar verschilt de titel, maar het is mogelijk, dat het ons als „Relation des Erreurs" bekende geschrift oorspronkelijk een anderen titel droeg [2]. Wanneer deze mededeelingen waar zijn en niet op vervalsching berusten, dan moet dus de *Relation des Erreurs* eene bewerking zijn hoofdzakelijk

[1]) Zij komt, met afwijkingen, ook voor in de eerste der drie „Oude Portug. Verhandelingen", doch, daar die uit 1670 dateert, kan deze onmogelijk van de hand van R. de' Nobili zijn.

[2]) Ook Manucci, die, zooals Zachariae heeft aangetoond, aan onze verhandeling zijn stof ontstolen heeft, geeft als titel (vgl. *Gött. Nachr.* pag. 5): „Courte relation de la religion de la Gentilité".

van de gegevens door R. de' Nobili verzameld, en de bewerking moet van de hand zijn van denzelfden auteur, die de *Gentilité du Bengala* schreef [1]). Op de aangeduide passages nu berust zeker wel de mededeeling in het handschrift van St. Calais, dat de Relation van de hand van R. de' Nobili is [2]). Hiertegen is het jaar, waarin men moet aannemen, dat de Relation is geschreven (1644) geen bezwaar, daar de' Nobili eerst in 1656 overleed. Integendeel, dit klopt weer goed met twee andere gegevens. In het zevende hoofdstuk (zie pag. 89) wordt aangegeven, dat „aujourd'huy" het aantal bekeerlingen in de missie van Madura ongeveer 100000 beloopt, en dit stemt overeen met wat elders voor dezen tijd beweerd wordt [3]). Verder wordt (zie pag. 58) het rijk Bisnaga als nog bestaand vermeld, en dit rijk Vijayanagara heeft geduurd tot 1646 [4]).

Thans moet worden nagegaan, of men kan vaststellen, wanneer die tweede verhandeling, die over *la Gentilité du Bengala*, is samengesteld. Hiervoor zijn gegevens aanwezig. Tweemaal verzekert de auteur ons (op pag. 95 en 146), dat er op 't oogenblik dat hij de verhandeling schrijft, van het Kaliyuga 4000 jaren verstreken zijn. Evenmin als de aangifte van dergelijken aard in de *Relation des Erreurs* kan deze volkomen juist zijn, daar ze ons in 't jaar 898 na Chr. zou verplaatsen. Neemt men echter hier dezelfde vrijheid als met die andere tijdsbepaling, om alleen met de laatste twee cijfers rekening te houden, dan zou men tot het jaar 1698 komen (wellicht is 4000 beide malen een verschrijving voor 4800). De vraag is nu, of het werk zelf gegevens bevat, die dezen datum bevestigen. En hier doet zich nu een zwaar op te lossen puzzle voor. Men vindt nl. (zie pag. 105) de volgende passage: „Cette Castre (nl. die der Kṣatriyas) fournisse d'assez bons soldats dans le pays et de bonnes testes pour le gouvernement; il y en a même plusieurs reconnüe Raias ou Prince, en voyez un exemple dans la personne d'un nommé Rognaldas, fait depuis peu Raia et dont le genie se soutient à la cour de Derkousykan, Maure de religion, à present gouverneur de Gouzeratty, des pays d'Amadabat et Suratte". Om

[1]) Er zijn nog een paar punten, die den samenhang der twee stukken schijnen te bewijzen; beide schrijven geregeld *castre* en *Vinchou*, en de auteur van de *Centilité du Bengala* geeft het relaas van den Visch-avatāra, waaromtrent de Relation niets wist te zeggen, aldus in zekeren zin deze leemte aanvullend.

[2]) Onbegrijpelijk is de toevoeging (vgl. *Nachrichte*, pag. 8): „augmentée de plusieurs remarques touchant les malheurs (2de hand: Meteors) et les Planettes, et d'une oraison pour le tonnerre".

[3]) Zie bijv. J. Richter, *Indische Missionsgeschichte*, Gütersloh, 1906. pag. 70.

[4]) Zie *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, October 1921, pag. 617.

de identiteit der twee hier genoemde personen vast te stellen moet men over andere en uitvoeriger bronnen beschikken dan bij ons te lande aanwezig zijn. Nu heeft de heer J. Rahder, die den zomer van 1921 te Londen doorbracht, zich op mijn verzoek wel de moeite willen geven, hieromtrent een onderzoek in te stellen. Dat met Derkousykan niet bedoeld kan zijn, zooals ik aanvankelijk vermoedde, de beheerscher van Guzerāt en omliggende streken: Dara Shukoh, blijkt hieruit, dat later in de *Gentilité du Bengala* melding wordt gemaakt van de Angrias, de Mahratten-piraten, wier bloeitijd tusschen 1700 en 1756 valt. Hoogstwaarschijnlijk steekt in Derkousykan de naam Ghāzī Khān, voluit geheeten Ghāzī-ud-dīn Khān [1]). Er zijn nu twee personen van dien naam in de geschiedenis bekend, de eerste was gouverneur van Guzerāt van 1708—1710, de tweede is meer bekend in de Indische geschiedenis van het midden der 18de eeuw. Het is den Heer Rahder gelukt, ook altans den naam Rognaldas te identificeeren; deze komt meermalen voor in de correspondentie van Dupleix [2]), hij luidt hier Ragnoldas, terwijl de eigenlijke vorm is Ragunathdās (Raghunāthadāsa). Terwijl er nu veel vóór te zeggen scheen, dat deze persoon bedoeld werd, die in 1751 tot eerste minister werd verheven en in 1752 werd vermoord, is toch blijkbaar deze identificatie niet mogelijk, daar het handschrift van St. Calais blijkens de titelpagina reeds in 1741 in 't bezit was van den perruquier te Vendôme Jean Louis Morinet. Er schiet dus niets anders over dan aan te nemen, dat er ook vroeger een andere Rognaldas geweest is, die dan wellicht een persoon van gewicht is geweest bij den eerst genoemden Ghāzī-Khān. Wat de Angrias betreft, die in onze verhandeling vermeld worden (op pag. 150), zij komen al vroeger voor dan 1700, daar één hunner, Tukaji, zich reeds op Śivāji's vloot had onderscheiden, en in 1698 Mānhoji Angria het commando over de vloot der Mahratten voerde. Zoo is dus ten slotte de tijd waarin onze verhandeling is opgesteld, op grond van deze gegevens niet nauwkeurig te bepalen [3]). Neemt men het jaar 1698 aan, dan ligt er wel een groote spanne tijds tusschen de eerste (uit 1644 en 1648) en de tweede, niet minder dan 54 jaar! En toch zouden beide verhandelingen van de hand van denzelfden persoon zijn. Doch uit de vermelding van het jaar 1644 in de Relation behoeft stellig niet te volgen, dat de auteur van de *Gentilité du Bengala* in 1644 die eerste verhandeling samenstelde

[1]) Het voorgevoegde „Der" zou dan met Dār of Dārā (Heer, Vorst) identiek kunnen zijn.

[2]) Uitgegeven door T. Hammont, Paris 1881, pag. 156, 158.

[3]) Misschien bevat van de op pag. 153 vermelde pest een aanduiding.

of compileerde. Hij kan dit jaar hebben gevonden in de door hem van Nobili of wien ook overgenomen gegevens en het onveranderd hebben gelaten [1]).

Wat de verhouding betreft der latere bewerkingen, hetzij der *Relation des Erreurs*, hetzij der *Breve Noticia*, het staat vast, dat de mededeelingen van Dellon [2]) op de *Breve Noticia* berusten, zooals reeds dadelijk blijkt uit de wedergave der indische woorden (met *x* voor *ś*) [3]). Manucci daarentegen moet den Franschen tekst hebben gekend, blijkens ook al weer de vreemde namen; hij staat veel dichter bij de recensie zooals die uit de twee Parijsche handschriften bekend is (ook wat betreft het jaar na 't begin van het Kaliyuga) dan bij die van St. Calais. Slechts op enkele plaatsen stemt Manucci meer met dit handschrift overeen.

Misschien mag men zich de toedracht zóó voorstellen: R. de'

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[1]) Een leerrijke parallel wordt gevonden in een handschrift, waaromtrent niets schijnt bekend te zijn en waarover hier in 't kort iets moge medegedeeld worden. Het is een in 't Italiaansch gestelde „Dialogo" tusschen een „Bramene" en een „Indiano" (Cod. it. 101 uit de Staatsbibl. te München). De Bramene is blijkbaar een in Europa wonende R. K. geestelijke (een „Bramene Sanniaze Romano"), de Indiano een missionaris, uit Indië naar Europa gekomen en die op audiëntie bij Karel VI is geweest. De naam van den Indiano wordt niet vermeld, maar hij noemt zich: „Tyrolensis Tridentinus soc. Jesu missionarius malabaricus". Nu is in dezen dialoog (waaraan op 't eind een groot stuk ontbreekt) geheel en al verwerkt de *Relation des Erreurs* met vele van elders mij nog niet bekende bijzonderheden. Ook in dezen Dialogo nu (waarnaar ik in de Noten herhaaldelijk zal verwijzen) heet het: „questa età poi dicono, che cominciasse avanti all' anno 40448", dus hier wordt bijna hetzelfde jaar gegeven (de laatste twee cijfers, waarop het aankomt zijn geheel dezelfden) - dat de Parijsche recensie der Relation heeft en toch kan deze Dialogo eerst na 1711 geschreven zijn!

[2]) Vgl. Zachariae in *Gött. Gel. Anz.*, 1916, pag. 592 vgg. en *Nachr.* pag. 6.

[3]) Wie zou willen volhouden, dat de Relation een bewerking is van een oorspronkelijk Portugeeschen tekst, zou één gewichtig argument daarvoor kunnen aanvoeren, nl. dat in de Relation eenige Portugeesche woorden (als Portugismen) gebruikt worden in plaats van zuiver Fransche, zooals *ceste*, *guinde*, *alparques*, *empolé*, *brede* en *bringelle* (zie Index e). Opmerkelijk is, dat de Parijsche recensie tweemaal het woord *putain* (Portugisme) gebruikt, waar het hs. van St. Calais heeft: „concubine" of „femme publique" en dat, waar beide hss. het woord *guinde* gebruiken, dat van St. Calais daaraan toevoegt: „ou eguierre". Daarentegen heeft de Parijsche recensie eenmaal „*cases* ou maisons". Echter kan het feit, dat in de Relation Portugismen voorkomen, niet als dwingend bewijs gelden dat de Relation vertaald is uit of bewerkt naar een Portugeesch origineel. Immers deze Fransche missionarissen zullen zeker Portugeesch gekend en veel gesproken hebben. Merkwaardig is, dat ook de auteur der *Gentilité du Bengala*, die zeker Franschman was, een paar malen Portugismen bezigt (*papous*, *bole*).

Nobili had een geschrift gereed in 1644, omvattend de eerste zes hoofdstukken der Relation, die toen nog misschien niet dien titel voerde. Dit geschrift is door verschillende missionarissen bewerkt, door den auteur der *Gentilite du Bengala* en door een ander, die elf jaren in de missie van Madura werkzaam is geweest. Het is ook de basis geworden voor de *Breve Noticia* [1]) en zoo door Dellon naar Europa gekomen. Manucci heeft de Fransche Relation gekend en die voor zijn eigen werk doen doorgaan. Ook de la Flotte [2]) heeft een exemplaar van den Franschen tekst gekend, doch deze was, hoewel in hoofdzaak overeenstemmend met onze Relation, omgewerkt, daar hij vele bizonderheden bevat, die niet er in voorkomen. Habent sua fata libelli!

Hoewel de inhoud der *Relation des Erreurs* voor een goed deel tweedehands door den druk bekend is gemaakt, heb ik na eenig beraad het toch de moeite waard geacht, haar uit te geven tesamen met de geheel onbekende *Gentilité du Bengala*. Wat de Relation betreft, heb ik hier en daar wat weggelaten, en wel alleen de theologische weerleggingen der „dwalingen", die ons minder kunnen interesseeren. Het stuk is zóó belangrijk en de auteur blijkt zóó goed te zijn ingelicht, dat het overigens geheel verdient te worden gepubliceerd, ook opdat, zoo te eeniger tijd de Portugeesche *Breve Noticia* nog eens aan 't licht komt, de verhouding der twee teksten kunne bepaald worden, waartoe de enkele fragmenten die wij thans ervan kennen, niet voldoende kunnen geacht worden. Ik heb de recensie van St. Calais aan mijne uitgave ten gronde gelegd, doch in de voetnoten bijna al de varianten en toevoegsels der Parijsche handschriften (door mij als P. aangeduid) medegedeeld. In de orthografie heb ik slechts onbeduidende veranderingen aangebracht. Dat de *Gentilité du Bengala* niet minder verdient aan de vergetelheid te worden ontrukt, behoeft geen betoog. Zij brengt ons veel merkwaardigs; ik denk vooral aan de episode uit de geschiedenis van Rāma, die door de Rākṣasas geroofd en door Hanumat bevrijd wordt, aan de episode van Sicander en aan de beschrijving der Śrāddhas. Ook hier heb ik mij alleen enkele orthografische en taalkundige veranderingen veroorloofd. Een bezwaar is, dat nagenoeg nergens zinscheiding wordt gegeven, zoodat soms de tekst bezwaarlijk is te verstaan. Mogen over de vele nog duistere punten anderen hun licht doen schijnen!

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[1]) Vgl. Zachariae in *Gött. Gel. Anz.* 1916, pag. 597 vgg. en *Nachr.*, pag. 10 vgg.

[2]) Vgl. Zachariae in *Gött. Gel. Anz.* 1916, pag. 600 en in *Nachrichte*, pag. 11.

I.

RELATION DES ERREURS

QUI SE TROUVENT DANS LA RELIGION DES GENTILS MALABARS DE LA COSTE DE COROMANDEL DANS L'INDE.

Cette Relation est divisée en sept chapitres.

Le 1er traicte des Erreurs qu'ils ont touchant la Divinité.

Le 2eme des Erreurs touchant le Paradis et l'Enfer.

Le 3eme des Erreurs touchant l'Ame.

Le 4eme des Erreurs touchant le monde et le ciel.

Le 5eme des Erreurs touchant les hommes [1]).

Le 6eme traicte de leur politique et gouvernement, des coutumes qu'ils gardent dans le mariage et les obseques des morts et

Le 7eme l'idée qu'ils se forment [2]) des Europeens et l'etablissement de la Mission du Maduré.

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[1]) St. C.: les contes qu'ils font des hommes, P.: des erreurs et reveries qu'ils font touchant les hommes.

[2]) P.: contient les conceps qu'ils se forment.

CHAPITRE 1ER.

DES ERREURS TOUCHANT LA DIVINITÉ.

Tous les Gentils de ce canton de l'Inde, avec qui j'ai traicté, disent qu'il y un Dieu, mais qu'il n'y a personne qui le connoisse; c'est ce qui leur donne lieu à mils absurdités, mille reveries, dans lesquelles ils se contredisent manifestement; car dans un endroit de leur doctrine qu'ils appellent (science) infaillible, ils disent que Dieu est une substance spirituelle et immense, et quelques lignes apres ils assurent que l'air est Dieu et qu'il n'y en a point d'autres, et apres avoir posé ce fondement et l'avoir appuyé [1]), ils ne peuvent la soutenir par la suite, n'ayant nuls preuves solides à alleguer [1]). Ils disent ensuite que le Soleil est Dieu, que c'est luy qui a creé [2]), qui conserve et qui detruict toutes choses (1). Ceux qui sont de cette opinion, qui est reçue de la plus grande partie des Gentils, se prosternent contre terre au lever et au coucher du soleil et l'adorent (2) prenant la creature au lieu du createur [3]) et luy rendant le culte qui n'est deub qu'au createur [4]). — D'autres disent, faisant plus de cas de leur ventre que du soleil, qu'il est porté par leurs Veidas, qui veut dire loy tres veritable, qu'il n'y a que le ris cuit qui soit Dieu et comme tel ils l'adorent [avant le manger] (3), sans examiner la corruption ou il tombe [5]). La plus commune erreur est celle de ceux qui se sont faite une genealogie a leurs Dieux, dont ils nomment le 1er *Parama Bruma*, qui veut dire excellentissime et superieure science [6]). — Outre ce *Parama Bruma* ils donnent trois

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[1]) P.: affermy, comme un edifice fondé en l'air qui ne peut point subsister.

[2]) P.: c'est pourquoy ils disent en d'autres endroits qu'il n'y a que le Soleil qui soit Dieu, que c'est luy qui a creé.

[3]) Deze vier woorden door mij ingevoegd.

[4]) I. p. v.: prenant... createur, P.: semblables a des infortunés quy trouvent dans le meme soleil leurs malheurs et l'entierre ruine de leurs ames, et laissant la lumiere naturelle, quy nous apprend qu'il y a un Dieu eternel immense et immuable, ils s'aveuglent de telle sorte par la lumiere du soleil, qu'ils adorent la creature au lieu du createur.

[5]) P.: sans considerer la corruption dans laquelle il se convertit ensuite. De tekst van St. C. heeft: ou ils tombent.

[6]) In pl. van dezen zin heeft P.: Ceux la ont deffiny qu'il n'y a qu'un seul Dieu appellé *Parama Bruma* qui veut dire excellentissime et superieure science.

cent trente millions (4) de Dieux [1]), au Roy desquels ils donnent le nom de Devendiren (5), qui veut dire: le Seigneur des Dieux. Nous en parlerons dans le chapitre second, dans celuy cy nous raporterons seulement la plus commune erreur de cette Gentilité qui est une Trinité (6) qu'ils se sont faite [2]). Je la deffiniray dans la paragraphe suivante, ou vous connoitrez facillement jusqu'ou ces malheur(eux) portent leurs sales idées et quel est leur absurdité et leur aveuglement [3]).

Ils raportent donc pour donner origine a leur pretendue Trinité, qu'il y eut une femme nommée *Parachaty* [4]), qui veut dire excellentissime et superieure puissance, qui eut trois enfants (7). Elle donna au premier, a qui ils donnent cinq testes [5]), le nom de Bruma [6]) et luy legua seul le pouvoir de creer toutes choses visibles et invisibles. Au second, qu'elle nomma Vichnou [7]), elle luy donna le pouvoir de conserver ce que son frerre Bruma auroit creé, et au troisieme, qu'elle nomma Rutren, qui avoit aussy cinq testes (8), luy donna le pouvoir de detruire et aneantir tout ce que ses frerres auroient crée et conservé. Elle se maria avec ses trois fils [8]), mais comme il n'y a rien qui soit uniformement etably dans leurs croiances, ils s'est formé parmis eux cinq (9) opinions touchant cette pretendue

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Ils disent que c'est la lettre O et qu'en respirant et prononçant cette lettre sy un homme venoit à mourir, dans cette grande action il seroit assuré de jouir de la beatitude, parceque son ame sortant de son corps par le haut de la teste comme une fleche passe au milieu du soleil et va prendre possession de la gloire. Dans cette creance meurent plusieurs martirs du Demon qui leur aveuglant l'entendement de peur qu'ils ne viennent à connoistre l'autheur de la vie, la leur tire d'une manierre tirannique.

[1]) Verbeterd; het hs. heeft: trois cents trente mils Dieux. P.: trois cent millions de Dieux.

[2]) P.: qui est l'adoration d'une fausse Trinité qu'ils se sont feinte et imaginée.

[3]) In pl. van: je la deffiniray... aveuglement, P.: et je ne croi qu'il (n') est (pas) hors de propos de marquer dans un paragraphe particulier ce que ces Gentils croyent de leur pretendue Trinité, qui sont des choses salles honteuses et indignes non seulement d'un Dieu, qui doit estre infiniment bon et parfait, mais encore de quelques hommes que ce soit, qui doit agir et se gouverner selon la lumiere de la raison. Enfin tous Chrestiens catholiques, voyant l'aveuglement, dans lequel vivent ces pauvres Gentils, doivent prier le Seigneur de leur donner les lumieres necessaires pour se retirer de l'erreur ou ils sont.

Opinion de leur fausse Trinité.

[4]) P.: Il y eut, disent ils, une femme nommée *Parachaty*.

[5]) P.: qui avoit cinq testes.

[6]) P.: ins.: qui signifie science.

[7]) Het hs. heeft doorloopend: Vinchou.

[8]) P.: avec ces trois enfants qu'elle avoit enfanté.

Trinité. Les uns disent que Parachaty, mere des trois enfants [1]), est seule cause et veritable Dieu. Les seconds, qu'il n'y a que Bruma premier fils, qui soit le principe et le veritable Dieu. Les troisiemes, qui forment le plus grand nombre, attribuent la Divinité au seule Vichnou. Les quatriemes raportent tout à Rutren [2]). Les derniers ne reconnoissent aucunnes des subdites, se contentant de dire [3]) que ces trois frerres joincts ensemble sont la cause premiere et la vray Divinité, mais par une contradiction absurde ils disent [4]), qu'il n'y a aucun d'eux pris en particulier ny tous trois ensemble qui soit Dieu, parceque quiconque est homme comme les autres [5]) ne peut etre Dieu. Ils n'opineroient pas mal, s'ils persistoient dans cette opinion [6]).

La vie de Bruma [7]).

Le party qui suit la secte de Bruma, fils ainé de Parachaty, est en meme tems luy [8]) de ces trois maris. Ils le font naitre de son frerre puisné Vichnou [9]), dont on doit inferer necessairement, que l'effect est premier et auparavant sa cause, ce qui implique [10]), mais sans faire compte d'une contradiction sy manifeste, je rapporteray la fiction qu'ils se font à ce subject. Ils disent que du visage de Bruma (10) sont sortis les Brahames [11]) qui sont leurs prestres et

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[1]) P.: mere de ces trois enfants susdits.

[2]) P.: ne reconnoissent pour premiere cause et pour veritable Dieu que Rutren.

[3]) P.: les 5es qui sont les derniers, ne pouvant s'accorder et se reconsilier a toutes ces opinions, disent.

[4]) P.: ils disent aussy.

[5]) Deze drie woorden niet in P.

[6]) P. voegt in: Mais comme ils ne persistent pas a suivre la voix de verité mais bien celle du mensonge et de l'enfer, on voit manifestement se verifier en eux l'oracle du Saint Esprit, qui dit: stultus ut luna: malheureux l'homme qui change comme la lune. Il est a propos de vous faire voir icy les fables et reveries dignes de compassion et de larmes, que ces gentils assurent sans hesiter et croyent de cette fausse Trinité.

[7]) *Heb* ik het recht dit opschrift, dat niet in St. C. gevonden wordt, in te voegen?

[8]) d. i. celuy? De bedoeling is niet recht duidelijk.

[9]) P.: (aansl. aan den tekst in noot 6):

La vie de Bruma.

La Gentilité fabuleuse a inventé que Bruma, dont nous avons parlé, qui etoit fils aisné et mary de Parachaty, etoit né du nombril de son frere puisné Vichnou.

[10]) P: s' aplique (!).

[11]) Zoo (of Brãmes) geregeld St. C., P. schrijft Brames.

et qui est parmis eux la castre la plus noble, et parmis nous une des plus infame [1] [2]), ces Brahames etant ceux qui les nourrissent et les entretiennent dans leurs erreurs. Ils ne se contentent pas seulement que l'on leur donne une origine divine, mais encor ils veulent etre honorés comme partie de Dieu meme, des epaules duquel ils (assurent que) sont sortis les Raias, seconde noblesse, et des cuisses du [3]) Dieu tirent leurs origines les Cometis (11), qui sont les marchands de toute epicerie, qui sont la troisieme race et (ils) donnent aux menus peuples qui sont les Choutres, les pieds du Dieu pour leur origine [4]).

Ils disent de plus que Bruma a ecrit dans la teste de chaque homme tout ce qu'il doit faire dans sa vie (12), arest [5]) que ny luy ny ses frerres ne peuvent revocquer, ce qu'il experimenta luy meme dans sa teste [6]), car (13) voulant se marier avec sa propre fille et voyant que cette action repugnoit à l'homme et encor plus à luy Dieu [7]), il prit la forme d'un cerf et donna celle d'une biche à sa fille [8]), puis s'en furent dans un bois, ou ils celebrerent leurs nopces, et puis consommerent leur mariage. Mais les Dieux Vichnou et Rutren et les autres trois cent trente millions [9]) de Dieux voyant l'impudence [7]) de Bruma et le deshonneur que leur causoit cette action impudique, resolurent de le chatier d'une maniere exemplaire, et nommerent Rutren pour etre l'executeur de leur dessein et luy

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[1]) P. slechts: les Brames qui est la castre la plus noble la premiere et la plus infame.

[2]) P. vervolgt: qu'il y ait dans toutes ces terres, la plus noble, dis je, dans sa propre estime, et la plus infame dans ses actions et manieres de vivre, comme je le montreray au long dans le chap. 6e, ces Brames etant les autheurs de toutes ces erreurs et contradictions. Outre qu'ils s'atribuent la susdite naissance et origine, ils disent ouvertement qu'ils sont le Dieu Bruma, des epaules duquel ils assurent que sont nés et sorties les Raias.

[3]) Verbeterd, de tekst heeft: et de du Dieu.

[4]) P. (aansl. aan noot 2): qui sont la noblesse et seconde famille d'apres; des cuisses de Bruma sont sortis les Committes, qui sont les marchands d'epicerie et autres choses, qui passent pour estre la 3me castre ou famille de ces terres et des pieds de Bruma sont sortis les Choustres (zoo geregeld P.), qui sont les communs du peuple.

[5]) d. i. arrêt.

[6]) P.: ..dans sa vie et qu'apres y avoir escrit, luy ny ses freres joint ensemble n'ont point le pouvoir de l'oster, mais il a experimenté dans sa propre teste ce qu'il a escrit dans celle des autres.

[7]) P.: ...que cette action là n'etoit digne d'un homme et bien moins d'un Dieu.

[8]) Verbeterd. De tekst luidt: et donna cette (of celle) biche a sa fille. P.: donna a sa fille celle d'une biche et ils s'en furent...

[9]) P. wederom: trois cent millions.

[10]) P.: l'imprudence (!).

ordonnerent de luy couper la teste, ce qu'il fit aussitost, sans se servir d'autres armes que de ses ongles [1]), mais quoy que Bruma perdit la teste avec l'honneur, il luy en reste encore quatre [2]). Ce Dieu Bruma n'a ny temple ny statue (14), nous en expliquerons les raisons dans la vie de Rutren [3]). Les Brahames se disant eux memes une partie du Dieu, disent aussy que leurs habitations, qu'ils nomment *Agraras* (15), sont les temples ou on le doit adorer, et que les autres castres sont obligés de leur donner tout ce qu'ils desirent de ce qu'ils possedent, pour obtenir la felicité qu'ils desirent. Tout [4]) ce que ces Brahames leur disent, sont pour ces malheureux aveugles autant d'articles de foy, quoy qu'eux memes n'ayant aucun egard à maintenir ce qu'un autre Brahame aura avancé et qu'ils se contredisent continuellement les uns les autres, comme par exemple [4]) les uns disent que Bruma se maria à une femme qui se nommoit Sarasvadi, qui etoit une femme tres savante, et pour cette raison ils la portent [5]) sur leur langue, afin d'estre toujours prest a repondre a propos, souffrant tres patiemment l'incommodité qu'une habitation continuelle de cette sorte doit leur causer (16). Les autres disent que le Dieu Bruma n'est autre chose que la puissance generative de l'homme (17).

Voila en peu de mots ce que l'on peut sçavoir d'eux sur ce Dieu [6]) et ce que leurs sçavants disent dans [7]) leurs livres. Ils l'appellent aussy *óleiro* [8]) ou *ócen* [8]), qui sont des noms des plus bas et des plus infames (18) des cartiers ou domine la secte de Vichnou, qui pour etre plus spirituelle et avoir plus de disciples a quelque chose de plus curieux que celle que je viens de rapporter [9]).

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[1]) P.: sans se servir ny de couteau ny de sabre, par le moyen d'un seul ongle.

[2]) P. vervolgt: mais je crois qu'eux ne montrent pas en avoir aucune, quand il croyent de semblables sottises.

[3]) Dit moet eene vergissing zijn voor: „la vie de Vichnou", zie beneden.

[4]) Deze passage luidt: P.: et tout ce que disent ces Brames, est une chose de foy pour ces pauvres abusez, quoy qu'ils n'observent point entre eux, ny ayant aucun egard pour ce qu'un autre a avancé, et que tout ce qu'ils enseignent se contredit manifestement, comme on le peut voir dans la suite de ce discours.

[5]) Zou ook kunnen gelezen worden: „il la porte", doch blijkens 't volgende is dit niet bedoeld. P.: „sur *sa* langue" en: „... doit necessairement *luy* causer". Daarmede stemt de la Flotte (p. 170) overeen: „Ce Dieu la porte ordinairement sur sa langue, afinque ses oracles soient plus justes". De Breve Noticia stemt meer met de lezing van St. C. overeen.

[6]) P.: ...ce que j'ay pu decouvrir.

[7]) Verbeterd, het hs. heeft „de".

[8]) P.: *oteira* ou *ocam*.

[9]) P.: qui sont des noms bas et infames dans ce pays ou la secte de

La vie de Vichnou.

Dans un endroit les Gentils disent que Vichnou est le second fils et le mary de Parachaty, et alieurs ils disent qu'il est le premier principe et qu'il s'est marié à une femme nommée Lachymy, qu'ils assurent tout ensemble [1]) boeufs, chevaux, maisons [2]), semence, argent et tout ce qu'on peut desirer [3]) dans ce monde (19). Il la porte toujours sous son aisselle pour qu'elle ne s'enfuie de luy (20). Ce Vichnou, disent ils, s'est incarné neuf fois (21), la premiere en poisson, raison dont ny leurs livres ny leurs sçavants ne peuvent rapporter aucun motif [4]). La seconde en tortue, dont [5]) la raison qu'ils en apportent est plaisante. Ils disent que dans ce monde il y a sept mers, entre lesquelles il y en a une de laict. Pour (en) tirer le beurre qu'ils disent etre l'ambroisie (22), les Dieux apporterent un montagne d'or de deux cent quatre vingt lieues [6]), qu'ils appellent Magamera Parvadam (23), dans laquelle il y a 14 mondes, ils prirent une couleuvre qui a mille testes nommé Sechem, et, roulant cette couleuvre [7]) autour de cette montagne en façon de corde pour la faire tourner et que les Geants [8]), qui ont toujours etés les enemis des Dieux tiroient cette couleuvre avec tant de violence, que le monde chanceloit et etoit sur le point de se renverser, et que [9]) pour y remedier Vichnou se transforma en tortue et se mit sous le monde pour le soutenir. La couleuvre Sechem, ne pouvant soutenir la violence avec laquelle les Dieux et les Geants la tiroient, vomit sur ceux cy une grande quantité de poison dont plusieurs moururent, et Vichnou, n'estant point content de cela, apres avoir tiré le beurre de la mer de laict, ne voulant pas que

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Vichnou pour etre plus spirituelle et pour avoir plus de disciples est quelque chose de plus curieux et qui merite mieux d'estre raporté que celle de Bruma.

[1]) l. qu'ils assurent etre tout ensemble?

[2]) P.: boeuf, cheval, maison.

[3]) P. ce qui peut servir.

[4]) P.: ...en poisson, et jusqu'a present je n'ay pas remarqué dans leurs livres ny n'ay pu sçavoir de leur doctrine qui peut avoir ete le motif de cette incarnation.

[5]) P. heeft dit „dont" niet.

[6]) Zoo P.: St. C. heeft hier bij vergissing (vgl. beneden Chap. 4me) in plaats van lieues: Karas. Manucci stemt hiermede overeen: „Weighing two hundred and eighty carats".

[7]) P.: ... 14 mondes une couleuvre qui a mille testes nommeé Sechut sur laquelle le Dieu est soutenu et roulant cette couleuvre...

[8]) P.: ... pour la faire remuer et virer et les Geants... In geen der beide teksten loopt de zin behoorlijk.

[9]) „et que" niet in P.

les Geants enemis des Dieux et qu'ils ont souvent vaincus [1]), y eussent part, il prit la figure d'une femme mondaine d'une extraordinaire beauté (24), à la vue de laquelle les Geants s'arreterent jusqu'a ce que les Dieux eussent [2]) mangé toute l'ambroisie, apres quoy il disparut.

La troisieme incarnation de Vichnou (25) fut en cochon [3]), et le motif qu'il eut pour le faire n'est pas moins ridicule que le precedent. Ils disent donc que les Dieux, etant en dispute entre eux pour sçavoir lequel (d'eux) etoit le plus grand, Rutren dit a Bruma et a Vichnou qu'il s'alloit cacher, et que celuy qui trouveroit ses pieds et sa teste, seroit le plus grand des Dieux. Bruma se transforma en cigne (pour luy trouver la teste), et apres avoir longtems plané dans les airs et s'estre bien fatigue sans aucune reussite [4]), dans [5]) le tems meme qu'il desesperoit de trouver ce qu'il cherchoit, la fleure de chardon (26) vint au devant de luy et en le saluant luy dit qu'elle descendit de la teste de Rutren qu'il cherchoit avec empressement Bruma à ses epaules et fut saisi d'une joye inexprimable de sçavoir ou etoit la teste de Rutren [6]). L'on ne peut explicquer, disent ils, la peine que ressentit Rutren, quand il vit que Bruma avoit decouvert une chose qu'il croioit impossible, et sçachant que c'estoit la fleure de chardon qui avoit decouvert son secret, il la maudit et luy deffendit de paroitre jamais en sa presence (27). C'est pourquoy l'on ne met [7]) jamais la fleure de chardon dans les temples de Rutren, lequel, comme il n'a jamais dit vray et qu'il ne connoit pas l'avenir, qui est le propre d'un Dieu, (au lieu) de reconnoitre Bruma comme le plus puissant des Dieux, comme ils etoient convenus, le maudit afin qu'il ne fut jamais adoré et qu'il n'eut jamais de temple ny de sacrifice ny secte (28).

Voila dans quel etat se trouva Bruma apres sa decouverte [8]). Vichnou se transforma en porc pour luy trouver les pieds et fut creuzer et fouillir la terre jusqu'aux abimes, et n'ayant pu les trouver, il s'en retourna plus vilain et plus sale [9]) qu'il n'etoit

[1]) P.: et qui les ont toujours vaincus.

[2]) P.: eurent.

[3]) P.: en porc.

[4]) P.: et apres avoir volé en l'air et s'estre bien lassé sans rien faire.

[5]) Verbeterd, het hs. heeft: et dans le tems, dit „et" niet in P.

[6]) De zin loopt niet. Is er iets uitgevallen? P. is onvolledig: ... qu'il desesperoit de trouver ce qu'il cherchoit avec empressement Bruma fut bien saisi de joye de sçavoir ou etoit la teste de Rutrem.

[7]) P.: ces infames ne mettent.

[8]) P.: apres avoir trouve la teste de Rutrem.

[9]) P.: aussy beste plus salle et plus vilain.

auparavant, mais ces pauvres Gentils sont sy brutes, que par rapport à cette fable ils ont beaucoup de veneration pour le cochon [1]).

La quatrieme transformation de Vichnou a ete en homme demy-lion [2]). En voicy la raison (29). Il y avoit un Geant nommé Iranien, à qui Rutren avoit accordé le privileige que personne ne le put tuer ny de jour, ny de nuict, ny dedans, ny dehors de sa maison. Ce Geant s'en orgueillit de telle sorte, qu'il ordonna que dans ce monde on ne nommat d'autre nom [3]) que le sien, et que si quelqu'un se ressouvenoit des Dieux et les invocquoit, il luy en couteroit la vie [4]). Dans le tems que ce Geant etoit arrivé au plus haut point de sa gloire [5]), et qu'il s'imaginoit qu'il n'y avoit plus personne dans le monde qui osat se ressouvenir et invocquer les Dieux, un de ses enfants nommé Pragaladin, qui etoit a l'ecole (30), quand son maitre luy ordonna [6]) de lire et de prononcer le nom de son pere Iranien, il prononça [6]) celuy de Vichnou, ce que remarquant le maitre et craignant la colere d'Iranien, il fut luy accuser son fils, qu'il resolut de tuer, mais le fils (31) par la devotion qu'il avoit à Vichnou, ne pouvant plus souffrir l'audace du Geant son pere, resolut aussy de le tuer, ce dont il fut empeché par Vichnou, qui s'en reserva la vengeance à luy meme pour delivrer son devot Pragaladin du danger ou il etoit, et dans le moment que le soleil se coucha et qu'il n'est alors ny nuict ny jour, et dans l'entrée de la porte, qui n'est ny dehors ny dedans [7]), Vichnou sauta sur le Geant et luy dechira la poictrine avec ses griffes de lion et luy tira les entrailles, se les chargea sur le col (32) pour marque de sa victoire et luy but tant de sang qu'il le fit tomber en frenaisie et le rendit fol tout le tems de sa vie (33). Cependant il n'y a pas pour peu

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[1]) P.: mais ces pauvres Gentils le sont a cet exces qu'il n'y a parmy eux ny grand ny petit qui n'adore un porc comme ils font les chiens; il ne faut pas s'etonner s'ils ne se servent de pourceaux.

[2]) P.: en homme et en lion.

[3]) P.: aucun nom.

[4]) P.: il luy en couteroit bien cher.

[5]) P.: superbité.

[6]) P.: ordonnoit en prononçoit.

[7]) Nog al afwijkend in P.: ...qu'il resolut de tuer, mais le fils par la devotion qu'il avoit à Vichnou, il trouva le moyen de le delivrer de ce danger ou etoit le devot Pragaladin et en meme tems il sortit d'une colonne transformé en homme et en lion dans le moment que le soleil se couchoit, que l'on dit n'estre plus jour, parceque le soleil a disparu, ny a pas nuict, parceque la lumiere n'a pas encore quitté notre hemisphere, dans l'entrée de la porte, qui est ny dedans ny dehors la maison. Vichnou sauta sur le Geant etc.

de gens qui le connoissant [1]) pour tel ne l'adorent comme un Dieu.

. La cinquieme transfiguration fut en nain (34). En voicy la raison. Il n'y avoit (dans ce tems la) qu'un seul roy qui regnoit dans ce monde nommé Magapellichagravarty [2]). Pour le tromper et le detruire Vichnou se transforma dans un Brahame [3]) petit à l'extremité, que l'on appelle en langue Grandam *Vamanem*, puis s'en alla au palais du roy pour luy demander par grace l'espace de trois pieds de terre pour y batir une maison et y faire sa demeure. L'etoile du matin, qui servoit dans ce tems la chez le roy en qualité de conseillier, jugeant que cette demande couvroit quelque notable tromperie, pour en empecher l'effect [4]) se mit par art magique dans le guinde ou eguiere du roy [5]), sachant bien que le roy en temoignage qu'il accordoit au nain sa demande, ne manqueroit pas de luy verser de l'eau dans la main droite selon la coutume du pays; mais la magie ne reussit pas, car le roy, voyant que le guinde etoit bouché et n'en sçachant point la cause, l'ouvrit avec un poinçon [6]) de fer et en l'ouvrant creva un oeil à l'etoile du matin qui le bouchoit (35) et versa ensuite de l'eau dans la main droite du nain pour marquer qu'il luy accordoit sa demande. Le nain, allant pour prendre possession de ce terrain, devint sy grand que toute la terre et l'air ne suffisoit pas pour cela et pour luy loger un pied [7]). C'est pourquoy retournant trouver le roy il luy dit: Vous m'avez promis de me donner trois pieds de terre, et je ne trouve pas le lieu pour mettre un pied, ou est-ce donc que je mettray le second (36). Le roy entendant cela, connut bien que ce n'etoit que stratageme et tromperie du Dieu Vichnou, c'est pourquoy en l'adorant il luy dit: Seigneur, voila ma teste que je vous presente [8]). Vichnou, acceptant l'offre, mit son pied sur la teste de ce roy et, le precipitant dans les Enfers, luy donna la recompense due a ceux qui se confient à un tel Dieu [9]). Ce miserable roy, se voyant ainsy precipité dans les Enfers par la fourberie de Vichnou, luy demanda quelle seroit sa

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[1]) P.: reconnoissant.

[2]) Zoo P., St. C. -chagravasti.

[3]) P. voegt in: nain.

[4]) P.: l'execution.

[5]) P. heeft slechts: dans la guinde (zonder de explicatie: aiguière), en gebruikt het woord ook in 't vervolg als femininum. Manucci: „in the king's elbow" (!).

[6]) Zoo P., St. C.: pinçon.

[7]) P.: ne suffisoit pas pour luy donner un pied de terre.

[8]) P.: pour poser votre pied voila une teste que je vous presente.

[9]) P.: et le precipita dans les Enfers, recompense due a qui se confie et adore un tel Dieu.

fin, à quoy Vichnou repondit qu'il demeureroit toujours dans les Enfers excepté dans le mois de Novembre, qu'il reviendroit au monde, et que dans ce mois la l'on luy celebreroit tous les ans une feste solemnelle, cequi s'observe dans ces terres (31).

La sixieme, septieme et huitieme transfiguration de Vichnou a ete en un homme nomme Ramen (38). Voicy la raison de la premiere (39). Il y avoit une castre d'hommes, appellée Raias, sy superbes qu'ils ne laissoient vivre aucun homme en ce monde en sureté; ils empechoient les Religieux de faire penitence, et troubloient toute la terre, ce que voyant Vichnou, il s'incarna en Ramen, et pendant l'espace de vingt une generations il les extermina tous (40) et se lavoit dans leur sang. Par ce moyen il mit fin a la race des Raias [1]).

La seconde en Ramen (41) fut pour exterminer [2]) un Geant nommé Cartavary argounin [3]), qui n'avoit pas moins de mille bras, et qui detruisoit tout le monde sans qu'il se trouvoit personne qui luy put resister, ce que voyant Vichnou, il s'incarna en Ramen et prenant un soc de charrue, il luy brisa l'epine du dos et luy coupa les bras, non sans beaucoup de travail, et apres l'avoir tué, il fit des socs de charrue de ses os [4]).

La troisieme fut encore en Ramen, a dessein de detruire le Geant Ravanem et ses frerres Combacarmen et Viebichinem [5]) avec leurs armées, qui etoient composées de Geants sans nombre, lesquels ont toujours eté contraires aux Dieux, et qui plusieurs fois s'etoient mocqués de Vichnou fait Ramen, et luy avoient derobé sa femme Sida, sans qu'il put sçavoir ou l'avoient mise. Apres de grandes alterations et combats que le Dieu Vichnou avec ses armées avoit livré à ces Geants avec de differents succes, voyant qu'il ne pouvoit les vaincre ny apprendre [6]) ce qu'ils avoient fait de sa femme Sida, il demanda du secours aux singes contre les Geants, et avec ce renfort il les vainquit et recouvra sa femme apres douze ans d'absence, et pour avoir un jour dire à un blanchisseur de linge (42), qu'il [7]) n'etoit pas sy beste que le Dieu Vichnou [8]) qui avoit repris sa femme

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[1]) P.: il fit cesser la superbité et donna fin à la vie des dits Raias.

[2]) P.: tuer.

[3]) St. C.: Carlavary argounin, P.: Cartavarny argouvin.

[4]) St. C.: il fit des scies de ses os, P.: il fit faire des socqs de ses os. Manucci: „made his bones into a mountain".

[5]) P.: Rabigamen (!).

[6]) P. voegt in: des nouvelles de.

[7]) P.: un jour entendu dire à une blanchisseuse, qu'elle.

[8]) P. voegt in: fait Ramen.

et l'avoit ramenée en sa maison apres douze ans d'absence qu'elle avoit passé au pouvoir de [1]) je ne sçais qui, il en conçut pour elle de la haine et de la jalousie, cequi fit qu'il l'abandonna et alla voyager dans le monde. Nous allons voir à present la fable qu'ils font touchant Ravanem [2]). — Cette fable est sy fameuse parmis tous ces Gentils, que quoy qu'ils soient divisés en plusieurs sectes oppossées les uns aux autres, ils sont tous d'accord à ce subject et la reçoivent comme parmy nous nostre Evangile et comme telle ils se la font lire avec grand apareil et grande ceremonie tant dans leur temples, dans les places publiques que dans les lieux ou l'assemblée des peuples est la plus nombreuse [3]). La raison qui les oblige a faire tant de despence, c'est que ceux qui gagnent leur vie en perdant leurs ames à ce metier, sont tres soigneux d'inculquer aux pauvres ignorants [4]) que ceux qui ecoutent cette leçon spirituelle, gagnent les indulgences suivantes (43): qu'ils obtiendront infailliblement tout ce qu'ils desireront avec le pouvoir de faire tout ce qui leur plaira, qu'ils eviteront toutes sortes de maux et de dangers, qu'ils verront la face de Bruma, qu'ils remporteront la victoire sur leurs ennemis, que tous leurs pechés leur seront pardonnés et qu'ils deviendront semblables et egaux en perfection au meme Ramen, lequel selon eux a eté doué de toute sorte de perfections et de sciences, et qui surtout a eté fort habile dans l'exercice des armes. A l'age de douze ans il tua un Geant, apres cette prouesse, quand il se maria avec Sida, il banda un arc d'une grandeur sy extraordinaire, que six mils hommes [5]) ne le purent jamais lever; il vecu douze ans dans le desert à visiter les penitents [6]) et les envoyant aussitost prendre possession de la gloire. Dans ce tems la il fit quantité de belles actions, tuant, blessant et detruisant plusieurs armeés de Geants. Le Geant Ravanem luy deroba sa femme, etant deguisé en penitent, et l'emmena à Ceilon ou il la garda douze ans. Ils disent que ce Ravanem etoit roy de Ceilon, que non seulement il tyrannisoit les hommes, mais encore molestoit les Dieux de telle sorte qu'il les a souvent reduits dans une grande extremité. Il etoit extraordinairement adroit dans l'exercice des armes offensives et

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[1]) P.: apres qu'elle avoit été 12 ans au gre et au pouvoir de.

[2]) P.: Mais il ne sera pas hors de propos de raporter icy la fable que les Gentils font touchant Ravanem.

[3]) P.: dans les lieux celebres par le concours des peuples, qui s'y trouvent et avec grand frais.

[4]) P.: soigneux de faire entendre au peuple.

[5]) P.: six autres milles hommes.

[6]) P. voegt in: et les Religieux, accordant a plusieurs des indulgences plenieres.

deffensives [1]), avec lesquelles il remportoit toujours la victoire dans les combats qu'il livroit. Il acquit le don de toutes les sciences et etoit d'une sy extraordinaire force qu'il a vaincu les huit elephants qui soutiennent le monde, comme il est rapporté dans le quatrieme chapitre cy apres. Il vainquit [2]) aussi Devendiren, roy des Dieux, et tous les autres Dieux et se les assujetit de telle sorte, que deux fois le jour ils venoient luy rendre hommage [3]) dans sa cour. Il fit aussy trembler la gloire de Chiven et fut pris entre les doigts de ce Dieu et ceux de la terre [4]), mais retirant adroitement [5]) un de ses bras et une de ses testes, car ils luy en donnent plusieurs [6]), il fit d'un nerf une guitarre et commença à chanter devant luy avec tant de melodie, que non seulement il [7]) le laissa aller (44), mais meme luy accorda trente millions d'années de vie et luy a fit encore plusieurs autres presents, entre autre il luy accorda le titre de Roy du ciel et de la terre et de l'enfer, et qu'il put avoir dans son armée deux cents milliards [8]) de Geants, entre lesquels il luy en donna quelques uns qu'avoient cinquante testes et qui etoient si forts, que d'un coup de pied ils faisoient retirer toute la mer de son lieu, de sorte qu'elle demeuroit à sec. — Ravanem avoit d'une epaule à l'autre trente lieues, et il avoit vingt epaules et autant de bras; il gardoit dans son sein un vase plein de l'ambroisie du ciel (45), en quoy consistoit sa vie, que l'on ne pouvoit luy oster jusqu'a ce que le vase fut rompu, quoy qu'on [9]) luy coupa les dix testes qu'il avoit, parcequ'elles renaissoient aussitost; mais avec tant de preservatifs il ne put cependant eviter [10]) à la victoire de Ramen, qui le vainquit, comme nous allons voire [11]). Ravanem, fait hermite, deroba [12]) Sida, femme du Dieu Ramen, qui ne scachant ce qu'elle etoit devenue, et se plaignant de son mauvais sort, fut prier Anouman, qui etoit un Dieu singe, fils du vent, de vouloir etre son embassadeur, parcequ'il etoit doué de

[1]) P.: Il etoit extremement adroit dans l'exercice des armes, et ayant eté sous la protection de Bruma, il en reçevoit plusieurs offensives et d.

[2]) P.: comme on dira au chapitre 4e, et apres leur avoir cassé les dents, il vainquit.

[3]) P.: luy rendre leurs honneurs et leurs hommages dans sa cour.

[4]) P. et celuy de la terre, et le droit de la terre.

[5]) P.: legerement.

[6]) P.: car ils faignent qu'il en a plusieurs.

[7]) P.: Chiven.

[8]) P.: millions.

[9]) P.: encore qu'on.

[10]) P.: il ne put pourtant pas echaper.

[11]) P.: dire.

[12]) P.: fut derober.

plusieurs belles qualités: quand il vouloit, il prenoit une forme gigantesque d'une grandeur sy extraordinaire, qu'il touchoit les etoiles avec la teste et qu'etendant les deux bras, il touchoit les deux poles arctiques et antarctiques. Le singe accorda la demande [1]) de Ramen, et pour luy faire connoitre ce qu'il ignoroit, il fut chercher Sida par tout le monde, et ne l'ayant pu trouver dans la terre ferme, il passa dans l'isle de Ceilon par la bouche du Geant Tadaguy [2]) et trouva sa femme dans cette isle [3]), et la prenant par la main pour l'amener en terre ferme, pour ne la point salir [4]) dans le passage qu'il devoit passer et [5]) faire une autre fois par la bouche du Geant Tadagui (46), il la jetta en l'air sy legerement et sy haut, qu'il eut le tems de passer par la bouche du Geant, de se laver dans la mer et de la recevoir dans ses bras [6]) avant qu'elle fut arrivée a terre. Ce singe etoit si adroit et sy rusé, qu'il parcourut toute l'isle de Ceilon et meme le palais de Ravanem sous la figure d'un ciron (47), et ensuite, reprenant sa forme de singe, il detruisit avec sa queue trois armeés de Geants, et ayant eté conduit devant Ravanem, sans respecter en luy sa qualité de roy de Ceilon, il luy donna un soufflet, tua son fils, et n'ayant pu s'excusser, fut pris par une armée de Geants, qui pour le chatier luy enveloperent la queue (48) avec dix [7]) mille balots de toille, qu'ils prirent dans la douaine du roy, et comme elles n'etoient pas suffisantes, ils prirent de plus tout ce qui se trouva de toille dans l'isle, et arrosant ces toilles avec grand nombre de pipes d'huile, ils y allumerent le feu; mais le singe avec cette queue enflammée brula toute l'isle de Ceilon (48). Le Geant Ravanem, pour eviter cette incendie [8]), monta avec sa fille sur le carosse de Devendiren, et marchant par la region de l'air, fut se cacher [9]) dans les nues (49). Le singe, apres avoir fait cette prouesse et fini glorieusement sa commission, retourna trouver Ramen, qui accompagné de cet excellent singe qui etoit le principal capitaine de son armée et qu'il alloit encore, escorté de mils milliards d'autres singes, avec une armée sy nombreuse il alla mettre le siege devant la forteresse de Ravanen

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[1]) P.: la priere.
[2]) St. C. de 1e maal: Tadaguez, de 2e maal: Tadaguei, P.: Tadagny.
[3]) P.: et trouvant dans cette isle Sida.
[4]) P.: saillir en faillir.
[5]) P, om. passer et.
[6]) P.: mains.
[7]) P. om. dix.
[8]) P.: pour echaper a cette incendie.
[9]) P.: se fut cacher.

dans l'isle de Ceilon; je ne sçais par qui elle pouvoit etre deffendue, puisqu'ils font voir tous les habitans de l'isle peris [1]) par le feu, mais laissant à part une contradiction sy manifeste, continuons la fable. Apres avoir mis ce siege Ramen livra divers batailles considerables aux Geants, qui le blesserent dans une et le mirent en danger de perdre la vie, mais ayant echape de ce peril et apres different succes, il tua Combacarnem, frerre de Ravanen, qui etoit le plus celebre Geant qui ait paru dans le monde. C'est pourquoy il ne sera pas hors de propos de raporter icy quelque chose de tant d'action fabuleuse, qu'ils racontent de luy (50). Pendant que Ravanen soutenoit la guerre la plus cruelle contra Ramen, Combacarnem dormoit avec la plus grande tranquilité du monde, sans que ce grand tumulte fut capable d'interrompre son sommeil et de luy causer le moindre soucy. Cependant Ravanem, qui avoit besoin de luy dans un combat sy opiniatre, resolut de le reveiller, et pour ce subject luy envoya une armée composée de deux millions de Geants et cent mils hommes de cheval et d'un million d'elephants, qui s'estant tous logé sur luy [2]) pour le reveiller, non seulement il ne remut [3]) pas, mais meme il mit cette armée en grand danger, parceque ceux qui etoient logés devant son nez, lorsqu'il venoit a respirer, etoient mis [4]) en deroute et jettés [5]) comme des fleches à plusieurs lieues de la (51). Enfin on y envoya deux cents [6]) mille lutteurs extremement vigoureux, qui luy frapant tous à la fois sur la teste avec de grosses massuës de fer [7]), le reveillerent (52). Ils disent qu'estant reveillé il croioit que quelques moucherons luy avoient picqué la teste (53). Puis sachant l'embarras [8]) de son frerre Ravanen, il se mit en chemin pour l'aller secourir avec des forces extraordinaires contre les singes qui deffendoient le Dieu Ramen, qui luy entroient par la bouche, le nez et les oreilles, et en sortoient (54), apres l'avoir bien mordu et egratigné sans qu'il en sentit rien. Il ne put pourtant pas echaper à la violence de Ramen, qui etant venu en personne pour se battre avec luy à dessein de vaincre ou mourir, et ayant perdu un nombre innombrable de singes,

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[1]) P.: par qui elle etoit deffendue, puisqu'ils suposoient que tous les habitans de Ceilon avoient été consummés.

[2]) P.: Combacarnem.

[3]) P.: remuoit.

[4]) Ontbr. in St. C.

[5]) jettoient St. C.

[6]) P. om.

[7]) P. voegt in: et avec une force extraordinaire.

[8]) P. i. p. v. deze woorden: et voyant l'embassadeur.

le tua à coups de fleches et fut reputé par cette victoire pour [1]) le plus grand capitaine du monde, et se trouvant animé d'un nouveau courage, prit la resolution avec les singes, qui etoient sortis sains et sauves [2]) du combat, de presser plus vivement [3]) la forteresse de Ravanen, qui etoit un labirinte entouré de sept [4]) murailles, dont la premiere etoit de fer, la seconde de cuivre, la troisieme de bronze, la quatrieme de laiton, la cinquieme de tentonage, la sixieme d'argent et la septieme d'or (55). Elle etoit située au millieu de l'isle de Ceilon et contenoit au dedans deux cents milles rues droites et autant de traversieres. Ravanen sortit de sa forteresse avec ses Geants pour faire lever le siege et pour combattre Ramen, les autres Dieux singes. Le combat fut sy sanglant que le singe Cumudan [5]), general (56) de l'armée de Ramen composée de seize [6]) millions de singes, tua deux milliards [7]) de Geants, mais Ravanen ne perdit pas courage pour cela, au contraire, cherchant Ramen parmy la fureur du combat et l'attaquant seul à seul [8]), le blessa grievement, mais ensuite il fut la victime de sa valeur, car le Dieu Ramen, se voyant dangereusement blessé et prest de perdre la vie par le tranchant de son adversaire, appella viste les singes à son secours, les conjurant [9]) de ne le point abandonner dans ce dernier combat, et decocha [10]) en meme tems une fleche avec tant de force et d'adresse qu'il la fit entrer dans l'estomach de Ravanen, qui luy ayant brisé le vase d'ambroisie celeste, qu'il portoit [11]) en ce lieu la comme il est dit cydevant, dans lequel consistoit sa valeur et sa vie, le tua (57) et apres sa mort recouvra sa femme Sida, et apres avoir donné le royaume à Viebichinem, frerre du defunct, il se retira dans la ville d'Aioty (58), ou il n'eut pas moins de peine à se delivrer de la guerre injuste, que luy firent ses deux enfants. Puis, les ayant enfin combattus [12]) avec different succes, un des deux etant mort dans une bataille (59), il laissa le royaume en paix a l'autre et mourut.

La neuvieme incarnation que fit Vichnou fut dans un homme

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[1]) niet in P.
[2]) P.: sortis avec la vie sauve.
[3]) P.: etroitement.
[4]) P.: de sept rangs de murailles.
[5]) P.: Anouman.
[6]) P.: six cent.
[7]) P.: millions.
[8]) P.: et combattant seul à seul avec luy.
[9]) P.: priant.
[10]) P.: decochant.
[11]) P.: gardoit.
[12]) P.: Apres les avoir combattus.

appellé Chrisnen, qui veut dire homme noir. Ils la raportent de la sorte. Il y avoit dans le monde un roy appellé Cupressen (60), qui etoit ennemy mortel de toutes sortes de vertus. Ce roy avoit une soeur appellée Echouady (61), laquelle etant mariée, Cupressen eut des avis certains par le moyen des devins, que le huitieme fils qu'auroit sa soeur, le devoit tuer. Ces avis luy firent concevoir une haine mortelle contre tous les enfants d'Echouady, et il les faisoit mourir aussitost qui'ils naissoient [1]). L'heure etant venue que Vichnou s'incarna dans Chrisnen, qui etoit le huitieme fils d'Echouady, pour tuer son oncle Cupressen, lequel etant averty de sa naissance, se mit en devoir de luy oster la vie avec bien plus de diligence qu'il n'avoit fait à tuer ses autres frerres, mais la mere, à qui ses autres enfants avoient donné l'experience et la connoissance de ce qui devoit [2]) arriver de ce dernier, craignant que la colere et la haine de son frerre ne [3]) luy enlevat comme les premiers, le remit entre les mains de son mary et le pria de fuir avec l'enfant, quoy qu'il ne fut pas bien facile au pere de Chrisnen de s'evader [4]), parceque le roy son beau pere avoit deja mis des sentinelles pour l'observer; il [5]) trouva pourtant le moyen d'eviter la vigilance [6]) des gardes, et prenant la fuite, il donna l'enfant à des [7]) bergers, afin qu'ils prissent soin de l'elever sans que cela [8]) put venir à la connoissance du roy. Cela ne put neantmoins se faire si secretement, que le roy n'en eut incontinent avis, et luy meme en personne le fut chercher pour le tuer, mais dans le moment qu'il persuadoit le tenir entre ses mains, et qu'il luy vouloit briser la teste contre une pierre, il trouva entre ses mains une petite fille que Chrisnen par un art magique y avoit fait paroitre, et par cet artifice il eut moyen de s'evader, et la petite fille non seulement ne perdit pas la vie mais [9]), donnant un grand coup de pieds dans l'estomach du roy, le renversa par terre, et s'echapant de ses mains, luy dit: L'ennemy que tu cherches est allieurs (62). On ne peut pas exprimer le deplaisir qu'eut Cupressen de se voir ainsy trompé [10]); il ne desista pourtant pas de son entre-

[1]) P.: et dans le moment qu'ils naissoient il les faisoit mourir.
[2]) P.: pouvoit.
[3]) Zoo alle drie de hss. l. ne le.
[4]) De zin: quoy qu'il..... evader. ontbr. in P.
[5]) ontbr. in P.
[6]) P.: d'eluder la violence.
[7]) P.: quelques.
[8]) P.: la chose.
[9]) P. voegt in: Chrisnem.
[10]) P. voegt in: quand il seut que son neveu qu'il cherchoit avec tant d'ardeur avoit echapé á sa collere.

prise, car il envoya ordre à tous ses vasseaux de le tuer [1]), mais voyant qu'il ne pouvoit venir à bout de son dessein, il ordonna aux Geants de luy oster la vie, et ceux la ne pouvant pas non plus l'excusser [2]), il s'adressa aux Diables, qui ne purent non plus le faire mourir. Chrisnen etoit si adroit et si rusé que, sçachant que son oncle le vouloit faire tuer par un [3]) phantome (63), qu'il luy assigna pour luy servir de nourice, il luy but l'ame avec le laict et echapa de cette manierre à ce danger. Chrisnen etant encore jeune deroba aux bergers comme [4]) qui l'elevoient une grande quantité de beure (64), et comme il vouloit s'enfuir avec son larcin pour echaper des mains des bergers, comme il avoit fait des mains de son oncle [5]), n'eut pas le meme bonheur, car ayant eté pris par ces bergers, il fut attaché malgré luy a un arbre, et fut vigoureusement foueté [6]). Se voyant dans un age un peu plus avancé, il commença à faire la guerre au roy son oncle, et apres plusieurs batailles livrées avec differents succes, il tua à la fin le roy Cupressen, et se voyant delivré d'un sy puissant ennemy, il ne songea plus qu'à prendre du repos, et apres s'estre marié avec deux femmes de qualité, il fut se mettre en concubinage avec seize milles bergeres, mais, comme il se souvenoit toujours des coups de fouet qu'il avoit reçu dans leurs maisons, et pour ne pas courir risque d'en recevoir d'autres semblables, en mecontentant ses concubines, une nuict il se produisit dans seize mille endroits, et se trouva en meme tems avec toutes ses bergeres (65), faisant croire a chacune d'elles qu'il avoit quitté toutes les autres pour elle [7]). — Apres cette impertinence il en fit une autre bien plus grande (66), car voyant un jour plusieurs femmes d'honneur se laver dans un etang, comme c'est la coutume du pays, il leur deroba leurs habits qu'elles avoient laissés un peu a l'ecart, et montant sur un arbre il les y cacha [8]), et voyant venir ces femmes couvertes de feuilles qui croissent [9]) dans les etangs (67), il ne voulut pas leur rendre leurs habits, jusqu'à ce qu'elles l'eussent adoré en elevant leurs deux mains sur leurs testes (68), cequ'elles ne pouvoient faire sans que les feuilles dont

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[1]) P.: de tuer Chrisnem.
[2]) P.: l'executter.
[3]) P.: le vouloit tuer par le moyen d'un.
[4]) Dit woord niet in P.
[5]) P.: comme il avoit echapé de celles de son oncle.
[6]) P. voegt in: recompense deüe a un tel Dieu et à de semblables actions.
[7]) P.: que pour l'amour d'elle il avoit quitté toutes les autres.
[8]) P.: il s'y cacha.
[9]) P.: de feuilles d'un arbrisseau qui croit.

elles s'etoient couvertes, ne tombassent et qu'elle ne demeurassent nudes en sa presence, cequ'ayant fait [1]) il leur rendit leurs habits [2]).

Voila ce que les Gentils disent de leurDieu Vichnou, lequel à ce qu'ils disent, doit encore s'incarner pour la dixieme fois en cheval (69), et que en attendant, il est couché sur une couleuvre [3]) qui a cinq testes (70), dans la mer de laict, qui est une des sept qu'ils admettent dans ce monde.

La vie de Rutren.

Rutren fut dernier fils de Parachaty et son premier mary, un des plus mechants (hommes) qui ayent paru dans ce monde. Ils ont feint qu'il etoit Artanary (71), c'est à dire hermaphrodite [4]). Il se maria cependant avec Parvadi [5]), fille du roy des montagnes. Ils n'ont point de honte d'assurer qu'il demeura avec elle l'espace de mils ans [6]) dans l'acte du mariage, ceque voyant les autres Dieux [7]), ils crurent que Rutren etoit devenu fol, ils le prirent par force et separerent d'avec sa femme (72), laquelle en fut si irritée qu'elle leur donna a tous sa malediction afin qu'aucun Dieu n'eut d'enfants ny de femmes legitimes [8]), mais seulement plusieurs femmes publiques, et cette malediction fut suivie de l'effect, ensuite de quoy l'infame Rutren s'en fut comme insensé repandre sa semence [9]) par tous les quatres elements; l'air, le feu et l'eau ne l'ayant pu souffrir, il n'y eut que la terre qui le reçut dans un endroit ou elle etoit ouverte de six costés [10]), et aussitost il en sortit et naquit un enfant, qui avoit six testes. Comme il ne se trouvoit point dans ce monde de nourice, qui voulut luy donner du laict, les sept etoiles du mattin [11]) le vinrent allaicter (73), et luy donnerent le nom de Camarasouamy, qui est à dire: Seigneur fils, et les idolatres Gentils luy portent [12])

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[1]) P.: et sans qu'elles demeurassent toutes decouvertes, et apres qu'elles l'eurent fait.

[2]) P. voegt in: Tant il est vray qu'un tel Dieu n'a pas de honte et ceux la n'en ont encore moins, qui, connoissant sa turpidité, l'adorent et le servent.

[3]) P.: ... en cheval, action veritablement digne d'une telle beste, qu'ils assurent estre a present couché sur une couleuvre.

[4]) P. voegt in: moitié homme et moitié femme.

[5]) P.: Parmady.

[6]) P.: avec elle mille ans continuels.

[7]) P.: les Dieux Bruma et Vichnou.

[8]) P.: propres.

[9]) P.: reprendre sa femme (!).

[10]) P.: en six endroits.

[11]) du matin niet in P.

[12]) P.: qui veut dire le Seigneur fils des idolatres et luy portent.

une telle devotion, que dans leurs ecritures, obligations [1]) et lettres ils mettent toujours au commencement ces mots: *Aroumougan tounay* (74), qui est à dire: celui qui a six testes nous aide, ou soit à [2]) nostre compagnie. — Apres cette merveille ils ont supposé que Parvady etoit née [3]) d'un roy nomme Dachapraiabady [4]), et que Rutren s'etoit remarié avec elle, et qu'elle etant un jour [5]) à se laver [6]), son mary n'etant pas à la maison, il luy vint un sy grand desir d'avoir un fils, qu'aussitost elle fut toute en sueur, et que dans le meme instant il luy en naquit un dans la main de la sueur qu'elle tira de [7]) son sein (75) et l'appella Vinagien, c'est à dire: qui n'est pas Dieu (76). Rutren revenant en sa maison, sans sçavoir cequi s'estoit passé et voyant Vinagien parler avec Parvady, en conçut un tres grand ressentiment et fut sur le point de l'abandonner, mais qu'elle connoissant [8]) son humeur, l'apaisa aussitost en lui decouvrant ce qui s'estoit passé, ce qui luy fut un tres grand subject de joye et de consolation, mais elle ne demeura ny dura pas longtems [9]), parceque le roy son beau-pere, ayant fait un sacrifice que l'on nomme Echiam (77) et y ayant convié tous les Dieux, soit par oubly ou par le ressentiment qu'il avoit [10]) des sottises de son gendre [11]), il ne le convia pas. Rutren s'en trouva sy offensé qu'il s'en vint tout furieux au lieu du sacrifice et du banquet des Dieux [12]), et arrachant une touffe de ses cheveux, il en frapa la terre avec une telle force (78), que de la violence du coup il nacquit sur le champ un Geant, qui pretendant venger l'insulte [13]) que l'on avoit faite à Rutren, et faire montrer de sa valeur, donna [14]) un soufflet au soleil et luy fit sortir tous les dents de la bouche (79). C'est par cette raison que les Gentils de la secte du Soleil [15]) ne luy offrent que des choses molles et

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[1]) Zoo P., oblations St. C.
[2]) P.: dans.
[3]) Verbeterd, het hs.: reine.
[4]) St. C. hier en later Dachapraibady, P.: Dachaprajady (en -by).
[5]) verbeterd, St. C.: toujours.
[6]) P. voegt in: dans un jardin lorsque.
[7]) St. C.: dans.
[8]) P.: mais elle qui connoissoit.
[9]) P.: laquelle ne dura pas longtems.
[10]) P.: qu'il avoit dit.
[11]) P. voegt in: et de son mauvais procedé.
[12]) P.: qu'il vint tout furieux au lieu ou son beau pere faisoit le sacrifice et le banquet aux Dieux.
[13]) P.: l'injure.
[14]) P.: ...a Rutrem, entre les actions de valeur qu'il fit la, il donna.
[15]) P.: que les Gentils qui l'adorent.

douces comme laict, beure, farine, ou des fruicts d'une grande maturité (80). Il foula aussy aux pieds de la Lune, et luy fit toutes les taches ou macules que l'on remarque encore aujourd'huy en elle (81), et tua le roy Dachapraiabady et beaucoup d'autres. Il coupa aussy la teste à Vinagien. Apres que la colere de Rutren fut apaisée et le combat fini, il fut chercher le fils de Parvady, qui avoit comme il est dit cydessus, perdu la vie par la violence du Geant, et le trouvant sans teste, il coupa celle d'un elephant et la colla si adroitement sur le corps de Vinagien (82), que par elle il luy rendit la vie et luy dit, qu'il ne se marieroit point qu'apres avoir trouvé [1]) une femme qui egalat en beauté Parvady, et c'est la raison pour laquelle [2]) on met dans toutes ces terres cette idole dans les chemins, la face tournée du costé de l'orient, pour voir s'il poura trouver [3]) une femme aussy belle que sa mere (83), et jusqu'à present, selon leur raport, il ne s'en est point trouvé [4]). — Apres la resurrection de Vinagien, qui se nomme aussy Pulear (84), Rutren par l'ordre des Dieux fut couper la teste à Bruma, qui, s'estant transformé en cerf, vivoit en concubinage avec sa propre fille, et apres avoir executé cet ordre, en quoy ils disent qu'il fit un grand peché, pour en faire penitence, il se depouilla tout nud sans garder le moindre vestement [5]), et demeuroit dans les campagnes, couvert de cendre, tenant à [6]) la main le crasne de Bruma (85) et passoit les jours et les nuicts avec tant de douleur et de repentir, qu'il en devint fol; mais enfin, ennuyé de faire une si rude [7]) penitence, il resolut de la quitter, pour retourner au plaisir [8]), et scachant que dans un desert proche (86) de la il y avoit plusieurs Brahames penitents qui y habitoient, il y fut et par art magique il exita dans le coeur de leurs femmes une si ardente flamme de concupissence et d'amour pour luy, qu'entrant dans ce lieu tout nud pour demander l'aumone, les femmes de ces penitents [9]) quitterent leurs maris pour le suivre; mais cequ'il croyoit luy devoir [10]) causer un indicible plaisir, luy causa le plus grand chagrin et le plus grand ressentiment qu'il eut jamais senti, parceque ces Brahames, ne pouvant souffrir une si

[1]) P.: point qu'il n'eut trouvé.
[2]) P.: pourquoy.
[3]) P.: rencontrer.
[4]) P.: et jusqu'à present, à ce qu'ils disent, il n'en a pu trouver.
[5]) P.: sans garder la moindre chose sur luy.
[6]) P.: dans.
[7]) P.: rigoureuse.
[8]) P.: pour gouster les plaisirs.
[9]) P.: les femmes de ces Brames penitents, eperdues d'amour pour ce Dieu.
[10]) devoir niet in P.

grande trahison, donnerent leur malediction à ce Dieu, pour qu'à l'instant il se trouvat eunuque, cequi luy arriva (87), et ne pouvant trouver de remede à son deplaisir, il leur dit qu'il accorderoit la jouissance de la gloire à celuy qui luy sacrifieroit les parties, qui luy etoient tombées [1]), ceque plusieurs firent tout aussytost, et non content de luy avoir fait ce sacrifice, ils firent une idole qui porte pour figure les parties naturelles de l'homme et de la femme, qu'ils nomment Lingam [2]), que les uns portent attaché au col, les autres à la teste, les autres aux bras, outre que les Pagodes et les grands chemins sont pleins de cette idole de Lingam [3]), qu'ils nomment aussy : le grand Dieu de pierre. Il y a une castre d'hommes et de femmes, que l'on nomme Andis (88), qui la portent attachée au col (89). Ce sont les plus grands ennemis de nostre sainte religion dans ces terres, ce sont les plus grands ignorants, les plus superbes que j'ay vu dans ces pays [3]). On y voit aussy une autre secte qui imite l'infame penitence de Rutren [4]), dont les sectateurs que l'on nomme Lares (90), vont tout nuds, couverts de cendre, demandant l'aumone, et [5]) sont estimés dans ces terres pour des Saints, et plusieurs d'entre eux portent l'idole [6]) du Lingam [2]) serré dans leurs deux mains, qu'ils tiennent continuellement elevées au dessus de leurs testes sans jamais les changer de situation, cequi les fait secher et devenir dans la suite immobiles, de sorte qu'il faut que les autres leur mettent le manger dans la bouche, et il ne manque point dans ce pays de gens, qui leur viennent rendre ce charitable office [7]). — Apres que Rutren eut eté ainsy maudit, il se maria avec la rivierre [8]) du Gange, qu'ils disent etre une tres belle femme, mais comme il avoit cette incommodité [9]), il n'eut point d'enfants et se contentoit de la porter toujours sur sa teste [10]), mais comme elle n'estoit pas satisfaite [11]) de cela, ils disent qu'à l'insu de son mary elle en porte

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[1]) P.: ses parties, qui luy etoient tombées par la malediction des Brames.

[2]) St. C.: linguan.

[3]) P.: de nostre religion, ces terres et ces royaumes fournissent des gens les plus ignorants, les plus superbes et les plus contencieux que j'aye jamais vu,

[4]) P.: qui imite Rutren dans son infame penitence.

[5]) P.: qui.

[6]) P.: l'image.

[7]) P.: qui font cette charité.

[8]) P.: la fleuve.

[9]) P.: mais comme il avoit par droit de nature un empechement.

[10]) P.: et il se contentoit de porter toujours sa femme sur ses epaules ou sur sa teste.

[11]) P.: contente.

aussy un autre sur sa teste (91), et Rutren [1]), apres avoir experimenté plusieurs evenements de la fortune tantost bons, tantost mauvais, fut delivré par Vichnou du plus grand peril ou il se fut trouvé dans sa vie. Il y avoit un Geant, nommé Pasmejuren, qui est à dire [2]): le seigneur de la cendre (92), qui avoit fait plusieurs années de penitence en l'honneur de Rutren, et qui luy en vint demander la recompense, lequel luy accorda en luy donnant [3]) le pouvoir de convertir [4]) en cendre tous ceux, sur la teste desquels il pouroit mettre la main. Le Geant, voulant sçavoir si la grace que Rutren luy avoit accordé sy liberalement, etoit bien veritable, voulut l'eprouver sur luy meme, et se mit en devoir de luy mettre les mains sur la teste. Rutren connoissant le mal qu'il avoit fait et se voyant reduit à une extremité, ou il ne s'estoit jamais trouvé, usa de ses sacrifices [5]) de magie pour disparoitre devant luy, et fut se [6]) cacher dans un fruit (93) qu'on appelle *Aivalericai* [7]), qui n'est pas plus gros qu'une noizette, ceque Vichnou ayant appris, il prit la figure d'une femme publique fort belle et fort lassive, et se presenta devant Pasmejuren [8]), qui, se trouvant epris de sa beauté, la pria qu'elle luy permit d'habiter avec elle. La femme luy repondit que comme il avoit fait penitence pendant tant d'années, et que les corbeaux [9]) avoient fait leurs nids dans ses cheveux, qu'ensuite [10]) il avoit la teste fort sale, et qu'il fut se laver à [11]) la rivierre, puisque [12]) ensuite elle luy accorderoit sa demande [13]). Le Geant courut d'abord se laver avec beaucoup d'empressement, tant la passion l'emportoit [14]), et trouva son entiere ruine, en cequ'il croyait luy devoir procurer une grande satisfaction [15]), car voulant se frotter sa teste avec ses mains, il ne l'eut pas plustost touchée, qu'elle se reduisit en poudre [16]), au grand contentement de

[1]) P.: elle porte un autre homme sur sa teste, qui n'a pas le meme empechement que Rutren, qui, apres etc.
[2]) P.: qui veut dire.
[3]) Deze drie woorden niet in P.
[4]) P.: reduire.
[5]) ces sacr. niet in P.
[6]) P.: se fut.
[7]) P.: *aimalericay*.
[8]) St. C.: pasmesuren, P.: pasmajsurem.
[9]) P. voegt in: et les corneilles.
[10]) qu'ensuite niet in P.
[11]) P.: la laver dans.
[12]) P.: et que.
[13]) P. i. p. v. sa demande: la grace qu'il luy demanda.
[14]) De tusschenzin niet in P.
[15]) P.: beaucoup de plaisir.
[16]) P.: cendre.

Vichnou, qui, se depouillant de sa forme [1]) de femme, fut avertir Rutren, qu'il pouvoit avec toute sureté sortir [2]) du fruict, ou il s'estoit caché, mais qu'il ne retombat [3]) pas en de pareilles sottises, et luy conta comme par son artifice [4]) il avoit detruit le Geant, sans toutes fois luy dire de quoy il s'estoit servy, ceque Rutren luy ayant demandé, Vichnou refusa de luy dire [5]), l'assurant que, s'il le voyoit sous la meme figure, il demeureroit sy eperdu, qu'il ne seroit plus en etat [6]) d'agir comme il luy convenoit de faire. Cette raison ne fut pas suffisante pour faire desister Rutren de sa demande, au contraire, la difficulté que faisoit Vichnou de luy decouvrir la chose, ne fit qu'augmenter le desir qu'il avoit de le sçavoir et l'exiter a luy demander avec plus d'empressement, tant que Vichnou [7]) se laissant gagner à sa prierre [7]) luy apparut sous la meme figure de femme qu'au Geant. Rutren (94) epris d'une sy extraordinaire beauté, fut tout hors de luy meme et devint à l'instant pere d'un fils, qui de ce regard magique naquit dans les mains [8]) de Vichnou qu'ils nommerent Arigarputren, qui est à dire: fils de Vichnou et de Rutren. Que d'insolence et que d'absurdités! [9]).

Quand on vient à disputer avec ces barbares Gentils, ils n'avancent rien qui ne soit contradictoire, car apres avoir accordé que Dieu doit etre un Estre de luy meme et par consequent eternel, immense et infiny en toute sorte de perfections, et comme tel impeccable et incorporel et le premier principe de toutes choses, ils disent ensuite que les trois frerres Bruma, Vichnou et Rutren sont des Dieux, quoyqu'ils leur assignent une cause efficiente, qui a du les precéder

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[1]) P.: qui laissant cette forme.

[2]) P.: qu'il etoit tems de sortir.

[3]) St. C.: retomba, P.: retourna.

[4]) St. C.: sacrifice.

[5]) P.: ... detruit le Gean Pasmejurem. Rutrem desirant sçavoir l'artifice dont s'etoit servy Vichnou le pria de le luy vouloir decouvrir, ceque Vichnou refusa de faire plusieurs fois.

[6]) P.: luy disant que s'il le voyoit dans la meme figure, dans laquelle il avoit paru au Geant, il demeureroit eperdu et hors d'etat.

[7]) P.: c'est pourquoy V. vaincu par ses prieres.

[8]) P.: de ce regard nasquit entre les mains.

[9]) In pl. v. dezen zin P.: Voila les turpidités et brutalités que ces Gentils raportent de Vichnou et de Rutrem leurs Dieux avec beaucoup d'autres, que la modestie ne permet pas de dire; mais ce qu'il y a d'etonnant c'est de voir ces mizerables aveuglés reconnoissant et adore comme des Dieux ceux de qui ils content tant de mechancetés, tant de tromperies et tant d'infamies. Et ils se divisent en deux sectes, les uns qui suivent Vichnou que l'on nomme les Vichnouvistes, et les autres Rutrem, qu'on appelle aussy Chiven, et sont nommés les devots de Chiven.

en existence, et qu'ils leur attribuent une naissance, un tems et un lieu limité, et qu'ils confessent qu'ils sont corporels et ignorants; et quand on leur dit que Dieu, etant essentiellement bon, ne peut pecher, ils repondent sans avoir honte, que Bruma, Vichnou et Rutren n'ont jamais peché, et que les mechantes brutalités et les turpitudes, que nous avons rapportés, ne sont que de jeux et de saints divertissements, parcequ'il est aussy impossible, disent ils, qu'il se trouve des pechés en Dieu, comme il est impossible au feu de produire quelque chose qui ait vie. Mais avec cette comparaison on leur peut faire cet argument: une chose qui peut produire quelque chose de vivant ne peut etre feu; selon nous donc aucune personne [1]) qui commet le peché, ne peut etre Dieu, parcequ'il repugne d'avantage à Dieu de commetre des pechés qu'au feu de produire quelque chose qui ait vie; or il est certain que les [2]) pretendus Dieux Bruma, Vichnou et Rutren ont commis des pechés et des adulteres, des meurtres et des homicides [3]), donc ils ne sont pas Dieux. — Une erreur [4]) que ces Gentils ont touchant la Divinité, est de croire que Dieu tel qu'il soit, est la cause du peché .... ils n'ont point de honte d'admettre des contraires à ce subject, disant que c'est Dieu qui deffend le peché sous de tres rigoureuses peines, et qu'il est tres juste; c'est pourquoy ils l'appellent dans leur Grandam [5]): *Ninâparen* [6]), c'est à dire: Seigneur de la justice . . . (95)

(*volgt* 1½ *pagina met theologische argumentatie*).

Mais puisque la gloire est la recompense de la vertu, et l'enfer du peché [7]), il faut à present rapporter les erreurs que ces Gentils ont touchant le Paradis et l'Enfer, quelles sont les idées qu'ils s'en forment et en quoy ils font consister la recompense de la vertu et la punition des vices [8]).

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[1]) P.: . . . ne peut etre feu selon vous, et aucune personne.

[2]) P.: vos.

[3]) P.: . . . ont fait des homicides, des adulteres, des larcins et des incestes, ce que vous confessez etre de grands pechés.

[4]) P.: une autre erreur.

[5]) St. C.: Gradam, P.: Grondam.

[6]) Zoo St. C. P.: *Nidaparen* (of *-parem*).

[7]) P.: et l'enfer la peine du peché.

[8]) Van af: quelles sont les idées... tot... des vices, niet in P.

CHAPITRE 2ME.

DES ERREURS TOUCHANT LE PARADIS ET L'ENFER.

Ils disent qu'on goute les delices de la gloire dans cinq endroits. Au premier ils donnent [1]) le nom de Choarcam [2]) ou selon leur opinion demeure Devendiren, roy des Dieux, avec ses deux femmes Jacqui (96) et Indinary [3]), outre lesquelles il y a cinq femmes publiques celebres par leur beauté qui le servent et qui servent aussy les trois cent trente milliards [4]) de Dieux, qui avec plusieurs milliards [4]) de femmes publiques goutant toutes sortes de delices et ont [5]) aussy leur gloire dans le Choarcam. Il y a aussy quarante huit mille penitents (97), qui participent à leur bonheur. Ils disent que sans leur avis les Dieux ne peuvent rien ordonner de [6]) ce monde ny de [6]) l'autre, mais comme ce qu'ils appellent gloire du Paradis, ne l'est pas, ny ne remplit le coeur de l'homme, ny n'exclud point toutes sortes d'imperfections, proprietés qui doivent accompagner la gloire du Ciel [7]), ils ne font point de difficulté de dire que le Dieu Devendiren [8]), ne se trouvant pas satisfait des delices que l'on goute dans ce lieu la, et presumant [9]) que l'on en goute de plus estimables dans ce monde, a laissé celles de la gloire pour jouir des plaisirs de cette vie, ce qui prouve tres clairement, que la gloire dont il jouit ne peut etre celle du ciel, cequi paroit par la fable suivante (98), qu'ils disent etre une verité incontestable [10]), et voila comme ils la racontent [11]). Il y avoit un penitent [12]) nommé Gaudamen, qui demeuroit proche de la fleuve du Gange avec sa femme Agaillei [13]),

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[1]) Zoo P. St. C.: dont la premiere auquel ils donnent.
[2]) P. heeft geregeld Chourcam.
[3]) Zoo St. C., in P. is deze zin overgeslagen.
[4]) P.: millions.
[5]) ont niet in P. De zin loopt ook overigens niet.
[6]) P.: dans.
[7]) P.: d'imperfections, ce qui doit necessairement etre dans le Ciel.
[8]) P.: que l'infame D.
[9]) P.: ... des delices qu'il goustoit dans le Chourcam, et jugeant...
[10]) P.: infaillible.
[11]) P.: raportent.
[12]) P.: un Geant ou un penitent.
[13]) Zoo St. C. beneden; hier: Aglaillei; P.: Agaly; de Dialogo: Agaleiai (l.: Agalliai).

qui etoit à ce qu'ils disent extraordinairement belle et ce fut la la raison pour lequel Devendiren prit la resolution de se faire compagnon du penitent dans ce genre de mortification [1]), et sçachant que Gaudamen ne manquoit pas tous les matins de se lever au chant du cocq et de s'aller laver [2]) dans le Gange, afin d'avoir plus de loisir pour mettre son infame dessein à execution [3]), il se transforma en cocq et chanta deux fois à minuit aupres de la maison du penitent, qui, ne voulant pas negliger de [4]) sa bonne coutume, se leva aussitost pour s'aller laver comme il faisoit tous les jours [5]); mais arrivant la, et voyant que le fleuve dormoit encore, il infera de la, que ce n'estoit pas un veritable cocq qui avoit chanté, mais que c'estoit son imagination qui avoit eté frappé en songe, cequi l'avoit trompé [6]), et s'en retourna en sa maison ou il trouva Devendiren, qui executoit son infame dessein [7]), cequi causa un si grand deplaisir au peninent qu'il le maudit en disant que tous les membres de son corps se changeassent en la figure de ce que son adultere coeur avoit desiré [8]), et cette malediction eut son effect, et l'infame Dieu Devendiren, se voyant dans un etat si vilain à voir et sy honteux de luy meme se jetta aux pieds du penitent, et avec de grandes instances luy demanda qu'il luy fit la grace de luy changer [9]) une sy honteuse penitence, ce que Gaudamen en fit en partie, car voulant que la figure demeurat de meme à l'egard de Devendiren, il ordonna qu'il parut aux autres [10]) remply d'yeux.. Voila dans quel etat se trouve le roy des Dieux des Gentils, et sy le roy est tel, il est facile de sentir [11]) quelle doit estre la turpitude des vasseaux, qui n'ont point de honte de le voir dans un tel etat et de l'adorer. Pour l'adultere Agaillei par la malediction de son mary se convertit aussitost en pierre, mais ayant eté ensuite engrossie (99) par Vichnou, non seulement elle recommença à vivre, mais encore à vivre en grande union [12]) avec son mary.

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[1]) P.: penitence.

[2]) P.: ...tous les jours au chant du cocq de sortir de sa maison pour s'aller laver.

[3]) P.: le Gange, et pour mettre en execution son infame projet.

[4]) In P. ontbr. „de".

[5]) P.: ....coutume, partit de sa maison pour s'aller laver dans le Gange.

[6]) P.: mais que c'estoit un songe ou son imagination qui l'avoit trompé.

[7]) P.: qui etoit couché avec sa femme.

[8]) P.: en la figure qu'il avoit desiré pour commettre l'adultere.

[9]) P.: luy demanda de luy changer.

[10]) P.: qu'il apparut aux yeux des autres.

[11]) P.: concevoir.

[12]) P.: elle commence à vivre, mais elle est encore en grande union.

(*volgt* $^1/_2$ *pagina met theologische argumentatie*).

Voyons à present ce qu'ils disent du second. Ils disent que ce lieu de gloire qu'ils appellent Vaicondam (100), est celuy ou demeure Vichnou avec ses deux femmes (101) et une miote ou vautour, qui luy sert de cheval, et c'est la raison pourquoy ces Gentils adorent cet oiseau et le respectent à un tel exces que plusieurs rois ou princes, sortant de leur palais, s'ils le voyent voler, descendent de leurs Endolis [1]) et se prosternent contre terre et l'adorent. Les Vichnouistes disent que tous ceux de leur secte en mourant vont estre bienheureux en celui la et qu' ainsy que le feu convertit en sa propre substance tout ce que l'on y met [2]) pour l'augmenter, ainsy Vichnou convertit en luy meme tous ceux qui ont le bonheur de le voir en sa gloire. (*volgt ruim* 1 *pag. met theologische argumentatie, waarin*:) .. et ce que j'ay avancé n'est point detruit par la raison qu'alleguent les Vichnouvistes, en disant que la gloire du Vaicondam est eternelle et que l'autre ne l'est pas, qui est la distinction, qu'ils font du Choarcam d'avec le Vaicondam . . .[3])

Le troisieme endroit de la gloire est nommé parmy eux Cailasam, qu'ils disent etre une montagne d'argent située dans la partie du Nord, et que c'est la ou est Rutren avec sa femme et les autres femmes, et qu'il y a la aussy son taureau, qui luy sert de monture quand il marche (102), et selon leur doctrine ce lieu est destiné pour etre le sejour de tous ceux de leur secte, qui sont les sectateurs du Lingam et beaucoup d'autres. Quand on leur demande quel est l'essence de la gloire dont on jouit dans ce lieu la, ils repondent qu'elle consiste sy [4]) bien à aimer [5]) Dieu et le posseder que tous les hommes qui le suivent ont toutes sortes de plaisirs, d'honneurs et de grandeurs, parceque dans ce lieu la, outre que tous assistent devant Dieu en le servant, les uns a l'eventer pour que la chaleur ne l'incommode [6]), les autres à luy tenir le crachoir, pour qu'avilissant sa majesté, il ne vienne cracher par terre [7]), les autres à l'eclairer avec des torches allumées pour le garantir de l'obversité des tenebres [8]), et tous le servent parcequ'il a besoin de tous; outre

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[1]) P.: doulis.
[2]) P.: la matiere qu'on y met.
[3]) P.: qu'ils font de la Gloire du Chourcam d'avec celle du V.
[4]) P.: aussy.
[5]) P.: posseder en laat weg: et le posseder.
[6]) P.: de peur qu'il ne soit incommodé de la chaleur.
[7]) P.: de peur que sa majesté ne vienne à cracher à terre.
[8]) P.: de obscurité et des tenebres.

cela c'est qu'il y a, disent ils, une grande quantité de femmes publiques, qui leur servent à satisfaire à leurs desirs [1]), et comme pendant leur vie ils font consister leur bonheur en cela, ils veulent le conserver apres la mort [2]).

(*volgt* 1 1/2 *pagina met theologische argumentatie*).

Voyons à present ce qu'ils disent de la quatrieme lieu de gloire. Ce lieu s'appelle Brumalogam, qui est à dire [3]): demeure [4]) de Bruma, ou bien, Satialogam (103), qui est à dire [3]): monde de la verité, ou ils disent que Bruma est avec sa femme Sarasvady et un cigne, qu'ils assurent estre son cheval, et qu'il n'y a qu'en ce lieu que se trouve cet oiseau [5]). Ils ne disent point de particularités de cette gloire, et qu'ils en ignorent la nature, c'est pourquoy comme ils ne peuvent dire en quoy consiste la gloire de Brumalogam, ils se contentent de dire, que c'est sa residence et celle de sa femme et de son cigne.

Voyons le cinquieme [6]). Ils appellent le cinquieme lieu de gloire Malampadam (104), qui est à dire [3]): lieu supreme a tous les autres [7]). Ils disent que c'est la, ou est la premiere cause qu'ils nomment *Parabravata* (105) qui est à dire [3]): le tres excellent Etre. La gloire de ce lieu conciste en cinq choses, qu'ils appellent: *sanitiam, samippiam, sanchiam* [8]), *saruppiam, salochiam* (106), qui sont à dire [9]): presence, approximation, mixtion, corruption et vision. Et sur cela il y a deux opinions [10]). Les uns (disent), qu'il suffit aux hommes pour etre bienheureux de posseder un des dits predicaments, et les autres assurent, qu'ils sont tout cinq necessaires. C'est avec ces cinq proprietés que se trouvent dans la gloire du Malampadam apres leur mort tous les Religieux qu'ils appellent Saniazes.

(*volgt* 3/4 *pagina met theologische argumentatie*).

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[1]) P.: de femmes publiques pour satisfaire leurs desirs.
[2]) De laatste zin niet in P.
[3]) P.: qui veut dire.
[4]) P.: monde.
[5]) P.: et qu'il n'y a qu'eux dans ce lieu.
[6]) P. i. p. v. dezen zin: Il n'y a d'autres raisons qui nous oblige d'admettre que l'on gouste dans ce lieu une veritable felicité, c'est pourquoy passons au cinquieme.
[7]) P.: lieu a tous les autres superieure.
[8]) Zoo P. (of: sauchiam), St. C. sanquiam.
[9]) P.: qui veulent dire.
[10]) P. voegt in: differentes.

Ayant examiné cequ'ils disent de la gloire du Paradis, voyons donc à present comme ils parlent de l'Enfer.

L'Enfer selon leurs opinions est situé non seulement sous le monde que nous habitons, mais encore sous les six autres mondes, qui sont sous celuy cy, desquels nous parlerons dans le chapitre 4eme [1]). Ils disent qu'il y a dans l'Enfer, pour y presider et y faire executer les ordres de Chiven touchant les chatiments de ceux qui y souffrent [2]), un ministre qu'ils nomment (107) Yamadarmaya [3]) ou bien Yhamen [4]), avec son ecrivain (108) appellé Chitragoubten [5]), qui ecrit et marque tous les pechés (et les vertus) des hommes, et que quand il meurt quelqu'un, il le presente devant le president de l'Enfer [6]), lequel luy demande en premier lieu, s'il veut recevoir la recompense de ses vertus ou bien le chatiment de ses pechés, et conformement à la resolution [7]) du mort le president de l'Enfer donne sa sentence [8]), et s'il veut premierement recevoir la recompense de ses vertus, il la va recevoir dans le Choarcam ou autre lieu qui luy plait, avec engagement de revenir apres dans l'Enfer pour y satisfaire pour ses pechés, et apres y avoir satisfait, il retourne dans le monde, et celuy qui a eté ne dans une generation pauvre, naitra miserablement dans les autres. Ils ajoutent à cela, qu'un Brahame, qui a servy dans une generation l'espace d'un mois continuel avec un Choutre [9]), a pour chatiment de ce peché, d'estre fait Choutre dans cette meme generation et de renaitre un [10]) million de fois dans des castres viles et basses, et quoy qu'ils assurent cela comme un article de foy, il est pourtant fort rare de voir des Brahames, qui ne servent avec des Choutres et qui ne conversent avec eux, quoy que la conversation leur fait encourir le meme chatiment. — Pour exprimer ce que les hommes souffrent en Enfer, ils disent qu'il y a toutes sortes de tourments et d'animaux venimeux pour chatier et punir les hommes, lesquels si à l'heure de leur mort ils [11]) prennent la queue d'une vache et la donnent en [12]) aumone à un Brahame, et de la

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[1]) P. slechts: qui sont *sur* luy.
[2]) P.: pour president et executeur des chatiments qu'on y souffre.
[3]) St. C.: Ymadarmaya, P.: Immanadar.
[4]) P: Inhumain of Jhumain. St. C. soms Yamen, soms Yhamen.
[5]) P.: -goulet, St. C.: -gaubten.
[6]) P.: et quand quelqu'un meurt, il le presente devant Inhumain.
[7]) P.: volonté.
[8]) P.: Inhumain avec son ecrivain luy prononce sa sentence.
[9]) P. geregeld: Choustre.
[10]) P.: dix.
[11]) „ils" niet in P.
[12]) P.: pour.

main avec laquelle ils ont pris la queue, ils [1]) reçoivent de l'eau [2]), qu'ils repandent par terre en donnant quelque aumone particuliere au Brahame à qui ils ont donné la vache [3]), cette vache [4]), reconnoissante, va attendre dans l'autre monde celuy qui l'a donné [5]), proche de la rivierre de feu, qui coule le long des murailles de la ville, ou reside [6]) de president de l'Enfer, rivierre qu'ils nomment Vaicaramy, et la, luy donnant sa queue pour s'attacher à elle, le fait passer fort surement de l'autre costé de la rivierre de feu (109). Ils forment l'idee q'Yamen, qu'ils font presider non seulement à toutes ces choses [7]) et à tout ce qui s'execute dans l'Enfer, est [8]) le Dieu de la mort et est mort luy meme [9]) de la maniere suivante (110). Il y avoit un penitent nommé Marougandou [10]) Macharechy, qui vivoit dans une grande affliction pour n'avoir pas d'enfans, cequi l'obligea de s'addresser à Chiven, et de luy en demander avec grande devotion [11]). Chiven luy demanda s'il vouloit avoir plusieurs enfans mechants ou un seul bon, que, s'il en vouloit avoir beaucoup de mechants, il les feroit vivre longtems, mais que s'il vouloit un seul qui fut bon, il ne viveroit que seize ans (111). Le penitent accepta de n'avoir qu'un seul qui fut bon [12]), quoy qu'il eut un grand deplaisir de sçavoir qu'il devoit le perdre des un age sy tendre [13]). L'enfant nacquit donc au penitent, qui le nomma Marcaden, et il n'eut pas plustost l'usage [14]) de la raison, qu'il s'applicqua [15]) à servir Chiven avec une grande devotion et luy offrit le sacrifice de feu qu'on nomme Arcinei (112) dans un livre [16]) qu'on nomme Tirougadaour [17]),

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[1]) „ils" niet in P.

[2]) P.: reçevoit un peu d'eau.

[3]) P.: la queue.

[4]) P.: la vache.

[5]) P.: celuy qui a donné sa queue (!).

[6]) P.: demeure.

[7]) P.: ils enseignent que Inhumain, qui preside a toutes ces choses susdites.

[8]) P.: est encore.

[9]) P.: et qu'il est mort luy meme et ressucité.

[10]) P.: Marougadem.

[11]) P.: qui vivoit dans une grande devotion et en meme tems dans une grande affliction, n'ayant pas d'enfans, cequi l'obligea d'en demander avec grande instance.

[12]) P.: ... vivre longtems, mais il estima mieux n'avoir qu'un bon.

[13]) P.: de sçavoir qu'il luy devoit mourir et manquer dans un age sy tendre et sy jeune.

[14]) P.: l'age.

[15]) P.: s'occupa.

[16]) St. C. en P. liure, schrijffout voor lieu?

[17]) St. C.: Jiarougvaddaour, P.: Tirouquadarer.

qui est fort celebre parmy eux (113). Mais etant parvenu à l'age de seize ans les serviteurs d'Yhamen, Dieu de la mort, le vinrent chercher. Le jeune enfant leur repondit, qu'il ne vouloit pas mourir, et fit retirer avec beaucoup de resolution les serviteurs du roy, qui, irrités et [1]) confus [1]) de ce refus, furent avertir leur maitre que Marcaden ne vouloit pas mourir [2]). Le roy de la mort apprit cette resistence tout fumant de colere, il monta (114) aussitost sur son buffle [3]), et vint trouver Marcaden, et apres luy avoir voulu persuader par plusieurs raisons, qu'il n'avoit plus droit de vivre [4]), parceque Chiven luy avoit accordé seulement seize ans de vie dans la promesse qu'il avoit faite au penitent son pere, Marcaden ne se laissa pas persuader par aucunes de ces raisons, et apres avoir repondu avec une grande liberté au Dieu de la mort, il luy dit avec grande resolution qu'il n'avoit que faire de se donner tant de peine, parcequ'il ne mouriroit pas [5]), et pour eviter la colere du Dieu de la mort il fut embrasser l'idole du Lingam, ceque voyant le Dieu de la mort il descendit de son buffle et, jettant une corde au col Marcaden et du Lingam qu'il tenoit embrassé, fit tous ses efforts pour les entrainer tous deux dans l'Enfer [6]), mais Chiven sortit alors de son Lingam et, donnant un coup de pied au cul de la Mort, la tua en un [7]) combat veritablement bien digne de telles Dieux [8]), et de cette maniere il delivra Marcaden. Mais apres que le Dieu de la mort fut mort, comme il n'y avoit plus personne pour tuer les hommes, ils se multiplierent de telle sorte, que le monde, ne pouvant plus se supporter [9]), demanda justice aux Dieux, qui, s'estant assemblés, furent demander à Chiven, pourquoy il avoit tué le Dieu de la mort. Il leur repondit, que quand il avoit accordé seize ans de vie [10]) à Marcaden, son intention etoit que quelque age qu'eut [11]) Marcaden, il ne parut jamais plus agé que de seize ans [12]) et qu'Jhamen, sans avoir compris [13]) son

[1]) om. P.

[2]) P.: avertirent leur maitre de la resolution de Marcadem.

[3]) P.: Inhumain irrité et tout fumant de colere, apprenant cette nouvelle, monta aussitost à cheval sur son b.

[4]) P.: qu'il devoit mourir.

[5]) P.: parcequ'il ne vouloit pas mourir si jeune.

[6]) P.: il fit tous ses efforts pour le tuer.

[7]) De woorden en un zijn onzeker, het hs. schijnt arment te lezen.

[8]) P.: et donnant un coup de pied au Dieu de la Mort le tua et combattit veritablement un tel Dieu ou pour mieux dire un tel asne.

[9]) P. voegt in: par la quantité qu'il y en avoit.

[10]) P.: d'age.

[11]) P.: que put avoir.

[12]) P.: il ne parut toujours n'avoir que 16 ans.

[13]) P.: sans sçavoir.

intention et sans respecter son Lingam auquel Marcaden s'estoit attaché, il l'avoit voulu tuer, et qu'avec une insolence insupportable il avoit voulu entrainer l'un et l'autre [1]) dans les Enfers. Les Dieux, ayant ecouté ces raisons, ne les crurent point recevables ny d'assez grande importance pour qu'elles pussent prevaloir contre la charge sur laquelle [2]) le monde gemissoit par la trop grande multitude des hommes, qui ne pouvoient plus se supporter les uns les autres, et pour cette raison [3]) et plusieurs autres semblables ils obligerent Chiven à ressussiter le Dieu de la mort, pour par ce moyen mettre fin à l'oppression causée par le trop grand nombre des vivants [4]). Chiven, convaincu par leurs raisons [5]), changea de volonté et ressussita ce Dieu et luy redonna [6]) le meme pouvoir qu'il avoit auparavant et en consequence fit publier [7]) par un Paria un edit, par lequel il ordonnoit à tous les viels [8]) de mourir sans remission, mais le Paria, avant de publier l'arrest [9]), s'enyvra et puis, etant monté sur son elephant, et au son des timbales, publia par tout le monde l'edit suivant: il est ordonné par Chiven et Jamen [10]), que tous les fruicts murs et verts et les fleurs et les feuilles tombent des arbres. Ils disent que depuis cette publication ont commencé à mourir jeunes et viels indifferemment, au lieu qu'avant cette funeste publication [11]) il n'y avoit que les gens d'un age fort decrepite qui fussent les depouilles du Dieu de la mort et de l'executeur des peines de l'Enfer, ou personne selon leur opinion n'en souffre d'eternelles, et c'est la raison pour laquelle [12]) ils ont si peu de crainte d'offenser Dieu.

(volgt ½ pagina met theologische argumentatie).

Ayant refuté les erreurs touchant le Paradis et l'Enfer, il faut voir comme ils raisonnent touchant l'ame, le Paradis etant la recompense de ces vertus, comme l'Enfer pour punir les vices [13]).

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[1]) P.: et qu'avec une telle arrogance il avoit voulu emporter son Lingam et Marcadem.

[2]) P.: ... ces raisons ne crurent pas qu'elles fussent recevables ny de si grande consequence qu' etoit la charge insupportable sous laquelle.

[3]) P.: ... grande multitude des vivans, et pour cette raison.

[4]) P.: ils ordonnerent à Chiven de ressussiter Inhumain, pour mettre fin par son moyen au nombre excessif des vivants.

[5]) P.: par ces raisons, qui luy etoient auparavant inconnues.

[6]) P.: et rendit la vie au president de l'Enfer, en luy donnant.

[7]) P.: ... auparavant, en consequence duquel il fit publier.

[8]) P.: les gens vieux.

[9]) P.: l'edit.

[10]) P.: ... ordonné par Jhumin roi de la mort.

[11]) P.: Ils disent que depuis la publication de cet edit on commençoit à mourir sans aucune difference de vieux et jeunes au lieu qu'auparavant.

[12]) P.: ... et de l'executeur de l'Enfer, ou personnes selon leurs opinions n'y souffrent d'eternelles peines et ce doit etre la raison pourquoy.

[13]) Deze zin anders geredigeerd in P.

CHAPITRE 3ME.

DES ERREURS TOUCHANT LES AMES.

C'est une verité indubitable et reçue de tous les Gentils, qu'il y a une ame qui est la puissance vitale [1]) du corps physique et organisé, mais comme l'ame de l'homme est spirituelle, aucuns d'eux ne la connoissent telle qu'elle est, et c'est la raison pour laquelle ils ont entre eux plusieurs et differents opinions touchant nostre ame [2]), mais toutes choses erronées [3]). Les uns distinguent deux ames dans l'homme, une vegetative et l'autre intellectuelle, et disent que la premiere est la meme en espece dans tous les vivants sensitifs et insensitifs [4]), et c'est dans cette meme ame ou se fait la transmigration [5]). La seconde, qu'ils appellent *Paramatouman* (115), est selon eux Dieu meme, et ils disent que celle la numeriquement est dans tous les hommes [6]). Les autres assurent qu'elle est aussy dans toutes les bestes, absurdité qui montre à quel point ils le sont eux memes, puisqu'ils appellent bestes ce à quoy ils donnent la meme ame qu'à eux [7]). Ils se contredisent peu apres dans leur doctrine, disant que la difference, qu'il y a entre l'homme et la beste, est qu'elle [8]) n'a point de raison et que l'homme a un entendement et pour faire voir qu'ils ne peuvent s'accorder et qu'ils errent en tout, ils disent dans leur Veidam [9]), que Dieu est aussy bien l'ame des elements comme il l'est des corps elementaires. Les autres disent, que l'ame n'est pas formellement Dieu, mais seulement une partie de Dieu, d'autres, que Dieu n'est point formellement ny particulierement [10]) l'ame, mais qu'il les a toutes crées ensemble, et qu'elles passent des corps dans

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[1]) P.: veritable.

[2]) P.; les ames.

[3]) P.: mais toutes fausses et erronées.

[4]) P. laat weg: et insensitifs.

[5]) P.: et c'est cette meme ame, dans laquelle ils disent que se fait la t.

[6]) P.: que celle la est phisiquement la meme dans tous les hommes.

[7]) P.: montrant bien par la qu'ils le sont eux memes, puisqu'en les nommant tels, ils n'ont pas de honte de dire qu'ils ont une ame raisonnable et ceux la meme.

[8]) P.: que la beste.

[9]) P. voegt in: qui veut autant dire que loy tres veritable.

[10]) P.: ... point totallement ny partiellement.

les autres [1]). D'autres enfin assurent, que non seulement Dieu est la cause de l'ame, mais que le pere et la mere concourent a la composition [2]) du composé, et que [3]), comme le composé est corruptible [4]), l'ame de l'homme l'est aussy (116).

(*volgen 4 pagina's met theologische argumentatie, waarin de volgende passages*:)

L'ame ne peut etre une partie de Dieu, parceque Dieu, etant indivisible à cause de son infinie perfection, comme eux memes l'appellent par le nom (117) d'*Axadam* [5]), qu'ils luy donnent....

... Cette raison n'est pas detruicte par ce que disent quelques uns, que, quand l'homme meurt, il n'y a que l'ame vegetative, qu'ils nomment (118) *Genatoman* [6]), qui soit subjecte à la sentence d'Jamen [7]), roy de la mort....

... Elle (d. i. l'ame) n'est pas aussy corruptible, comme eux memes l'enseignent dans leurs sciences, qu'ils nomment Chutras [8]), ou (119) ils disent que tout cequi appartient au corps, comme parents, amis, richesses, ne passe pas plus loin que la sepulture, mais ce qui appartient à l'ame, comme sont les vertus et les vices, l'accompagne toujours....

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[1]) P.: d'un corps dans un autre.
[2]) P.: à la production.
[3]) et que niet in P.
[4]) P.: est mortel et corruptible.
[5]) P.: *Accadam* (de Dialogo: *Acadan*).
[6]) St. C.: *Genâthoman*, P.: *Geratomman*.
[7]) P.: d'Jhumain.
[8]) Zoo P. St. C.: Chatras.

CHAPITRE 4ME.

DES ERREURS TOUCHANT LE MONDE.

Ils [1]) ont inventé qu'il y avoit quatorze mondes (120), sçavoir sept au dessus [2]) de celuy que nous habitons, et six au dessous [3]) de nous. Voicy comme ils les appellent [4]). Au plus bas de l'Univers est situe l'Enfer, qui est le dernier monde, et immediatement au dessus de celuy un autre qu'ils appellent *Magadalam*; ensuite celuy qu'ils nomment *Saladalam*; le quatrieme, le monde de *Bachadalam*, qui est le monde du mercure ou du vif argent et des serpens; au dessus est le *Soudalam*, le sixieme le *Vidalam* et le septieme est *Adalam*. Ensuite est le monde ou nous sommes, ou ils disent qu'il y a sept mers (121), la premiere d'eau salée, la seconde de sucre candy, la troisieme de vin de palmier, la quatrieme de beure, la cinquieme de laict caillé, la sixieme de laict doux, ou ils disent que leur Dieu Vichnou couche sur la belle couleuvre qui a cinq testes (122), qui luy servent d'ombre [5]), et la septieme d'eau cristaline, qui est tres pure. Au dessus de ce monde est le monde aerien [6]), et ensuite le Choarcam, ou ceux qui ont fait dans ce monde des sacrifices aux Dieux, jouissent de toutes sortes de delices, et afin que celuy qu'ils estiment le plus grand de tous ne leur manque pas, ils disent qu'ils ont avec eux un grand nombre de concubines [7]), et apres avoir assuré que c'est la le lieu ou habite Devendiren, roy des Dieux, ils ne font pas de difficulté d'avancer, qu'au dessus du Choarcam est le *Magalogam* [8]), qui veut dire: le grand monde, ou ils font encore la demeure de Devendiren avec les trois cent trente millions [9]) de Dieux, qui sont divisés en deux troupes, la premiere est la troupe des Dieux et l'autre des Geants, qui se font journel-

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[1]) P.: Ces Gentils.

[2]) P.: au dessous.

[3]) P.: et sept au dessus.

[4]) P.: placent.

[5]) De zin: ou ils disent... ombre, ontbr. in P.

[6]) Verbeterd; St. C.: Au dessus de ce monde aerien. P.: Au dessus du monde que nous habitons, est le monde aerien.

[7]) P.: de putains.

[8]) St. C.: *Magalocam*, P.: *Magologam*.

[9]) Verbeterd; St. C. en P. beide: trois cent millions.

lement la guerre [1]). Au dessus est le *Genalogam*, qui signifie: le monde des Gens [2]), ou il s'en trouve une infinité de tous les etats. Ensuite est le *Tabalogam*, qui veut dire: monde des penitens, ou vont tous ceux qui ont fait penitence dans ce monde. Enfin le dernier des quatorze s'appelle *Satialogam*, qui signifie: monde de la verité, est ils disent que c'est la ou reside Bruma avec tous ces devots, qui se transforment en luy et sont la meme [3]) que luy [3]). Et sy on leur demande, quand se fait cette transformation (123), ils repondent qu'elle se fait dans ce monde terrestre, que quand un Brahame veut se faire religieux (124), il coupe le cordon qu'il porte et une touffe [4]) de cheveux qu'il conserve pour marque de sa noblesse, et apres avoir quitté ces marques, il prend une canne de bambou en sa [5]) main droite, approchant de sa hauteur et qui ait huit ou dix ou douze ou quatorze noeuds (125), et dans sa main gauche un vase de cuivre ou de terre (126), et apres s'estre ceint d'une petite toile (127) rouge [6]), il dit en langue Grandam les paroles suivantes: *Agam bruma* [7]), qui est à dire: je suis le Dieu Bruma (128), et aussitost les Brahames que se trouvent la present, se prosternent contre terre et l'adorent comme un Dieu, et les Braministes [8]), principalement les veuves, ont soin de faire des beignets au nouveau Dieu, qui pour penitence ne peut pas manger autre chose le soir (129). Ce sont eux qui sont les plus superbes que l'on puisse rencontrer dans ce pays et qui, passant ordinairement pour des gens extremement chastes, sont les plus luxurieux et les plus grand sorciers qui soient dans ces terres; ce sont ceux la, qui en mourant vont dans le monde de Bruma.

Voila en peu de mots ce qu'ils disent de leurs quatorze mondes chimeriques, qu'ils disent (estre) tous attachés les uns sur les autres dans une grande montagne d'or sy pure et sy raffinée, qu'elle arrive a douze milles quatre-vingt (130) karats [9]). Cette montagne d'or s'appelle Magameron paravadam, qui est à dire: la tres grande montagne, laquelle selon leur opinion est soutenue sur huit (131)

[1]) Zoo P.; St. C.: ...des Geans. Celle des Geans qui se font journellement la guerre entre les deux parties.

[2]) Beide hss. (en ook Manucci: „world of Giants"): des Geans; Dialogo: „le genti d'ogni stato".

[3]) P.. la meme chose que Bruma.

[4]) P.: une des touffes.

[5]) P.: il prend pour marque de penitence un Bambou en la.

[6]) P.: et apres avoir mis une petite toille à l'entour de luy.

[7]) P.: Exgam bruma.

[8]) P.: Bramistes.

[9]) Zoo P.; St. C.: douze cent quatre vingt carré.

elephants, et ces elephants sur une tortue, et cette tortue sur une couleuvre capelle nommée Sechem [1]), et sy on continue à leur demander sur quoy se soutient cette couleuvre avec un sy extraordinaire poid sur les epaules, ils repondent qu'ils n'en sçavent rien, parsque leurs livres ne leur disent pas d'avantage; et ils assurent comme une chose indubitable [2]), que les tremblements de terre viennent (132) de ce que cette couleuvre pour se decharger le cote fatigué et pour se soulager du poid du monde, se change le costé [3]), et ils ne font pas de difficulté de dire que cette couleuvre, etant un Dieu, ne laisse pas de se lasser, et parceque selon eux il y a aussy eu un deluge universel, qui a detruit le monde: voicy de quelle maniere ils s'en sont fait une idée chimerique [4]). Il y avoit, disent ils (133), un Paria nommé Tirouvallouven, qui etoit a manger avec sa fille dans une calbasse, quand tout d'un coup il survint une pluye si grande, qu'elle inonda et subjuga tout le monde [5]); tous les hommes moururent par la violence de cette inondation, il n'y eut que ce Paria avec sa fille qui furent par leur calbasse delivrés de la mort, vogant sur les eaux jusqu'à ce qu'il trouva l'occasion d'en sortir pour etre le pere de ses petits enfants [6]) et retablir par ce moyen la generation des hommes en ce monde. — Mais pour monter de ce monde sublunaire aux planettes et aux choses qui font partie du monde universel, voicy les erreurs qu'ils en publient. Ils admettent [7]) comme nous les douze signes du Zodiacque et dans ces memes signes; ils remarquent vingt sept etoiles fixes (134), auquels ils donnent des noms particuliers, que je ne repeteray point icy pour evitter d'ennuyer le lecteur par une multitude de noms d'une langue, qui nous est sy etrangere [8]). Ils disent que le soleil fait son cours au dessus de la terre elevé de six cent vingt cinq mille [9]) lieues, et que la lune fait le sien encore une fois aussy elevée (135) et supposé [10]). Cette erreur, qu'il est facile de refuter par

[1]) P.: Sechut.

[2]) P.: tres veritable.

[3]) P.: que cette couleuvre pour se decharger de son poids change le monde d'une epaulle à l'autre.

[4]) P.: voicy la maniere qu'ils nous le raportent dans leurs livres.

[5]) P.: quand tout a coup il survint une pluye, qui inonda toute la terre.

[6]) P. (beter): de ses (ces) petits fils.

[7]) P.: Mais montrons les erreurs qu'ils ont sur le sujet de ce monde; ils disent que pour monter de ce monde sublunaire aux planettes, il y a un terrible chemin et admettent (!) etc.

[8]) P.: que je ne raporteray, par peur d'ennuyer.

[9]) P.: six cent vingt mille lieues.

[10]) P.: et que la lune qui fait le sien elevée une fois autant au dessus du soleil et supposé.

les eclipses du soleil [1]). Ils veulent que cette interposition la soit la cause de l'eclipse solaire [2]). Ils en feignent [3]) une autre autant fausse que ridicule, en voicy comment (136). Quand les Dieux et les Geants tiroient le beure de la mer de laict, comme nous avons dit cy devant au chapitre premier, Vichnou au meme instant les embrassoit et les arrestoit [4]), les Geants firent un banquet de cette ambroisie à tous les Dieux, et comme la couleuvre capelle nommé Sechen [5]), qui est un des principaux [6]), ne s'y trouva point, le soleil et la lune, qui sont les plus resplendissants des Dieux [6]), furent aussy les plus gourmands et comme tels mangerent [7]) la part qui etoit reservée pour la couleuvre Sechen, laquelle arrivant ensuite, et ne trouvant pas sa portion, ayant appris par les autres Dieux, qui sont tous ennemis les uns des autres, que c'estoient le soleil et la lune, qui la luy avoient mangée, animée de colere, jura qu'il leur en couteroit bien, puisqu'en punition de cette faute elle les avaleroit tous les deux toutes les fois qu'il luy plairoit [8]); ce qu'elle a executé, à ce qu'ils disent, car quand il arrive qu'elle avale le soleil, il y a eclipse de soleil, de meme à l'egard de la lune [9]). Afin que tout le monde ne demeure pas dans une nuict eternelle [10]), la couleuvre Sechen se laisse flechir (par les prieres) des Dieux, des Brahames et des autres Gentils, qui tous dans le tems de l'eclipse se lavent, jeunent, et pleurent, suppliant la couleuvre de laisser aller [11]) le soleil et la lune, qu'elle a avalé, et ils la prient avec beaucoup d'instance et ne cessent point de la prier, jusqu'à ce que l'eclipse soit passée, ils ne beuvent ni ne mangent ny ne cuisent ny ne gardent aucune chose preste dans leurs maisons, jusqu'à ce que le jour que se doit faire l'eclipse se soit passé, de sorte que la couleuvre, flechye par tant de prierres et de supplications, laisse aller les princes des astres (137), qu'il avoit avalé [12]). — Quoy qu'on leur puisse tirer

[1]) P.: ... qui est facile à refuter par l'eclipse du soleil et de la terre (!).

[2]) P.: polaire.

[3]) St. C. faignent. P.: ils enseignent.

[4]) P.: V. en meme tems qu' ils s'en alloient, les arresta.

[5]) P.: la couleuvre Sechut.

[6]) De relat. zin niet in P.

[7]) P.: ... les plus gourmands de la table, car ils mangerent.

[8]) P.: elle jura qu'il leur en couteroit bien cher, puisque pour les punir elle les avaleroit quand il luy plairoit.

[9]) P.: et quand elle avale la lune, il y a eclipse de la lune.

[10]) P.: ne demeure pas sans lumiere.

[11]) P.: qui tous pendant l'eclipse demandent par jeunes et par pleurs à la couleuvre de vouloir bien laisser aller.

[12]) ... preste à manger le jour que se doit faire l'eclipse, de peur que la couleuvre sans cela ne laissat pas aller les princes des astres.

les autres erreurs de la teste, il est impossible de les dissuader de celly cy, non plus que celle [1]) qu'ils ont touchant la description du tems, qu'ils divisent en quatres parties, qu'ils nomment: *Neroutajougam, Davabrayougam, Terredajougam, Calougam* (138). Ils assurent que les trois premiers ages du monde sont desja passés, (et) qu'ils etoient veritablement des siecles d'or, tant à cause de leur durée, qu'à cause du bonheur que tout le monde y ressentoit [2]). Dans le troisieme age il y avoit un roy, qui a eté le pere de Ramen (139), duquel nous avons parlé dans la vie de Vichnou, qui a vescu six [3]) mille ans avant que d'avoir des enfants et ensuite il y en eut sans que son age decrepite y mit d'obstacle, et cet age troisieme n'a ny commencé ny fini de son tems. Le quatrieme age, qui est celuy qui dure encore, se nomme Caliougam, qui veut dire [4]): siecle de fer (140), tant à cause des maux continuels que les hommes y souffrent, qu'à cause du peu de tems que dure la vie. Ils disent qu'il y a quarente mils quatre cent quarente quatres [5]) ans qu'il a commencé (141), et qu'il se passera encore bien du tems avant qu'il finisse, parceque tout le tems passé en comparaison de l'avenir est comme un grain de moutarde contre une [6]) grosse calbasse. Touchant cette fable ils se divisent en deux opinions, qui sont contraires l'une a l'autre, en ce que les uns disent que, ce quatrieme age etant fini, le monde finira aussy; les autres au contraire assurent (142) que la durée de ce monde sera eternelle et que, cet age de fer etant fini, les siecles d'or, qui ont deja passé, reviendront paroitre tout de nouveau [7]). — Quoy que les quatre ages, que je viens de rapporter, soient tres celebres parmy les Gentils, ils disent [8]) pourtant dans un de leurs livres, intitulé *Andé Choarcaram* [9]), qui veut dire: chronique du monde (143), qu'avant les quatre ages cy mentionnés, il s'en est passé quatorze autres, qui, joinct avec ceux cy, font dix huit ages [8]), et à chacun ils donnent un nom particulier, que je ne

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[1]) P.: Quoy qu'on leur puisse dire pour les tirer de cette erreur, il est impossible de la leur tirer de la teste de meme que celle.

[2]) P.: des siecles d'or à cause de leur durée et des biens que tout le monde y experimentoit.

[3]) P.: soixante.

[4]) P.: Cajougam c'est à dire.

[5]) P.: 40548; de Dialogo: 40448.

[6]) P.: en comparaison d'une.

[7]) P.: les siecles d'or passés reviendront encore. St. C. is in dezen zin onvolledig.

[8]) P.: ils divisent... le tems en 14 ages avant les susdits, qui font le nombre de dix huit ages.

[9]) Zoo St. C., P.: Sendochoarcam.

rapporteray pas, mais je ne puis (pas) me dispenser de rapporter la durée du tems, que quelques uns d'entre eux ont reduit sans aucun fondement en dix-huit ages [1]). Ils disent donc (144) que le premier a duré 40.000.000 d'années [2]), le second: 130.000.000, le troisieme: 120.000.000, le quatrieme: 110.000.000, le cinquieme: 100.000.000, le sixieme: 90.000.000, le septieme: 80.000.000, le huitieme: 70.000.000, le neuvieme: 60.000.000, le dixieme: 50.000.000, le onzieme: 40.000.000, le douzieme: 30.000.000, le treizieme: 20.000.000, le quatorzieme: 10.000.000, le quinzieme: 9.600.000, le seizieme: 7.500.300, le dixseptieme: 5.900.000, le dixhuitieme: 4530 [3]). Cette fable de l'age du monde, selon leur supputation, remonte à 1.073.004.830 [4]) ans. Ils ajoutent celle [5]) des astres, qu'il feignent [6]) tous etre animés par une forme ou ame raisonnable, et en font autant de Dieux qui vivent dans l'etat du mariage et qui ont tous plusieurs femmes et un grand nombre d'enfants (145).

(volgt 1/2 pagina theologische argumentatie).

Comme j'ay rapporte cy devant leurs erreurs touchant les astres, voyons à present celles qu'ils ont touchant les hommes.

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[1]) P.: ces dix huit ages.

[2]) Zoo de drie hss., lees: 140.000.000 (zoo ook Manucci en de Dialogo).

[3]) Zoo St. C. (het kleine getal bevreemdt, doch 't eindcijfer, zoo men n.l. voor 't 1e manvantara 140 mill. neemt, komt er mede uit); P.: quatre millions cinq cent trente mille années.

[4]) *Pb*: un milliard septente trois millions quatre mille huit cent trente,
Pa: un milliard septente quatre millions neuf cent trente mille.

[5]) nl. erreur. P.: ils ajoutent les années des astres.

[6]) P.: enseignent.

CHAPITRE 5ME.

DES ERREURS TOUCHANT LES HOMMES.

J'ay montré dans le 1er chapitre qu'ils croyent sans hesitter que tous les hommes se reduisent en quatre castres, parcequ'ils sont nés ou du visage de Bruma et ce sont les Brahames [1]), ou des epaulles, qui sont les Raias, ou des cuisses, qui sont les Cometis [2]), ou enfin des pieds, qui sont les Choutres. Ces quatre castres la se divisent elles memes en une infinité [3]). Outre ces castres principales il y a encore d'autres, lesquelles, comme elles n'entrent point dans le nombre des susdittes, ils les mettent comme des castres opposées et contredivisées. Elles sont celles, qu'ils nomment [4]) Niger [5]) et [6]) Chandelam (146), qui se reduisent aussy en especes, qui sont les Akinavastar [7]), Pallas, Parias et Alparkeiros (147), qui sont les savetiers, et tous ces gens la passent pour des gens vils et infames meme parmy les gens [8]) du pays, qui assurent que c'est une bassesse et une infamie irreparable [9]), non seulement de manger avec eux, mais encore de les voir boire ou manger [10]). Il n'y a point d'occasion sy urgente quelle puisse etre, qui leur permette de recevoir dans leurs maisons quelqu'un de ces Nigers et de recevoir de leurs mains de l'eau ou quelque chose à manger [11]); ils se laisseroient plutost mourir de faim et de soif que de toucher de la main ces Nigers [12]), parcequ'ils le prennent [13]), outre qu'ils sont punis de mort, sy la chose

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[1]) St. C.: ou du visage de Brahame, P.: ou du visage et ce sont les Brames.

[2]) P. geregeld: Commites, en voegt in: ou marchands, qui sont divisés entre eux en une infinité d'autres castres.

[3]) P.: infinité d'autres.

[4]) P.: Outre ces castres principales il y en a encore d'autres qui sont des castres opposées, qu'ils nomment en leur langue.

[5]) P.: Nigers.

[6]) P.: ou.

[7]) P.: atrivam akinavatam.

[8]) P.: les originaires.

[9]) P.: irremediable.

[10]) P.: manger ou boire.

[11]) P.: de l'eau ou quelque autre chose, ny meme de manger.

[12]) P. voegt in: ou de prendre pour manger et pour boire quelque chose qu'ils voudroient leur donner.

[13]) lees waarsch.: parceque s'ils le prennent.

vient à la connoissance des magistrats, toute la famille devient infame comme les Nigers, sans esperance de pouvoir jamais rentrer dans leur castre [1]). C'est pourquoy les Nigers demeurent dehors et separés des habitations des autres castres, et les personnes doctes qu'ils nomment Chastes (148) et (les) Religieux qu'ils appellent Saniazes, ne peuvent parler avec eux, et sy par hasard [2]) quelques uns de ces basses castres venoient à toucher un pot ou une pannelle [3]) des autres castres [4]), ceux cy ne pouroient plus le toucher, mais seroient obligés de les casser, ou de les donner vuides ou remplies de manger, comme ils font à ceux [5]) des basses castres, qui les ont touché; et ce qu'il y a de plus etonnant, c'est qu'ils ne permettent pas à ces miserables d'entrer dans leurs temples pour y adorer leurs faux Dieux, ny de puiser de l'eau dans leurs puits [6]), et si quelqu'un des autres castres tomboit malade dans quelque voyage et qu'il fut dans un endroit ou il n'y eut que des Nigers [7]), il se laisseroit plustost mourir de faim et de soif que de rien recevoir de leurs mains [8]), et, pour couper court [9]), je dis que nos langues Européennes n'ont pas de terme qui puisse exprimer la vile et basse signification des noms de ces sortes de basses castres [10]). — Quelqu'uns disent que parmy ces cinq sortes de gens il n'y a que les Brahames, qui ayent des ames, les autres, tout opposés aux premiers, disent que tous les hommes numeriquement n'ont qu'une meme ame.

(*volgen* 6 *pag. met theologische speculatie, waarin deze passages*:)

... parceque en tous les hommes le corps est composé, à ce qu'ils disent, de cinq elements (149), qui sont le feu, l'air, l'eau, la terre, et le vent, qu'ils assurent etre en espece different de l'air, et en font un element particulier.... .

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[1]) P.: parcequ'ils sont punis de mort s'ils le prenoient, cela venant à la connoissance des magistrats, et meme toute leur famille devient infame comme les memes Nigers, sans jamais pouvoir pretendre ny pouvoir rentrer dans leur castre.

[2]) P.: par cas fortuit.

[3]) P.: panelle.

[4]) P.: qui sert à cette castre pour faire la cuisine ou pour gouster de l'eau.

[5]) P.: ou de la leur donner vuide ou de la remplir de manger, comme etant pour cette entreprise à ceux.

[6]) P.: dans les puits ou les autres (castres) en prennent.

[7]) P.: ...malade dans un village ou il n'y avoit que des N.

[8]) P.: que de prendre quelques choses de leurs mains, qui luy put donner soulagement.

[9]) P.: et pour finir.

[10]) P.: je dis que l'Europe n'a pas de mots propres pour pouvoir exprimer la vile et basse opinion qu'ils ont de ces castres.

... Or ce peché ne s'efface point dans cette vie par les lavements de Cochi [1]), Ramechouram [1]), Cavery, Combocoronam [2]) et autres, que disent ces Gentils ....

... Les Dieux n'ont pu avoir de combats entre eux comme ils se le figurent, parcequ'il n'y en peut avoir qu'un seul, mais ce sont les anges que Dieu avoit crée pour le servir... Et, parcequ'ils sont en nombre une quantité innombrable, ceux cy se sont forgés trois cent trente millions de Dieux... Et comme Dieu... a donné a chacun des hommes un ange de garde [3]) ... et que le Diable de l'autre costé le pousse au mal..., ces Gentils icy ont feint, que les Dieux et les Rachaders avoient eu entre eux des combats differents. Ce n'a pas ete l'ivronge Tirouvallouen Paria, qui a echapé avec sa fille dans une calbasse de l'inondation du deluge universel, mais ça eté le saint homme Noë... Ce n'a pas eté Ramen qui a combattu contre Ravanen ny Anouman contre les Geants, mais ça eté Samson qui a combattu contre les Philistins, et qui par le moien de plusieurs torches allumées, qu'il attacha à la queue de plusieurs renards brula leurs maisons... Ce n'est pas Ramen qui a tué le Geant Ravanen, c'est le roy David, qui... tua.. le Geant Golia.. Et apres que le Saint roy David eut remporté une sy memorable victoire.. et qu'il eut regné plusieurs années, il remporta aussy la victoire sur son fils Absalon... et apres que ce fils denaturé fut mort dans le combat, David laissa le royaume a un de ses fils nomme Salomon, et finit sa vie apres une longue suite d'années de vertu et de merite. Ces Gentils, aveugles par leurs pechés, ont tiré de tous ces principes sy saints et sy assurés toutes leurs fables ridicules, dans lesquelles ils racontent des choses sy indignes, sy infames et sy sales, que la modestie chrestienne empeche de les pouvoir rapporter. Ces pauvres aveugles dans le concept qu'ils se font des hommes sont aussy eloignés de la raison, qu'ils le sont dans leur politique et gouvernement.

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[1]) St. C. en P.: Cochira mechouram; Dialogo: „di Caxi do Ramureseram del fiume Caveri, di Combouonam, di Ramanacor, del Gange".

[2]) Zoo P.; St. C.: Conborocavaram.

[3]) P.: un ange gardien.

CHAPITRE 6ME.

DE LEUR POLITIQUE, GOUVERNEMENT, ET MARIAGES.

La premiere erreur qu'ils ont touchant la politique, est de croire faussement, qu'il n'y a qu'eux seuls dans le monde qui ayent [1]) de l'honnesteté et de belles manieres, que toutes les autres nations, surtout les Europeens, sont des barbares, gens vils sans honneur et sans contenences. Cette politesse extraordinaire qu'ils pensent avoir, consiste premierement dans le salut (150), qu'ils font en cinq manieres. La premiere se fait en elevant les mains au dessus de la teste et se prosternant contre terre; c'est de cette manniere qu'ils adorent les Dieux et qu'ils saluent leurs maistres spirituels, leurs Saniazes, leurs roys et leurs grands princes et quoy que cette maniere soit generalement pratiquée [2]) dans toutes les castres, les Brahames ne s'en servent que pour adorer les Dieux et [3]) leurs maitres spirituels, qui sont toujours des Brahames, et les Religieux, qui sont de leur castre, se prosternent par terre. La seconde maniere de saluer se fait en elevant aussy les deux mains sur la teste; c'est le salut que les gens du commun font aux gouverneurs, generaux et aux ministres des roys et des princes. La troisieme se fait en elevant les deux mains [4]) sur la poictrine; c'est le salut des personnes egales et amies, qui ensuite s'embrassent reciproquement. La quatrieme se fait en montrant les deux palmes des mains joinctes ensemble, et c'est la maniere avec laquelle se saluent les gens de lettres, c'est aussy le salut dont se servent les Religieux a l'egard des princes et des grands [5]). La cinquieme maniere est de montrer seulement le palme de la main droite, et c'est de cette maniere que les plus grands saluent les plus petits. Les Brahames ne saluent qu'en la seconde maniere les roys et les princes, qui leur rendent aussy le meme salut, et c'est quelquefois une chose curieuse de voir [6]) un Brahame,

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[1]) P. voegt in: de la politique et.

[2]) P.: ordinairement observée.

[3]) P.: et pour saluer.

[4]) P.: bras.

[5]) P.: et c'est de cette maniere que les Religieux et les gens de lettres saluent les grands seigneurs et les princes, quand ils leur ont fait quelqu'un des trois saluts susdits.

[6]) P.: et c'est une chose curieuse de voir quelquefois.

qui vient visiter une personne et sans luy faire aucune civilité ny aucun salut, le traicte de seigneurie, [1]) ensuite prend congé de luy et s'en va fort gravement sans le saluer comme il est entré [2]). — Il y a aussy entre ces Gentils d'autres familles de castre Choutres, qui est la moins noble des quatre, et laquelle sont aujourd'huy tous les roys et princes de ce pays, l'on les appelle [3]) *Vanamgamory* (151), qui ne saluent jamais ny roy ni prince ny meme leurs faux Dieux. Il se trouve beaucoup de ces gens la a la cour des roys et dans les temples, et quand on leur demande la raison pourquoy, connoissant le roy pour leur seigneur et confessant que l'idole, qui est dans le temple, est leur Dieu, ils ne leur rendent point le salut et l'adoration qu'ils leur doivent, ils repondent que c'est la une marque de leur noblesse, et tous sont satisfait par cette reponse. Voila en peu de mots ce que l'on peut remarquer [4]) de leur civilité. — Voyons l'habilement (152). Ils se ceignent la teste avec un mouchoir fin, qu'ils appellent Roumal (153), et leur ceinture est faite de toile de cotton blanche d'environ quatre ou cinq coudées de long avec des raies rouges aux deux bouts et qui [5]), apres les avoir ceint, leur tombe jusqu'aux genoux [6]), et pour se couvrir la nudité ils mettent par devant un morceau de toile blanche [7]), que chacun attache diversement selon sa castre. Quelqu'uns portent des anneaux d'or ou d'argent autour de la ceinture et aux doigts des pieds [8]). Les petits enfants portent des chaines d'or ou d'argent avec des grelots [9]), et jusqu'à l'age de sept ans il n'ont nulle autre vestement [10]). Quelques personnes considerables portent une tocque sur la teste et s'habillent d'une espece de camisole de toile blanche, qu'ils appellent *Cabaye*, qui leur descend jusqu'à la ceinture, et se chaussent avec une [11]) espece de pantoufle de velours ou de cuir rouge, qu'ils laissent à la porte, quand ils entrent dans [12]) quelque

[1]) P.: d'excellence, de seigneurie et quelquefois meme d'Altesse.

[2]) P.: comme il a fait en entrant.

[3]) P.: qu'on appelle.

[4]) P.: ceque j'ay pu remarquer.

[5]) P.: avec une espece de reseau rouge, qui.

[6]) P.: genouils.

[7]) P.: et par dessus ils mettent un linçeuil de toille blanche.

[8]) P.: Dans les endroits ou les jointures des doigts du pied quelques uns portent des anneaux d'or ou d'argent.

[9]) P.: et leurs petits enfants en portent aussy des chaines avec des grelots d'or ou d'argent avec une petite chaine du meme metal à la ceinture.

[10]) P.: ils n'ont point d'autres vestements que celuy qu'ils apportent du ventre de leur mere.

[11]) P.: d'une.

[12]) P.: en.

maison ou salle, ou quand ils veulent parler à des [1]) personnes d'authorité, parceque c'est une grande incivilité dans ces pays de parler a un gros seigneur [2]) etant chaussé et la teste decouverte [3]), excepté les penitents nommés (154) *Janais* [4]) et les Brahames, et dans toutes les castres les jeunes gens jusgu'à environ 18 ans, parceque jusqu'à cet age ou environ ils ne se laissent point croitre les cheveux et ne se ceignent point la teste comme [5]) sy dessus, mais laissent seulement croitre au dessus de la nuque du col une touffe de cheveux. C'est la l'habillement des roys et des grands et des plus riches [6]), car pour les soldats, artisans, ouvriers ou autres gens du commun [7]), ils n'ont pour tout vestement qu'un mouchoir, dont ils se couvrent la teste, et une petite corde, qui leur sert de ceinture, à laquelle ils attachent une petite piece de toile, large de quatre doigts [8]) et longue d'une coudée, avec laquelle ils se cachent leurs endroits, que la modestie veut etre cachés [9]), et par dessus ils se font une draperie d'un linceuil [10]), qui leur sert d'habilement le jour et de couverture la nuict. Pour matelas ils n'ont que la terre avec une natte de jonc, qu'ils nomment (155) Estere, [11]), et un morceau de bois pour chevet [12]). Cela passeroit en Europe pour une penitence tres rigoureuse et dans ce pays c'est la coutume de vivre. Il y en a meme qui sont sy peu vestus, qu'ils n'ont rien de couvert par le devant [13]), et voila l'etat ou ils sont, en se vantant qu'ils sont bien mis et en etat de paroitre partout [14]). — Il n'y a pas grande chose à dire sur l'habilement des femmes, qui est fort modique [15]). Depuis l'age de douze ans les femmes nourrissent tous leurs

[1]) P.: avec quelques.
[2]) P.: avec ces personnes.
[3]) P.: et avec la teste d.
[4]) Zoo St. C., P.: Tanagis (Manucci: „Tavagi").
[5]) P. i. p. v. comme: avec des mouchoirs comme nous avons dit.
[6]) P.: et des gens les plus riches.
[7]) P.: ouvriers et gens du c.
[8]) P.: large d'un paulme de main.
[9]) P.: ils se couvrent ce que la bienseance veut que l'on cache.
[10]) P.: ils se ceignent d'un linceuil.
[11]) P.: que la terre nue et quelquefois un Esther (var.: ester).
[12]) P.: et pour coussin une pierre ou morceau de bois.
[13]) P.: qu'ils ne portent qu'un petit morceau de toille pour se couvrir les parties naturelles.
[14]) P.: Voila la maniere avec laquelle ils se vantent d'estre sy bien vestus et en etat de paroitre et parler avec toutes sortes de personnes dans quelque endroit que ce soit.
[15]) P.: Apres avoir rapporté la maniere de se vestir des hommes, il faut parler à present des vestements des femmes, duquel je ne diray pas grand chose, car il est fort modique.

cheveux [1]), car jusqu'à cet age elles n'en portent qu'une petite touffe sur le haut de la teste. Celles qui ont de grands cheveux les tressent et les y attachent en forme [2]) de rouleaux sur un des costés de la teste. Elles ont toutes les oreilles percées (156), mais non pas comme les Europeennes, car le trou qu'elles y ont est si large que les oreilles leur tombent à quatre doigts des epaules [3]). Elles y mettent leur joyeaux chacune selon sa qualité et son pouvoir. Cette coutume est commune aux hommes comme aux femmes [4]). Celles qui ne sont point veuves portent aussy au col de joyeaux selon la diversité de leurs castres. Lorsqu'elles sont à l'age de douze ou treize ans, elles portent pour vestement [5]) une piece de toile de cotton, blanche ou rouge ou rayée [6]), de douze coudées de long et d'environ deux de large, dont la moitié leur sert en façon de ceinture pour se couvrir jusqu'à demy jambe, et l'autre [7]) les epaules et la teste. Lorsqu'elles parlent à quelque personne d'authorité ou qu'elles viennent à l'eglise, sçavoir celles qui sont Chrestiennes, parceque quand elles sont à la maison ou quand elles vont chercher de l'eau au puits ou aux rivierres, ou qu'elles font quelques services, elles entourent cette piece autour de leurs reins et ont tout le haut du corps à decouvert [8]). Elles vont toujours nud-pieds, quoy qu'elles soient des reines ou princesses; elles ne laissent pas de porter des joyeaux aux pieds aussy bien que les autres femmes selon leur pouvoir. Voila à peu pres leurs habilements. — Quant à leurs habitations, elles sont trop pauvres [9]), car, excepté les temples des Dieux [10]), qui sont baties à grands frais aussy bien que les palais des roys et princes, tous baties en pierres ou briques et chaux [11]), mais sans aucun [12]) ordre d'architecture, les autres maisons de ces Gentils sont faites de terre, les chevrons [13]) sont des morceaux de

[1]) P.: se conservent presque toutes leurs ch.

[2]) P.: les tressent, les lient, et les tiennent attachés en façon.

[3]) P.: leur tombent presque sur les epaules.

[4]) P.: et c'est une coutume qui est commune dans ce pays aux hommes et aux femmes, d'avoir les oreilles percées.

[5]) P.: Jusqu'à l'age de neuf à dix ans elles n'ont pas d'autres vestements que celuy qu'on donne aux petits garçons du meme age, dont nous avons parle cy devant, mais, ayant un age plus avancé, elles portent pour vestement.

[6]) P.: de cotton, blanche, rouge, bleue, ou rayée de l'une ou l'autre couleur.

[7]) P. voegt in: pour se couvrir.

[8]) P.: elles ont tout le reste du corps decouvert.

[9]) P.: tres pauvres et tres limitées.

[10]) P.: de leurs faux Dieux.

[11]) P.: qui sont basties de pierre ou de brique avec de la chaux.

[12]) P. voegt in: (aucune) symetrie ou.

[13]) P.: sont basties avec des murailles de terre et des chevrons qui.

bois ny tailliés [1]) ny polies, attachés avec des viornes [2]). Les toits sont couvert de paille, le pavé de la maison n'est que de terre battue et enduite de bouze de vache, et c'est la le lit de tous les gens du commun [3]); ceux qui sont plus à leur aise ont une Estere ou un morceau de bois pour dormir [4]). — Mais sy leurs logements sont sy pauvres, leur repas ne l'est pas moins. L'on n'a dans ce pays ny tables, ny chaises, ny bancs, ny napes, ny serviettes, ny couteaux, ny culliers [5]), ny fourchettes, ny sallieres, ny plats, ny assiettes, ny pain, ny vin; tous mangent à [6]) platte terre, excepté les rois et les princes souverains [7]), lesquels mangent assis sur une toile fine, etendue sur la terre auparavant bien enduite de bouze de vache, cequi la rend luisante [8]). Aucune personne de consideration ne mange avant cette ceremonie la [9]). Ensuite on leur apporte un grand plat d'or emaillié, que l'on met à terre devant le roy, de sorte qu'il ne touche point à la toile [10]); autour de ce plat on range aussy [11]) plusieurs petites assiettes d'or; puis l'on apporte le manger dans des especes [7]) de [7]) plats d'argent, qui sont faits comme des rechauds, que l'on verse premierement dans le grand plat d'or. Le manger consiste en [12]) du ris cuit dans [13]) l'eau sans du [7]) sel et sans nul assaisonnement [14]). Sur ce ris on verse les ragoust et les fricassées, qui, ne pouvant tous tenir [15]) dans le grand plat, sont mises sur les assiettes [16]), et de la le roy prend avec la main droite ce qui luy plait et le porte dans le grand plat, le mesle avec le ris et, apres en avoir

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[1]) P.: coupés.

[2]) P.: des joncqs.

[3]) Deze zin ingevoegd naar P.a; P.b: et c'est la le lieu ou dorment les g. du c.

[4]) P.: pour les plus riches, ils ont un ester ou bien quelques morceaux de bois, surquoy ils dorment, et c'est la ce qu'ils croyent estre les plus grands delices du monde.

[5]) P. laat ny culliers weg.

[6]) P.: sur la.

[7]) P. om.

[8]) P.: ... sur la terre dans un lieu qu'on a auparavant bien enduit de bouze de vache et essuyé avec un linge, cequi le rend poly et luisant comme un miroir.

[9]) P.: avant qu'on ait fait cette c. la.

[10]) P.: qu'il ne touche pas la toile, sur laquelle le prince est assis.

[11]) in P. komt aussy voor: d'or.

[12]) P.: dans.

[13]) P.: à.

[14]) P.: et sans aucun autre artifice.

[15]) P.: ne pouvant pas contenir toutes.

[16]) P. voegt in: qui l'entourent.

fait une pelotte, il se la jette dans la bouche avec la droite, car la gauche ne peut toucher aucune chose de ce qu'on mange parmy eux. Ils avalent cette pelotte sans la macher, estimant comme chose nouvelle et ridicule, en [1]) se mocquant de ce que les Europeens machent en mangeant du ris [2]), et avant de finir son repas il envoye de son plat à ses femmes, cequ'il juge à propos, car dans ces terres jamais les femmes ne mangent avec leurs maris. Ceux qui servent à manger à ces rois sont des eunuques et des enfants ou des femmes. — Les autres familles [3]) mangent de la maniere suivante. Religieux, penitents, Brahames et gens de lettres, avant de manger, se lavent les mains et le corps et se frottent avec un peu de cendre delayée dans l'eau, la teste, l'estomach, les epaules, les bras, les costés, le ventre et les genoux. Faute de cendre ils usent une terre blanche en façon de chaux, qu'ils appellent *Naman* (157), ou bien du sandal, conformement à la castre et loi qu'ils suivent, et en entrant dans le lieu du repas [4]), qui a este auparavant bien enduit de bouze de vache, ils se ceignent du [5]) linge et s'asseient [6]) les pieds en croix sur une Estere longue et large d'une coudée et on leur met devant eux une grande feuille cousue [7]) ensemble [7]) sans aiguilles ny fil, avec [8]) de petits morceaux de jonc, et sur ces feuilles on leur met premierement quelques pierres de sel et un peu de beure, avec quoy ils frottent les feuilles, et apres cette ceremonie on leur met un peu de ris cuit à l'eau sans sel et par dessus quelques herbages ou legumes assaisonneés à leur maniere, et apres qu'ils les ont mangés, on leur verse sur le ris qui leur reste un peu de laict caillié ou du petit laict de palmier, qu'ils appellent (158) *Soure* [9]), et apres avoir mangé, ils vont dans la cour, s'il y en a, ou dans la rue se laver les mains, la bouche et les pieds, et ne peuvent point rentrer dans leur maison qu'apres l'avoir bien enduite de bouze de vache, parceque, s'ils y rentroient auparavant, ils disent que leur corps deviendroit empolé (159) de la meme

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[1]) lees: et?

[2]) P.: comme une chose ridicule et nouvelle de macher, c'est pourquoy ils se moquent des Europeens.

[3]) P.: Les autres castres des Gentils, qui ne sont pas rois.

[4]) P.: dans le lieu preparé pour le repas.

[5]) P.: d'un.

[6]) P.: s'assisent.

[7]) P.: une feuille d'arbre fort large ou bien à son deffaut plusieurs petites cousues ensemble.

[8]) P.: sans aiguilles, sans fil, mais avec.

[9]) P.: sourat.

maniere que la maison [1]). Comme les Brahames, ny les penitents, ny les Religieux, ny les gens de lettres ne mangent point [2]) dans ce pays cy, ny de poissons, ny d'oeufs, qui sont aussy reputés chair parmy eux, ils n'est pas hors de propos de dire de la maniere qu'ils mangent aussy bien que les autres castres aucune castre [3]) excepté les infames Parias ne peut manger de chair de vache, parceque c'est la chose la plus salle et la plus vile et infame qu'on se puisse imaginer [4]). Ils mangent pourtant d'autres chaires [5]) dont les Europeens mangent, et outre cela ils mangent encore des rats et des lezards. Ils ne mangent point le col, ny les mamelles, ny les poulmons des animaux, c'est une chose qui est estimée vil parmy eux; il n'y a que les Parias qui les mangent. Il n'est pas de meme du coeur des animaux, qu'ils s'imaginent etre le plus excellent manger [6]). Au reste le manger ordinaire de ces peuples est un petit morceau de poisson sec et sallé et un peu de ris cuit à l'eau, car pour la chair de cabrye [7]) et de moutons, de poules et de rats et de lezards, il n'y a que les grands seigneurs et les gens bien riches qui en mangent, si ce n'est dans quelques occasions particulieres telles que sont les banquets de leurs mariages. Le plat dont ils se servent est une feuille d'arbre, comme j'ay dit, ou un petit plat [8]) de laiton, dans lequel toutes les personnes de la maison mangent les uns apres les autres. — Quoy que ces Gentils estiment entre eux [9]) une chose abominable de manger de la chair de vache, c'est pourtant une occasion [10]) digne de veneration [11]) d'en boire l'urine et de s'en laver le visage. C'est pour cela que toutes les personnes nobles et considerables, en se lavant le visage le mattin [12]) vont d'abord prendre la queue d'une vache et adorent le lieu qu'il [13]) couvre, parcequ'ils croyent que c'est dans ce lieu la qu'est Lachimie [14]),

[1]) P.: empoullé de la meme maniere qu'est la maison.

[2]) P. voegt in: de chair.

[3]) Ik heb de zinnen hier niet door interpunctie gescheiden, daar de opvatting van den tekst van St. C. onzeker is. P.: .. de dire cequ'ils mangent et de la maniere que mangent les autres castres. Aucune castre ...

[4]) P.: et la plus infame qu'on puisse s'imaginer dans ces terres.

[5]) P.: viandes.

[6]) P.: du coeur, qu'ils estiment estre un manger delicieux parmy eux.

[7]) P.: cabrils.

[8]) P.: bassin.

[9]) P.: estiment etre.

[10]) P.: chose.

[11]) P. voegt in: parmy eux, en leest „de" i.p.v. d'en.

[12]) P.: en se levant le mattin (beter?).

[13]) P.: qu'elle.

[14]) St. C.: Lachinnie, P.: lachinie.

femme de leur dieu Vichnou, qui est la deesse de la felicité, et apres avoir fait cette ceremonie leur admiration et adoration [1]) et quitté [2]) la queue de la vache, ils reçoivent, en recouvrant [3]) avec leurs deux mains l'urine, et apres en avoir bu un peu [4]), ils mettent le bout de la queue dans le reste, et s'en servent comme d'un aspersoir pour s'asperger, et apres avoir fait cette ceremonie ils se croyent santifiés [5]). — Pour recevoir l'indulgence pleiniere de tous leurs pechés, ils disent qu'il faut boire une boisson [6]) de laict, de beure, de laict de palmier (160), et d'urine de vache et de sa bouze [7]), et que ce composé [8]) n'efface pas seulement tous les pechés, mais encore toutes les immondices [9]) que les Brahames, qui seuls peuvent gagner ce jubilé, ont contracté. Ils sont obligés de s'en servir, quand etant marié, leur femme ait [10]) pour la premiere fois ses [11]) regles, et quand ils ont dans le jour contracté quelque soulieure [12]). Les hommes d'entre eux qui sont les plus spirituels et qui ont meprisé le monde, font enduire de bouze de vache leurs maisons avant que de manger [13]), et sans se servir de plats ny de feuilles font mettre sur la terre nude leur manger [14]). — Il y a parmy eux une castre de gens, qui se nomme *Nastiguers* (161), qui non seulement ne peuvent estre vus quand ils mangent, mais ne peuvent pas entendre nulle voix humaine que ce soit, et pour ce subject, quand ils mangent, ils se renferment dans l'interieur de leurs maisons [15]), et font battre à leurs portes sur des bassins de laiton avec beaucoup de force et de vitesse, pour par ce bruit etre hors d'entendre nulle voix [16]).

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[1]) P.: et apres avoir fait leur adoration.

[2]) P.: laissé.

[3]) niet geheel zeker. St. C.: ils recoivent, ils en reccouvrent avec...; P. slechts: ils recoivent avec les deux mains.

[4]) P.: un coup.

[5]) P.: ils croyent etre santifies.

[6]) P. voegt in: composée.

[7]) P.: d'urine et de bouze de vache.

[8]) P.: cette medicine.

[9]) P.: immondices et infamies.

[10]) St. C.: leurs femmes et; P.: leurs femmes ont.

[11]) P.: leurs.

[12]) P.: quelques choses.

[13]) P.: font conduire de la bouze de vache dans leurs maisons, afin de les enduire avant de manger.

[14]) P.: ils font mettre sur la terre ainsy enduite leur manger et mangent de la sorte.

[15]) P.: de leurs cazes ou maisons.

[16]) P.: afin que par le grand bruit qu'on fait ils ne puissent pas entendre la voix de personne.

Les gens de cette castre n'usent ny de rasoirs, ny de ciseaux pour se faire la barbe ou se couper les cheveux, mais se les arrachent avec les doigts (162), et le patient qui ne montre point ressentir de douleur dans cette action est reçu dans cette castre, mais s'il vient à crier ou à pleurer, ou faire quelques grimaces, ils disent qu'il est trop delicat, et par consequent indigne d'estre admis parmy leur castre. — Non seulement on ne peut voir manger les personnes dont nous venons de parler, mais on ne peut voir manger les Brahames, et tous ces Gentils observent une regularité [1]) extraordinaire sur cet article, c'est qu'ils tiennent que les Brahames, etant de la castre la plus noble, et ceux que toutes les autres castres reconnoissent et reverent non seulement comme leurs superieurs mais encore comme leurs Dieux [2]), les autres castres ne peuvent pas les servir pour leur apporter de l'eau ny pour leur aprester leur manger [3]), mais il faut qu'eux memes cela commodent les uns aux autres ou chacun pour soy [4]), mais ce qu'il y a de plus ridicule, c'est qu'un Brahame sans se decrediter et sans avilir sa noblesse, peut porter de l'eau et faire la cuisine aux [5]) autres castres, et c'est une chose tres [6]) impossible, qu'ils ne se puissent faire servir eux memes et qu'ils puissent servir les autres sans cependant avilir leur pretendue noblesse, grande erreur! [7]) Or, quand les Brahames font la cuisine aux autres castres, ils pratiquent les choses suivantes. Apres avoir apresté [8]) le manger, ils le portent dans des plats de cuivre [9]) à la maison de celuy, pour qui il l'a apresté [10]), parceque celuy la, n'estant pas Brahame, il ne peut entrer dans la cuisine, ny voir ces pots, dans lesquels l'autre a fait cuire le manger [11]), et, luy donnant ce qu'il a apporté dans le plat ou sur feuilles [12]), il le sert jusqu'à ce qu'il ait mangé, et apres sort dehors avec luy pour luy donner à laver [13]) les mains, la bouche et les pieds, mais il ne peut pas

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[1]) P.: maxime.
[2]) P.: comme leurs Dieux et leurs superieurs.
[3]) P.: ny pour leur faire la cuisine.
[4]) P.: qu'eux meme ou un chaqu'un pour soy le fasse.
[5]) P.: pour les.
[6]) P.: moralement.
[7]) P.: qu'il puisse servir en matiere de cuisine et apporter de l'eau pour les gens des autres castres sans perdre son honneur et son credit.
[8]) P.: apporté.
[9]) P.: de cuivre ou de laiton.
[10]) P.: pour lequel il fait la cuisine.
[11]) P.: les pots et les marmites dont le Brame se sert pour faire la cuisine.
[12]) P.: sur une feuille ou dans un plat de cuivre.
[13]) P.: pour luy verser de l'eau et luy laver.

retirer [1]) le reste du manger ny y toucher, cequi seroit une grande infamie [2]) pour luy: il faut avoir une autre personne pour oster ces restes, ou que celuy qui a mangé les oste luy meme, et ensuite enduise la chambre de bouze comme cy dessus [3]). — En matiere de manger c'est un usage chez tous les naturels du pays, de manger avec la main droite seulement, sans toucher de la gauche ny le manger, ny les plats, ny meme la tasse, ou ils boivent un certain bouillon composé d'eau chaude avec des grains de poivre ou de l'oignon [4]), dont ils se servent au deffaut de vin. Ils prennent pourtant à boire [5]) de l'eau avec la main gauche sans toucher le vase de la bouche. — Voila en abregé en quoy consiste leur politesse, qu'ils font consister principalement à manger proprement, en quoy ils croyent surpasser de beaucoup les Europeens, et ont une grande aversion et beaucoup de mepris pour eux [6]).

De leur gouvernement [7]).

Le gouvernement des Gentils est le plus tirannique et le plus barbare qui soit au monde, parcequ'outre que tous les rois sont des etrangers, qui traitent leurs vasseaux en esclaves, toutes les terres appartiennent au roi, n'ayant pas [8]) un vassal qui puisse en avoir en propre et ne peut laisser à ses enfants ni metairie ny champ labouré ny aucun heritage [9]). Les rois arrentent leurs terres de la maniere suivante. Au commencement de l'année, qui est parmy eux le mois de Juin (163), les ministres du palais se transportent à chaque village, et obligent les paysans à prendre (à rente) tant de terre pour telle somme, et, apres avoir fait cet accord, le tems de la moisson etant venu, les officiers du roy, hors de la presence desquels l'on ne peut faire la moisson [10]), demandent aux paysans,

[1]) P.: oster.

[2]) P.: parceque ce seroit un grand deshonneur et infamie.

[3]) P.: et enduit ensuite la chambre de bouze de vache comme nous avons dit cy devant.

[4]) of staat er leignon? P.b.: l'ognon.

[5]) P.: Ils peuvent boire.

[6]) P.: ...leur politesse, qu'ils font principalement briller à manger avec une propreté, qui n'a pas, a ce qu'ils croyent, dans le monde son semblable, et qui est si differente de celle que gardent les Européens, et cela cependant est la seule cause qu'ils ont pour eux un dedaigneux mepris.

[7]) Dit opschrift niet in P.

[8]) P.: et il n'y a pas.

[9]) P.: qui puisse avoir en propre ny une metairie ny un champ à labourer, ni le moindre heritage qu'il puisse laisser à ses enfants.

[10]) P.: ...desquels les laboureurs ne peuvent pas moissonner et voyant le ris avant que d'estre coupé.

s'ils veulent donner la moitié ou la troisieme partie au dessus de ce qu'ils s'etoient obligés de payer [1]), et que le surplus [2]) leur restera. S'ils y consentent, ils passent aussitost l'ecrit et donnent des respondants. Ensuite, apres avoir moissonné, les paysans trouvent qu'ils n'ont pas a peine de leur recolte [3]) de quoy payer la rente au roy, et se trouvent toujours ruinés par ces sortes de marchés; ce qui fait que plusieurs aiment mieux se tenir au premier marché [4]); mais ils ne laissent pas d'en estre toujours la dupe [5]), parceque les ministres, qui assistent à la moisson des grains, quand on les nettoye ou quand on les mesure, apres avoir donné au laboureur la part qu'il luy revient, qui est de [6]) 25 pourcent dans le royaume de Tanjour ou de [6]) 30 pourcent, ce qui passe toujours [7]) pour la moitié comme on fait dans le royaume de Gingy (164), ils obligent les dits laboureurs d'achepter [8]) la part qui revient au roy, laquelle (165) leur est vendue entiere plus que sa valeur [9]). Ainsy, de quelque façon que ces malheureux se comportent dans leurs marchés, ils se voyent toujours apres leur travail [10]), sans avoir de quoy faire subsister leur famille, etant obligés de gagner par ce lieu pendant l'année de quoy se nourrir et ensemencer leur terroir [11]). — Il est inutile à ces miserables de se vouloir retirer ailleurs, parceque le meme usage est partout [12]). Outre que les laboureurs donnent un repondant au roy, pour l'ordinaire [13]) un village repond [14]) pour l'autre, et le laboureur vit toujours dans l'esperance, parceque le roy etablit tous les ans de nouveaux ministres, auquels il arrente ses provinces, et ceux cy, pour tromper les laboureurs, au commencement de l'année

[1]) P.: ou la 3me partie de ce qu'ils s'etoient accordés de payer.

[2]) P.: le tout.

[3]) P.: qu'ils n'ont pas receuilly (St. C. heeft a peinns).

[4]) P.: C'est pourquoy quelques uns disent aux ministres qu'ils se veulent tenir au premier accord qu'ils ont fait.

[5]) P.: mais ils ne laissent pas encore d'y perdre considerablement.

[6]) P. laat „de" weg.

[7]) P.: ou 30 ou plus, qui passe partout.

[8]) P.: d'accepter.

[9]) P.: laquelle leur est vendue pour six milles Peiz, quand elle ne vaut que quatre mille.

[10]) P.: se voyent toujours ruinés.

[11]) P.: etant obligés de faire chaque année de nouvelles entreprises pour se nourir et pour ensemencer de nouveau leur terrain.

[12]) P.: Il n'est pas avantageux à ces pauvres gens de se retirer ailleurs parceque la tirannie est la meme partout et on pourroit leur dire ce que dit Martial du faon, d'ailleurs... (vgl. Manucci).

[13]) P.: ordinairement.

[14]) P.: est respondant.

leur font de nouvelles promesses et pretentions [1]), qu'ils se gouverneront avec toute la justice et la raison qu'il sera possible, et leur avancent [2]) de l'argent pour les faire travailler plus viste [3]) et apres que les laboureurs ont semé leur champ, et sont occupés à leur travail sans pouvoir s'en dedire ny se retirer ailleurs, ils leur font rembourser [4]) par force ce qu'ils leur ont donné d'avance [5]). Voila la maniere tirannique avec laquelle sont traités les laboureurs, non qu'ils ne le meritent bien par leur orgueil et leur malice [6]), et s'ils n'etoient pas menés de la sorte [7]), ils se perdroient infailliblement [8]), parcequ'ils se tueroient les uns les autres, comme l'experience le fait voir au subject de ceux qui sont riches [9]). — Mais sy les ministres des roys traitent sy tiranniquement les paysans et les laboureurs, qui font le plus grand nombre [10]) de ceux qui habitent ces royaumes, sans avoir egard à leur castre [11]), car tous peuvent exercer cet art, les roys ne traitent pas moins cruellement leurs ministres, en ce que apres les avoir occupés [12]) à ramasser leurs rentes [13]), et apres leur année de recolte finie [14]), ils les font tous saisir sous pretexte qu'ils les ont volé; c'est en quoy ils ne se trompent jamais; et les font fouetter d'une maniere cruelle (et leur saisissent tout ce qu'ils possedent), de sorte que celuy qui etoit hier un tres gros seigneur, se trouve aujourd'huy pauvre et miserable, qui, apres avoir eté puissamment riche, se trouve obligé à demander l'aumone et maudit du paysan [15]). Tous les receveurs des rentes de la couronne, pendant qu'ils sont dans cet employ, sont maitres absolus des provinces de leur juridiction, et peuvent prendre connoissance de tous les differentes [16]) et crimes, jusqu'aux matieres de religion, et donner sur

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[1]) P.: protestations.
[2]) P.: prestent.
[3]) P.: avec diligence.
[4]) P.: payer.
[5]) P.: leur ont avancé.
[6]) P.: qu'ils le meritent bien à cause de leur superbe et de leur malice.
[7]) P.: si on ne les traitoit pas de la sorte.
[8]) P.: entierement.
[9]) P.: comme fait voir l'experience parmy eux qui sont a leur aise.
[10]) P.: qui sont les plus grands en nombre.
[11]) P.: à la castre de laquelle ils sont.
[12]) P.: envoyé.
[13]) P. voegt in: dans les provinces qui sont les commissions qu'ils leur donnent.
[14]) P.: et apres les avoir occupés quelques années dans cet employ.
[15]) P.: est aujourd'huy un pauvre gueux et celuy qui rouloit hier sur l'or et l'argent est aujourd'huy reduit à demander l'aumone de porte en porte.
[16]) P.: proces.

toute chose leur sentence dessisive [1]), sans qu'il y ait d'appel, quand meme ce seroit une sentence de mort, et, comme dans tout l'empire (166) de Bisnâga [2]) il n'y a point de loix ny d'ordonnances ecrites, chacun fait sa volonté, et fait mourir celuy qu'il veut, sans qu'on luy en demande la raison, et ce [3]) principalement lorsqu'il est receveur des rentes de la couronne. — S'il s'en trouve [4]) quelqu'un qui veut detruire le royaume, il n'a qu'à aller trouver le roy, et luy dire que s'il veut luy donner un tel nombre de soldats, il luy donnera une telle somme d'or [5]). Le roy luy demande à quel usage il les veut employer, qui est ordinairement pour se saisir de toutes les personnes riches tant hommes que femmes, et par des tourments inouïs tirer de chacun d'eux ce que sa convoitise ou sa haine contre eux luy fait exiger [6]). Si le roy consent à la proposition, ce qui arrive pour l'ordinaire [7]), il prend de luy une caution, et luy fait expedier ses ordres [8]). Ce malheureux leve aussitost une armeé, et poussé dans cette expedition par le desir qu'il a, de tirer beaucoup plus qu'il ne s'est obligé à donner au roy, il fait arrester tout le monde et les fait tourmenter [9]), car sans cela ils ne donneroient rien, sçachant par l'experience du passé, que si quelqu'un, las des tourments [10]), ne fait pas de difficulté de promettre [11]) tout ce qu'on luy demande, il ne se [12]) delivre pas pour cela de la question, parcequ'outre que l'arbitre et ses ministres reçoivent tout ce que ce malheureux a promis, jugeant [13]) que qui peut promettre [14]) d'abord une si grande somme et qui fait plus de compte des tourments que de son argent, peut bien encore donner d'avantage, il luy en demande encore une fois autant, et s'il ne le donne pas, il le raplicque à la

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[1]) P.: diffinitive.

[2]) P.: dans cette empire de Tinargar (Tinnargar).

[3]) „et ce" niet in P.

[4]) Verbeterd, St. C.: que s'il s'en trouve.

[5]) P.: et luy dire: Si votre Majesté veut me donner la permission et un tel nombre de soldats, je luy donneray tant de millions.

[6]) Deze zin sterk afwijkend in P.

[7]) P.: ordinairement.

[8]) P.: et luy donne la depeche qu'il demandoit.

[9]) P.: dans le dessein de les faire t.

[10]) Verbeterd: „les destournent" het hs.

[11]) P.: ..ne donneroit rien, parcequ'ils sçavent ce que c'est qui luy doit revenir, que si quelqu'un qui lassé d'estre mis à la question, ne fait pas de difficulté de promettre etc.

[12]) P.: le.

[13]) St. C.: et jugeant.

[14]) P.: ce celuy qui promet.

question [1]) et ne le quitte pas qu'il n'ait satisfait à la demande [2]) pour une seconde fois. — Ils se servent de plusieurs manieres de tourments, qui sont tous fort cruels. Le premier est l'eau [3]), en mettant le malheureux sur deux morceaux de bois arrestés par quatre gros picquets qui sont au fond de l'eau, et apres luy avoir [4]) lié les pieds et les mains, ils l'etendent à la renverse sur le ventre sur ces bois, et font monter sur luy deux ou trois hommes, qui les font enfoncer dans l'eau, et apres les y [4]) avoir tenus [5]) quelque tems, ils le retirent pour l'obliger à promettre ce qu'on luy demande, et s'il ne le fait pas, on continue [6]) jusqu'à qu'il ait promis, et si ce supplice n'est pas capable pour l'obliger à souscrire à la demande du ministre [7]), du tourment de l'eau on le fait passer à celuy du feu, l'obligeant à marcher pieds nuds [8]) sur des barres de fer rouge, et on luy brule les costés avec des morceaux de fer rouge [9]); ils arrachent à quelqu'uns des morceaux de chair avec des tenailles rougies, et à d'autres avec des froides, ce qui augmente encore le supplice; à d'autres ils lient les bras depuis les epaules jusqu'aux doigts avec [10]) des cordes serrées avec tant de violence, que le sang decoule par les bouts des doigts [10]), et ainsy serrés on les suspende en l'air à deux boules de fer [11]), et les fouette avec des ecorges [12]) de cuir d'une maniere tout à fait inhumaine [13]). Ils en attachent d'autres à platte terre à quatre picquets, et leur frottent le visage avec des bricques avec tant de violence, que le visage leur reste aussy unie que sy l'on les avoit passé au rabot [14]). Ils en jettent d'autres tout nuds sur des haliers d'epines, puis, leur mettant une table dessus, ils y font monter des hommes pour les affliger d'avantage [15]). A d'autres ils attachent de grosses meches huillées

[1]) P.: ils le remettent à la question pour l'obliger à leur donner d'avantage.
[2]) P.: à ce qu'on demande.
[3]) P. voegt in: qu'ils font souffrir.
[4]) In P. *overgeslagen*: lié... tot en met: les y avoir.
[5]) P.: retenu.
[6]) P. voegt in: à le plonger.
[7]) P.: ne suffit pas pour faire donner au ministre du roy ce qu'il demandent.
[8]) P.: nud-pieds.
[9]) P.: avec des beches (meches) allumées.
[10]) In P. *overgeslagen*: avec... doigts.
[11]) P.: avec deux boulets de fer au pieds.
[12]) P.: bouts.
[13]) P.: et les fouettant... d'une maniere cruelle, les font grievement souffrir.
[14]) P.: que leur visage leur demeure comme une table polie sur laquelle on a passé le rabot.
[15]) P.: .. d'epines fort aigues, et les couvrant avec une table dessus ils font mettre dessus trois ou quatre hommes.

entre les doigts, et les suspendent en l'air de façon qu'ils ne se puissent remuer [1]), puis mettent le feu à ces meches et les laissent bruler jusqu'à ce qu'elles soient consommées ou que le patient ait promis de satisfaire à la demande [2]), et sitost qu'il a promis, ils luy font passer un ecrit et il donne une caution. Par ces sortes de tourments et beaucoup d'autres qui ne leur cedent rien en cruauté, mais que la bienseance me dispeine de rapporter, et qu'ils exercent à l'egard des femmes [3]), ils tirent tout ce que ces gens la ont, sans en excepter meme les prestres des idoles, et souvent ils commencent par les enfants et les plus proches parents du roy, afin que personne ne puisse s'exempter [4]) de donner ce qu'ils ont demandé. L'arbitre, ayant satisfait à sa promesse à l'egard du roy, souvent est arresté et est traité comme il a traité les autres, le roy ordonnant [5]) de luy saisir tout ce qu'il possede, et souvent par un juste chatiment [6]) de Dieu il arrive que ces abominables commissionnaires, non pas faute d'argent, mais par le grand attachement qu'ils y ont, aiment mieux se laisser perdre la vie par la violence des tourments [7]) que de rendre ce qu'ils ont [8]), ny meme declarer le lieu ou ils ont enterré leurs tresors, la terre etant plus riche dans ce pays en monnaye dans son centre que sur la superficie, tous les peuples enterrant tous fort secretement leur or et argent, pierreries ou joyeaux.

(*volgt ruim 1 pagina met beschouwingen*).

Outre ces tyrannies, qui ne servent qu'à voler le peuple, il y a encore une autre, qui est inevitable [9]), c'est celle dont usent certains seigneurs, qu'on nomme les grands du royaume, autrement les grands gardes, qui font nourrir [10]) tous leurs officiers dans les villages et habitations sous pretexte de les garder; les laboureurs et

[1]) P.: .. entre les doigts des mains, qui sont attachés à une poutre en l'air sans qu'ils se puissent remuer.

[2]) P.: .. le patient soit resolu de promettre ce qu'ils demandent.

[3]) P.: .. cruauté, que je ne raporte pas icy crainte d'estre trop long.

[4]) P.: ne se puisse excuser.

[5]) P.: ayant satisfait au roy par la quantité d'argent qu'il luy avoit dit, le roy le fait aussi tres souvent prendre et traiter de la meme maniere qu'il a fait les autres, ordonnant.

[6]) P.: jugement.

[7]) P.: ils aiment mieux perdre la vie à force de tourments.

[8]) P.: de donner ce qu'on leur demande. De rest van den zin (tot en met: joyeaux) niet in P.

[9]) P.: continuelle et inevitable.

[10]) P.: nourir, St. C.: mourir.

autres gens de la republique sont obligés de leur payer chaque année un certain tribut, et eux sont obligés de les garder et d'empecher le vol [1]), mais ils sont eux memes les plus grands seigneurs, mais aussy les plus grands voleurs [2]). Ce sont ceux qui sont commis à garder les villages, qui en tirent tout ce qu'il y a de bon, sous pretexte qu'ils ne sont point obligés de repondre des vols, qui se font de jour, et pour ceux de nuicts ils demandent que l'on leur montre le voleur, et qu'ils feront aussytost restituer ce qui aura esté volé [3]), et sy quelque paysan ou autre leur disent quelques paroles desagreables [4]), ou va se plaindre à quelque officier, qui commande au dessus du premier, il le va chercher la nuict dans sa maison le tuer ou l'assomer de coups et luy enleve tout ce qu'il a avec menace, que, s'il en parle à quelqu'un, ils le tueront luy et toute sa famille [5]). Outre que ses grands gardes sont les gens du monde les plus ambitieux et les plus inhumains, ce sont tous des assassins [6]), qui se tuent ou se font tuer les uns les autres et il est rare [7]) qu'ils meurent de maladies. — On observe dans ces terres, principalement dans celles qui sont sujettes au roy de Maysur, une maxime, qui n'est pas moins cruelle que les precedentes, c'est que quand il nait au roy ou à quelqu'un de ses parents quelque enfant dans les jours qui sont reputés parmi eux pour [8]) malheureux, pour tirer la malignité de ce jour la, par le conseil des Brahames il envoye dans cette nuict la ou dans quelqu'une de celles qui suivent, bruler une ou deux et quelque fois plusieurs provinces, et comme toutes les maisons sont couvertes de paille ou de feuilles de cocotier lassées [9]), les pauvres habitans y perdent leurs biens et la vie (167). — Une autre politique [10]) qu'observent les rois de ces terres, c'est de garder comme [11]) prisonnier le fils qui doit succeder à la couronne et ce jusqu'à leur mort, apres laquelle [12]) les grands du royaume le deli-

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[1]) P.: et eux sont obligés de garder leurs biens et d'empecher les voleries ou de faire restituer ce qui a été vole.

[2]) P.: ils sont eux memes les plus grands voleurs.

[3]) In P. is deze zin anders geredigeerd, doch de strekking is gelijk.

[4]) P.: desobligeantes.

[5]) P.: que si quelqu'un le decouvre, ils tueront toute la famille.

[6]) P.: ils sont tous a.

[7]) St. C. et s'il est r., P.: de sorte qu'il est rare.

[8]) P. laat „pour" weg.

[9]) P.: de paille et de foin.

[10]) P.: politique tirannique.

[11]) P. laat „comme" weg.

[12]) P.:... prisonnier jusqu'à leur mort le fils qui leur doit succeder à la couronne, et apres leur mort.

vrent et le font proclâmer roy, et nonobstant le grand soin qu'ils prennent pour empecher les soulevements et trahisons dans leurs royaumes, ils experimentent continuellement, faute [1]) de rendre justice et de bien gouverner, que [2]) tous leur soins deviennent inutils, les peuples esperant un meilleur traitement, changeant de gouvernement, ce en quoy ils se trompent souvent [2]). — Quand deux roys sont en guerre ensemble, ils gardent non seulement leurs ambassadeurs dans la cour de leur adversaire, mais encore dans leur armée, et comme le secret est l'ame du gouvernement et que ces barbares cy n'en ont point, l'on peut assurer [3]) que leur gouvernement est un gouvernement sans ame. Tous les desseins que forme l'ennemi sont d'abord connus de tous, parceque [4]) l'ambassadeur du roy ennemi ou quelqu'un de son parti assiste ordinairement à cette assemblée, et la guerre se finit pour l'ordinaire [5]) entre eux par le moyen de l'argent que le plus foible donne au plus fort. L'argent seul est le but de leurs ames, car pourquoy que ce soit sans luy il n'y a ny amitié ny reconnoissance [6]). Jamais ils ne marchent en corps d'armée, mais toujours en defilant, et la plus part des soldats menent avec eux leurs femmes et leurs enfants, et [7]) souvent le soldat porte dans ses bras un enfant et sur la teste une espece de corbeille, ou sont les ustensiles de cuisine, et pour lors la femme porte ou la lance ou le fusil de son mary [7]). Si ce desordre est grand, ce n'est pas

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[1]) P.: ils en experimentent de continuelles, par faute.

[2]) De zin: que ... souvent, die een goeden overgang tot het volgende vormt, wordt in P. door 't volgende vervangen: Par les injustices qu' on exerce dans ces terres à l'egard des naturels du pays, on peut bien juger quelle hospitalité y peuvent trouver des etrangers, et qu'il n'y a que Dieu qui conserve par une providence particuliere les missionnaires, qui sont occupés à precher l'Evangile, car autrement comment seroit il possible de demeurer avec des gens si barbares et si alienés de justice et de raison. Mais, comme je pretends parler de cette matiere dans le dernier chapitre de cette relation, apres avoir vu leur gouvernement dans le tems de la paix, voyons à present celuy qu'ils observent dans la guerre.

[3]) P.: ce n'est point un mensonge que d'assurer.

[4]) P. voegt in: quand il y a conseil.

[5]) Deze drie woorden niet in P.

[6]) Deze zin geheel anders geredigeerd in P.

[7]) In pl. van et souvent... son mary P.: et souvent on voit un soldat marcher avec un enfant qui est à la mamelle sous le bras, ou sur la teste un teste (l. ceste) ou panier, rempli de plats et de marmittes ou autres ustensiles de cuisine, et sa femme marche apres luy, ayant dans sa main une lance et quelquefois meme un fusil attaché à son costé, et au lieu de balle tient dans la main une cuillere qui pour estre trop longue ne peut pas tenir dans la seste que son mary porte.

encore le moindre, car le plus grand est causé par le peu de discipline du soldat, qui sert aujourd'huy son prince et demain passe au service de l'autre, sans prendre de congé ny pasport, où, apres avoir servi autant qu'il luy plait, il revient à son parti avec toute la sureté possible, ou il ne manque pas de retrouver du service, mais encore, quelques fois des emplois. Il ne faut pas s'etonner si avec une sy bonne discipline et avec des choses sy prudent, il se trouve à peine dans leur plus rudes combats cent hommes de tués et autant de blessés, quoyque des le commencement du combat le parti qui se croit le plus foible prenne la fuite, ceque, s'ils estoient plus braves soldats et mieux commandés devroit causer de grands carnages. Ils ont tant de peur de la cavalerie que mil hommes de cheval mettront en fuite trois mils hommes de pieds, quoyque cette cavalerie ne soit armée d'aucune arme de feu [1]). — Il nous reste à present à voir les ceremonies, qu'ils gardent veritablement dans leurs mariages [2]).

Des Mariages [3]).

L'affaire du monde la plus importante parmy ces peuples est le mariage, parcequ'ils ne croyent [4]) point de plus grande felicité en ce monde. C'est pourquoy qu'à peine les enfants sçavent ils prononcer le nom de leur pere et mere, qu'ils leur apprennent à dire qu'ils veulent se marier, et souvent ils les marient avant qu'ils sçachent parler. Mais comme dans ces terres il y a plusieurs differentes castres, et que chacune entre elles gardent differentes maximes dans cette ceremonie [5]), je rapporteray premierement celles qui sont communes à toutes coutumes [6]). — C'est une maxime generale et infailliblement reçue dans toutes les castres, que le mary soit plus agé de 3 ou 4 ans que sa femme, excepté dans quelques castres de Tisserands [7]) et [8]) de chasseurs. Il faut aussy que la femme soit de la meme

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[1]) Het laatste stuk (van af: Si ce desordre est grand) luidt, wat redactie betreft, geheel anders in P. Zakelijk is de inhoud dezelfde, slechts op 't eind is er afwijking, waar P. heeft: ... que quatre mille hommes d'infanterie ne sçauroient faire teste à deux mille cavaliers.

[2]) P.: Voila en peu de mots la maniere avec laquelle tout ce pays est gouverné. Parlons des ceremonies de leurs mariages.

[3]) In P. geen opschrift.

[4]) P.: L'affaire du monde qui parmy ces Gentils passe pour la plus importante, c'est de se marier, parcequ'ils croyent qu'il n'y a pas au monde de felicité pareille à celle la.

[5]) P.: maximes et ceremonies.

[6]) P.: à toutes les castres, et ensuite celles qu'elles gardent en particulier.

[7]) St. C.: Tiscerands.

[8]) P.: ou.

famille que [1]) son mary. Les cousins germains jusqu'au 3me et 4me degré ne peuvent contrâter ensemble [2]), ce d'autant qu'ils s'appellent frerres [3]). Dans (ce pays) ils n'appellent (168) point du nom d'oncle le frere du pere, ni tante la soeur de la mere, mais si ce frere et cette soeur sont plus vieux que leurs peres et meres, ils les nomment grands peres et grandes meres, comme aussy [4]), s'ils sont plus jeunes, ils les appellent petits peres et petites meres, et suivant ce parentage tous les hommes de tous leurs frerres de leurs peres s'appellent meres, et tous les maris des soeurs de leurs meres s'appellent meres [5]); bien plus tous les enfants de ces frerres et soeurs, ils les nomment aussy petits peres, et tous ces enfants en general ont empechement de se marier ensemble [6]). — Presque dans toutes les castres l'essence du mariage consiste dans un petit joyeau d'or, que l'on nomme Tali (169), que l'epoux pretendu attache au col de sa pretendue, apres l'avoir premierement (enfilé) dans un cordon de cotton oinc [7]) dans du saffran, pour marquer, et ce avec beaucoup de prevoyance, la deffiance avec laquelle les maris doivent vivre avec leurs femmes en ce pays. — Dans cette ceremonie du Tali ils observent une maxime criante [8]), qui est qu'apres que les parents de l'epoux et de l'epouse ont passé le contract ensemble, et assigné le jour du mariage, qui se doit faire à la porte de la maison sous une belle ramade nouvelle, quand ce seroit pour le roy [9]), si quelqu'autre jeune homme soit par meritte [10]) ou par haine ou par raison de

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[1]) P.: de.

[2]) P.: Les c. germains ne peuvent pourtant pas se marier avec leurs cousines germaines.

[3]) P.: parcequ'ils s'appellent freres et soeurs, et cet empechement qui est entre ceux cy se trouve aussy entre les autres castres, qui sont cousins et cousines qui descendent successivement par la meme ligne au trois, quatre, ou autres degrés.

[4]) P. i. p. v. comme aussy: et.

[5]) Zóó staat er! P.: et suivant ce parentage les maris de toutes les soeurs de leurs meres s'appellent aussy peres, et les femmes de tous les freres de leur pere s'appellent meres.

[6]) P.: bien plus tous les marys des soeurs des femmes de leurs oncles freres de leur petits peres, sont aussy leurs peres, et les enfants de tous ceux la selon leur coutume ont un empechement indispensable pour se marier ensemble au premier degré de la consanguinité.

[7]) P.: teint.

[8]) P.: cr. et affreuse.

[9]) P.: sous une belle ramade, qui se doit toujours faire de nouveau pour chaque mariage, quand ce seroit celuy du roy (vgl. Manucci: this arbour is erected for everybody, from the king down, to the shepherd).

[10]) P. begrijpelijker: envie.

parentage, pour preceder le futur epoux, attachoit le Tali [1]), il seroit reputé dans toutes ces terres pour le veritable mary, et elle pour sa veritable femme, quoy qu'elle n'y consentit pas et meme qu'elle y resistat [2]). Il est vray que cela n'arrive que tres rarement, cependant cela c'est vu deux fois en peu d'années [3]). — La maniere de dresser le contract se fait qu'apres [4]) que le futur epoux avec ses parents ont eté chercher quelque augure convenable à leur dessein. S'ils le trouvent, ils vont incessamment à la maison de la fille la demander à ses parents, pour etre leur brüe; le futur epoux ne se trouve point à cette premiere ceremonie [5]). Apres que les parents de la fille ont donné un banquet à ceux qui la leur sont venus demander, ils se montrent ordinairement fort difficiles à leur faire leur promesse, disant que selon le pronostique du Dieu, qu'ils iront le jour suivant consulter, ils reponderont à leur demande, et avec cette reponse et plusieurs autres sembables ils les congedient ce jour la, leur donnant jour pour revenir, lequel etant venu ([6] ils reviennent chercher la reponse favorable de l'oracle (et) ils adjustent le contract [7]). Comme dans ces terres les maris doivent achepter leurs femmes, la premiere chose est de convenir du prix; lequel etant adjusté, les parents du futur epoux vont chercher une partie de l'argent, et le portent aux parents de la future epouse, à qui ils font aussy present d'un collier de fleur de cocos et d'une regime de bananes. Si apres cette ceremonie le futur epoux ne vouloit pas se marier avec cette fille, qui ne veut point du futur epoux, ou que cela vienne de ses parents, le contract est annullé, mais ils sont obligés de rendre au dit futur le double de ce qu'il leur avoit donné [8]). — Le jour du mariage estant arresté [9]), on dresse une

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[1]) Verbeterd; St. C.: epoux et attacher; P.: precedoit le futur epoux et attacha au col de la future epouse le Taly.

[2]) P.: qnoy qu'elle n'y consente pas et qu'au contraire elle y resiste et y repugne.

[3]) P.: Il est vray que de semblables cas n'arrivent que tres rarement, mais ils ne laissent pourtant pas d'arriver quelques fois, et je l'ai deja vu deux fois depuis que je suis dans ces terres.

[4]) P.: se fait de la façon suivante; apres.

[5]) P.: n'assiste point à cette demande.

[6]) P.: leur disant de revenir dans tant de jours, lesquels etant écoulés.

[7]) P.: ... chercher la reponse et, si le Devin leur pronostique un bon succes, ils adjustent le contrat du mariage.

[8]) P.: Si apres avoir faite cette ceremonie le futur epoux disoit qu'il ne veut pas se marier à cette fille la, il prends l'argent qu'il a donné et le mariage est rompu, mais si c'est par la faute de la future epouse ou de ses parents, le contrat est anulé, et ils sont obligés de rendre au futur epoux l'argent qu'il avoit donné et de luy en donner une fois autant du leur.

[9]) P.: arrivé.

ramade devant la porte de la maison de la fille, ou l'epoux vient, accompagné de tous ses parents, pour attacher le Tali au col de la future epouse, mais comme dans ces terres il y a differentes castres, il y a aussy differentes ceremonies pour attacher le Tali. Je les diviseray en cinq parties differentes: dans la premiere les ceremonies qui font les Brames, dans la seconde celles des Raias, dans la troisieme celles des Cometis, dans la quatrieme celles des Choutres, et dans la cinquieme celles des Parias.

Ceremonies des Brames dans leurs mariages [1]).

Comme les Brames sont divisés en grand nombre de castres, je ne rapporteray pas ce qu'il y a de particulier en chacune [2]), mais seulement ce qu'il y a de general et de commun dans toutes leurs castres, comme des autres, dont je ne rapporteray non plus que les coutumes et maximes generales. — Apres que le Brahame qui veut se marier, a jetté les yeux sur une femme [3]), il sort de sa peuplade et va à celle de sa future epouse, ou les parents de la ditte fille l'attendent dans une maison separée de celle de la fille, ou [4]), apres avoir conversé quelque tems, le Brame (170), faisant semblant de n'estre pas content, se leve brusquement de sa place, chausse ses alparques, prend un bourdon à la main et un livre sous son bras, et, faisant mine d'estre en colere, dit à l'assemblée, qu'il va voyager par le monde; et en effet il part de ce lieu la, mais, apres avoir un peu marché, ses frerres ou proches parents [5]) vont trouver les parents de la fille, qui tous ensemble vont apres luy, le joignent et le retiennent [6]) avec beaucoup de prieres [7]), luy promettant pour le consoler [8]), qu'ils vont incessamment travailler à [9]) achever le mariage, et pour luy faire voir que ce qu'ils disent contient verité [10]), ils le prennent et le font asseoir sur une espece de table ou porte [9]), et le portent ainsy jusqu'à la maison de la future epouse, ou la mere et l'epouse l'attendent, et apres luy avoir lavé les pieds avec du laict

[1]) Het opschrift niet in St. C.

[2]) P. voegt in: tant à cause, que je n'en ay pas une parfaite connoissance, qu'à cause que je serois trop long [ce que je n'ay pas promis de faire].

[3]) P.: a menagé une femme, et qu'il l'a remise entre les mains de celuy qui doit estre son beaupere.

[4]) P.: et.

[5]) Deze drie woorden niet in P.

[6]) P.: qui tous ensemble le retiennent.

[7]) P.: peine.

[8]) P.: pour le faire revenir et le consoler.

[9]) Deze twee woorden niet in P.

[10]) P.: est veritable.

de vache (171) et les avoir essuyés de ses habits, il s'assoit [1]) un peu de tems sur une Estere neuve, et ensuite on l'enleve de la et on le porte avec sa future epouse sur une espece de lict, qui est attaché avec quatre cordes à une grosse poutre en façon d'escarpolette, et pendant que les uns les font balancer sur ce lict (172), les autres chantent des cantiques et des epithalames de noce [2]). Apres que la musique qui se chante ordinairement devant la porte, est finie, et que les futurs epoux sont descendus de leur balançoir, on les conduit dans une salle, ou ils font un holocauste et adorent le feu, qu'ils disent aussy [3]) estre un Dieu. Il sacrifie a l'idole [4]) un cocos. L'holocauste et sacrifice fini [5]), la soeur du futur epoux ou la plus proche parente porte à son col la future epouse et la fait asseoir sur un sac de ris (173), et avant que le mary luy attache le Tali au col, les peres et meres de l'epouse [6]) entreprennent le mary par [7]) represaille, et luy demandent plus d'argent qu'ils n'estoient convenus auparavant [8]), ce qui cause entre les parents de l'un et de l'autre parti de grands debats et de gros bruicts, mais la querelle ne passe pas les paroles qui sont quelques fois si picquantes qu'elles seroient suffisantes parmy les Europeens et d'autres nations qui est de l'honneur, de causer de grands meurtres. Le futur epoux, pour se tirer d'embarras, promit l'argent que son beaupere demande, car autrement il ne se marieroit pas, et [9]) apres l'avoir donné en espece ou gages d'or et d'argent, il attache le Tali au col de la future epouse, et par la rend le contract, qu'il a fait, indissoluble [9]). Ensuite il se jette aux pieds de sa belle mere et luy fait une profonde inclination de corps [10]), et elle, la recevant, luy donne un cocos, mais elle ne peut plus luy parler qu'apres bien des années [11]). Ces compliments etant finis, l'epoux en presence de toute la compagnie prend le pied de son epouse et le met par trois fois sur une pierre (174) *Akary* [12]),

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[1]) St. C.: s'assis.

[2]) P.: des epitalames ou des cantiques de nopces.

[3]) Ontbr. in P.

[4]) P.: ils sacrifient à un idole.

[5]) St. C.: lautrolocauste et s. finy, P.: le sacrifice finy.

[6]) P.: le pere et les parents de l'une et de l'autre sexe de l'epouse.

[7]) P.: par une.

[8]) P.: qu'il n'estoit convenu auparavant et au commencement.

[9]) In P. onvolledig: et apres luy avoir donné la future epouse, il rend par la indissoluble le contrat qu'il a fait.

[10]) P.: une grande reverence.

[11]) P.: ne peut plus parler avec luy, qu'apres avoir laissé ecouler beaucoup d'années.

[12]) Zoo St. C., P.: „de Carry" en „de Cary".

qui est une pierre extremement dure [1]), sur laquelle ils pillent les ingredients dont ils se servent pour assaisonner les sauces [2]). Ensuite ils vont derechef faire un holocauste comme auparavant. — Apres avoir decrit quelle est l'essence du mariage, voyons a present de quelle maniere se fait le banquet. Tous les convives s'asseient sous la ramade, ou l'on a celebré le mariage et dont la terre a esté bien enduite de bouze de vache, ayant chacun devant soy une feuille, sur laquelle on leur sert d'abord un peu de sel et une branche d'oranger confite dans le sel. Ensuite on apporte trois ou quatre cestes [3]) de ris cuit à l'eau sans sel, que l'on leur met avec les mains sur les feuilles, autant que chacun croit en pouvoir manger, car il faut qu'il n'en reste rien [4]). Apres leur avoir servi le ris, on leur apporte les autres mets, qui sont des pois aussy cuits dans l'eau, et ensuite [5]) quelques bredes, bringelles (175) ou concombres cuits et assaisonnés; au second service l'on leur donne encore sur leurs feuilles un peu de ris et dessus un peu de bouillon [6]) fait avec de l'eau et du poivre et un peu de [7]) laict caillié. Comme l'epouse ne peut manger à la meme table que son epoux [8]), ils observent une ceremonie aussi curieuse que ridicule, c'est que l'epouse venant à se mettre proche de son mary, il luy fait une grosse pelotte de ris et de pois, et luy met [9]) dans la main, ce qu'ayant reçu, regardant de l'autre costé [10]), elle s'en fuit comme une biche. — Ce banquet fini, les Brahames se levent et emportent leur feuille, qu'ils jettent dehors [11]) et se lavent les pieds et les mains, ensuite se frottent la teste, l'estomach et les bras de poudre de sandal delayée dans l'eau. — Ils sont si peu polis, que s'il manque quelque chose au banquet, ils font publiquement affront au maitre de la maison, qui les traicte [12]). Les troisieme et quatrieme jours [13]) les parents

[1]) Deze tusschenzin niet in P.

[2]) P. voegt bij: et choses qu'on mange.

[3]) St. C.: sortes, P.: „cestes" of „sestes".

[4]) P.: qu'il ne reste rien sur la feuille.

[5]) P.: par dessus.

[6]) P.: et dans ce ris un bouillon.

[7]) P.: et sur le ris un peu de.

[8]) P.: à la table de son mary.

[9]) P.: qu'il luy met.

[10]) P.: et elle l'ayant reçue ayant le visage tourné de l'autre costé.

[11]) P.: emportent avec eux la feuille sur laquelle ils ont mangé, qu'ils jettent dans la cour ou dans la rue.

[12]) P.: Voila quel est leur banquet, dans lequel les Brames se montrent entr'eux si peu honnestes et civils, que s'il y manque quelque chose, ils ne manquent pas de faire effront publiquement au m. d. la maison, qui leur a donné le banquet.

[13]) P.: Au 3me ou 4me jour.

des mariés les refont asseoir sur une table, et les portent sur leurs epaules de porte en porte dans toute la populace [1]), ou les parents et amis leur donnent quelques fruicts ou quelqu'autre chose à manger, et apres que cette promenade [2]) est achevée, on les remet sur le balançoir et recommence à les balancer et à leur chanter en meme tems des epithalames [3]), et le jour suivant on lave la teste à l'epoux avec de l'huile de Gingily [4]), et l'epouse, pour se divertir, en jette un peu aux yeux de son epoux [5]) et de ceux qui assistent au mariage; puis apres les mariés vont offrir un holocauste [6]). — Toutes ces ceremonies estant finies, l'epoux, laissant son epouse dans la maison de son pere et mere, se retire à sa peuplade avec tous ses parents. Le pere et la mere ne remettent point leur fille a leur gendre qu'apres qu'elle a eu ses regles pour la premiere fois, jour qui se celebre parmi eux avec grande solemnité ou plustost avec grande turpitude [7]), et, comme on ne peut rapporter sans effacer la modestie [8]) ce qu'ils disent et font dans cette occasion, je le passe sous silence, disant seulement que pendant douze jours à conter depuis qu'elles [9]) ont parus, on la tient renfermée dans une petite cabane hors de la maison, ou personne ne peut toucher ny [10]) entrer, et on luy apporte son manger tout accommodé, qu'on luy met à la porte de la cabane (176). Je ne rapporteray pas non plus toutes les choses et impertinences des Braministes qui se trouvent [11]) dans la peuplade, tant mariées que filles, qui durent [12]) pendant ces douze jours la, tant dans leurs maisons que dans leur habitations, et les termes horribles dont elles se servent l'une à l'egard des autres, n'en exceptant pas seulement les estrangers [13]), et quoy que tout le monde trouve cette maxime tres affreuse, ny les maris ny les parents de ces femmes ne se mettent

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[1]) P.: peuplade.
[2]) P.: visite.
[3]) P.: cantiques.
[4]) P.: Gingely.
[5]) P.: pour se rire, luy en jette par dessus les yeux.
[6]) P.: et ce jour la les m. font un h.
[7]) P.: turpidité.
[8]) P.: sans offenser la modestie chrestienne.
[9]) P.: douze jours continuels depuis que les regles.
[10]) P. laat deze twee woorden weg.
[11]) P.: pas non plus toutes les sottises et les paroles sales que toutes les Bramistes qui sont.
[12]) que vierges, disent.
[13]) P.: soit dans leurs maisons soit dans la rue, non seulement les unes aux autres, mais encore à tous les hommes qui passent par la, etrangers ou naturels.

point en peine de les reprimer, ny de les faire taire, disant pour leur raison [1]) que c'est la coutume de leur castre et que personne n'a droit d'y rien changer ny rien corriger. — D'abord que la fille a eu ses regles, le pere le fait sçavoir à tous les parents et amis, et demande à tous des estrennes, et le gendre est le premier à qui l'on le fait sçavoir. L'on lui ecrit cette nouvelle sur des feuilles de palmier franc [2]) teintes de saffran, qui est entr'eux une marque institué pour signifier cette grande solemnité. Apres que les douze jours sont passés, la fille rentre à la maison de son pere (177), ou tous les parents s'assemblent et font presque les memes ceremonies qu'on observe au mariage, sçavoir offrir un holocauste, adorer le feu, donner un banquet. Ils appellent (178) ce jour la le jour du second mariage [3]), lequel estant fini, ils remettent l'epouse à son mary qui l'emmene à sa maison. Sitost que la femme est avec son mary, outre qu'elle ne peut parler devant le monde ny à ses belles meres, ny à ses belles soeurs (179), ny aux autres parents de son mary, elle est obligée d'aller [4]) chercher de l'eau et de faire tous les autres services de la maison, et [4]) de demander par signes ce dont elle a besoin, ce qui est une chose fort ridicule, et sy Dieu luy donne des enfants au neuvieme mois de sa grossesse, ils refont à peu pres les memes ceremonies que dans les deux premiers mariages [5]), et nomment ce jour la le troisieme mariage ou le mariage [6]) du premier accouchement, et pour lors ils disent que le mariage du Brahame est entierement accompli; que s'il venoit [7]) à mourir apres avoir attaché le Tali, en quoy ils font consister la force du mariage, l'epouse ne pourroit plus se remarier, quoy qu'elle n'ait encore que quatre ou cinq ans, dans lequel age souvent leurs parents les marient, quoy qu'elle soit toujours en age d'estre mariée jusqu'à dix ans [8]) et non au dela. Les veuves des Brahames se determinent à prendre un des quatre partis qu'elles peuvent choisir. Celles qui sont amatrices de la reputation et l'honneur, se brulent toute vivantes avec leurs maris, cequi se fait de cette maniere. On dresse un bucher de huit à neuf pieds de long et autant de large et haut d'environ une coudée,

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[1]) P.: pour s'excuser.

[2]) Dit onbegrijpelijke woord niet in P.

[3]) P.: et appellent ce jour la jour de son mary et non pas autrement (!). De rest (tot en met: à sa maison) ontbreekt.

[4]) Van „d'aller chercher" tot en met „la maison, et" niet in P.

[5]) P.: ... qu'ils ont faites aux deux mariages precedents.

[6]) P.: menage.

[7]) P.: acheve, et si le Brame venoit.

[8]) P.: quoy qu'elle n'ait l'age d'estre marieé qu'a dix ans.

sur lequel on met sur le dos le corps du Brahame deffunct, vetu de la meme maniere qu'il etoit durant sa vie, la teste du costé du sud et les pieds au nord. Ensuite un docteur de la peuplade luy vient reciter sur les cinq sens certaines oraisons diaboliques, et les oinct de beure, apres quoy les plus proches parents du deffunct luy jettent cinq ou six grains de ris dans la bouche [1]). Apres ces ceremonies on tourne [2]) le corps du deffunct sur un costé, et sa femme sans pleurer, au contraire fort joyeuse et d'un air riant [3]), monte sur le bucher, et se couche sur le costé, embrassant etroitement son mary, avec lequel les parents la lient fortement avec deux cordes, qui sont attachées à deux picquets disposés pour cet effect, et apres cela jettent par dessus ces deux corps presque autant de bois et de bouze de vache, qu'il y en a par dessous. L'on appelle par trois fois la femme par son nom et fort distinctement, et l'on luy demande sy elle veut aller à la gloire et aussitost qu'elle a repondu que ouy, on allume le feu, et apres les avoir brulé, les assistants s'en retournent a leurs maisons, enviant la constance de cette femme et le bonheur qu'elle a acquis dans la gloire. — Les veuves, qui ont perdu la honte aussy bien que leurs maris, apres la mort de leur epoux quittent la peuplade et s'en vont dans les grandes villes faire le metier de publicques [4]), ceque font aussy plusieurs autres du vivant de leur mari, et ce commerce [5]) n'est pas puni dans ce pays. — Les autres veuves, qui n'ont pas tant d'honneur que les premieres ni si peu [6]) que les secondes, apres la mort de leurs maris demeurent dans la maison de leurs parents et les servent à tout ce qui leur plait, et par le desir qu'elles ont de se conserver dans [7]) une bonne reputation envoyent souvent aux limbes ceux qui pourroient la leur faire perdre, maladie presque incurable parmi les Bramenistes [8]). — Les autres veuves, apres la mort de leurs maris, comme c'est une infamie de filer, font metier

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[1]) P.: de ris cuit sur la bouche.
[2]) P.: vire.
[3]) P.: d'une face riante.
[4]) P.: de putains.
[5]) P.: ce crime la.
[6]) P.: ni si peu de honte.
[7]) Dit woord niet in P.
[8]) P.: maladie d'autant plus incurable et dangereuse parmi les femmes des Brames qu'elle est insupportable. Manucci: „but this condition is not easy to put up with, while, on the other hand, they are keen to preserve their characters. Thus they often make complaint to those who might rescue them from their sad position, a malady all the heavier for having no possible relief.

de transporter du ris dans les chemins d'un lieu à un autre pour le vendre, ne reputant pas à deshonneur [1]) un office qui parmy les Europeens est tres vil et tres bas, et celles qui font ce metier sont ordinairement les plus sages et les plus prudentes qu'il y ait entre elles, parceque le travail leur donne de l'esprit et les empeche de vivre dans l'oisiveté, qui conduit à toutes sortes de vices [2]). Voila le procedé des Brames, qui sont superbes comme des Demons, ne faisant pas de difficulté de se dire et de se faire adorer comme des Dieux [3]) par les autres castres, qui, quoy qu'elles ayent toutes quelque chose de mauvais dans leurs procedés, ne laissent pas d'avoir beaucoup de bons procedés et de louables maximes, au lieu que les Brahames n'en ont aucunes que de tres pernicieuses [4]).

Ceremonies qu'observent les Raias [5]).

Apres estre d'accord de la somme que le futur doit donner à son beaupere [6]), un jour avant que de faire le mariage ils attachent à l'epoux en forme [7]) de bandouliere, prenant à l'epaule gauche venant au costé droit, une ligne qui est composée de trois cordons, chaque cordon de trois cordelettes [8]), et chaque cordelette [8]) de trois fils de cotton (180), pour marque de sa noblesse, et l'on nomme cette ceremonie la mariage de la ligne, lequel etant fini, le mary proteste qu'il ne fera pas autre chose [9]) et se retire comme s'il etoit faché d'en avoir tant fait; les parents le vont chercher et avec de bonnes raisons ils luy persuadent de venir se marier, et, comme de luy meme il le desire tres fort, il se laisse facilement persuader. Le jour suivant, selon le pronostique ou l'augure qu'ils ont eu, ils assignent l'heure du mariage; ensuite ils construisent un petit cabinet de toile blanche, que quatre hommes portent sur leurs epaules, et quatre femmes mariées, parentes du futur epoux portent sous le dit cabinet quatre cruches d'eau jusqu'à la porte de la rue, ou on a

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[1]) P.: ne reputant pour deshonneur.

[2]) P.: qui est la mere de tous les vices.

[3]) P.: de se dire des Dieux et de se faire reputer et adorer comme tels.

[4]) P.: ne laissent pas d'avoir de bonnes maximes et louables coutumes, au lieu que celles les Brames pour une bonne maxime qu'elle en observe mille autres tres mauvaises et tres pernicieuses.

[5]) P.: La coutume que les Rajas gardent dans leurs mariages.

[6]) P.: Apres que le futur epoux s'est accordé et convenu de l'argent qu'il doit donner a son beaupere pour sa future epouse.

[7]) P.: en façon.

[8]) P.: cordonnets, cordonnet.

[9]) In Pb. is dit veranderd in: fait l'homme de mauvais humeur.

dressé la ramade neuve, sous laquelle on doit celebrer le mariage, ou elles les mettent [1]), et parcequ'ils croyent que non seulement le peuplier est Brame, mais encore Dieu du mariage, ils en mettent aussi une branche, et une de Margozier [2]), qu'ils disent etre la Deesse Parachy [3]), femme du peuplier (181); et apres avoir attachés ces deux branches à un pieu [4]) qui est au milieu de la ramade, ils attachent aussy avec des cannes sauvages quelques feuilles de l'herbe [5]) que les Portugais appellent (182) Polvereira [6]), et au pied du pieu et de tous ceux de la ramade [7]) ils y mettent quantités de petits rechaux de terre et dans chaqu'un un pain cuit sous la cendre, qui est fait de farine de ris, que les femmes qui sont conviées au mariage mangent avant la ceremonie. — Ensuite vient l'epoux, tout chargé de joyaux qu'il a ordinairement empruntés, ayant tout le corps frotté de sandal et couvert de colliers de fleurs, assis dans un andolis, qui est porté sur les epaules de six ou huit hommes [8]), accompagné de ses parents et de ses amis, qui marchent devant luy à pied au son des flutes, des tambours de basques et des trompettes. Estant arrivé a la porte [9]) avec tout cet appareil, il descend de son andolis et sa belle mere luy lave les pieds avec du laict [10]) et les essuye [11]) avec une serviette de soye, mais comme celuy qui est net, n'a pas besoin de se laver autre chose que les pieds, ceux la, ne l'etant point, ont besoin de se laver autre chose que les pieds, meme tout le corps, c'est pourquoy le futur epoux se depouille de toutes ses richesses, toile et autres ornements, dont il estoit vetu [12]), se ceint d'un petit linge, et dans cet etat souffre que ses parents luy frottent la teste d'une espece de paste faite de pois verts, que l'on a preparé à cet effect, et les parents en font autant à la future epouse. Cela fait ils vont tous deux se laver separement à la rivierre ou à quelque etang, apres quoy l'epoux reprend ses ornements et s'en

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[1]) Pb.: ou ces femmes mettent leurs cruches d'eau.

[2]) P.: ils mettent aussi une branche de Margouzier (!).

[3]) St. C.: Barachy, P.: Parachy en Parachay.

[4]) P.: pierre.

[5]) P.: arbre.

[6]) Verbeterd (op grond van Manucci: „of a certain herbe which is used to make powder"), St. C.: folvereira, P.: Polreveira.

[7]) P.: ... du pieu et de tous les autres qui sont sous la ramade.

[8]) P.: qui est porte par s. ou h. hommes sur leurs epaules.

[9]) P. voegt in: de la maison, ou se doit celebrer le mariage.

[10]) P.: du laict caillé.

[11]) Zoo P.; St. C.: et les essuant.

[12]) In pl. van den ganschen zin: mais comme celuy ... dont il etoit vetu, leest P.: et puis apres le futur epoux.

retourne, accompagné de ses parents, avec le meme bruit et appareil, qu'il etoit venu, au lieu ou se doit conclure le mariage, et par un chemin different de la future; et dans le chemin les parentes de la ditte future attendant le mary et jettant sur luy [1]) et sur ceux qui l'accompagnent une grande ceste de ris crud. Les parents de l'epoux sont aussy preparés à leur rendre la meme civilité [2]), Etant tous arrivés sous la ramade et ayant fait un sacrifice dans lequel ils adorent le feu, un Brahame vient faire une ceremonie sur le Tali [3]), que l'epoux doit attacher au col de sa pretendue, et le fait toucher à toutes les personnes qui sont dans l'assemblée et ensuite le met entre les mains du mary qui est assis avec son epouse [4]) sur une espece de cadre de lict [5]) couvert d'un beau tapis, et au son des trompettes, pendant que les parents font plusieurs decharges de mousqueterie [6]) et jettent en l'air plusieurs fuzées et autres feux d'artifice, l'epoux attache le Tali au col de son epouse, et c'est en cela en quoy ils font consister la solidité [7]) du mariage. — Apres avoir chanté plusieurs airs de musique et recité plusieurs vers à la louange des mariés, ils font derechef un sacrifice, qu'ils appellent le sacrifice de Puleiar (183), dont on a parlé au chapitre premier, parcequ'ils croyent que ce Dieu a tant de pouvoir sur le mariage que son propre pere quand on le maria [8]), l'adora de la meme sorte que font aujourd'huy les Brames et les Raias [9]). C'est pour cette raison qu'ils l'appellent le fils qui est né devant son pere (184). Apres avoir fini le sacrifice et l'adoration qu'ils font a cet idole, ils jettent (185) tout aussitost dans un vase [10]) plein d'eau qui est tout prest un grand [11]) poisson fait de paste, qu'un parent de l'un ou de l'autre [12]) tient attaché à une corde, et qu'il fait continuellement

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[1]) De zin loopt niet! P. heeft (na: ou se doit faire le mariage): par un chemin different de celuy que l'epouse prend, pour se rendre à la maison, accompagné(e) de ses parents et dans le chemin les parents de l'epouse attendent l'epoux et jettent sur luy...

[2]) P.: sont aussy preparés à la meme civilité à l'egard des parents de l'epouse, avec laquelle les parents font aussy la meme ceremonie.

[3]) P.: vient benir le Tali.

[4]) De woorden: et le fait toucher... avec son epouse ontbr. in P.

[5]) P.: sur un cadre.

[6]) P.: de fusils.

[7]) P.: et c'est en cela que consiste aussy parmy eux l'essence.

[8]) P.: il se maria („il" is Rudra-Śiva).

[9]) P.: aujourd'huy les Raias.

[10]) P.: dans un grand vase.

[11]) Niet in P.

[12]) P.: un parent de l'epoux ou de l'epouse.

tourner dans ce vase, et l'epoux, pour montrer son adresse dans les armes, luy tire une fleche, et s'il le darde, il passe pour un homme habile et courageux, et s'il ne le touche pas, on l'estime pour un homme qui n'aura pas de bonheur et qui est fort peu habile [1]). Cependant, qu'il le touche ou qu'il ne le touche pas, le mariage ne laisse pas de se faire. Apres cette ceremonie le beaupere donne un banquet à tous les conviés dans la meme maniere que nous avons dit cy devant dans le mariage des Brahames. — Le jour suivant on promene le marié et la mariée dans un andolis au son des trompettes, tambours et flutes dans la compagnie de tous les parents et conviés et de quantité de femmes publiques que l'on appelle Baiadaires ou [2]) servantes des Dieux, qui font la meilleure partie du cortege, et qui marchent toutes autour de l'andolis richement vetues; et apres avoir ainsy couru toutes les rues de la ville et s'estre arrestés à toutes les portes des personnes de leur connoissance et de leurs amis, qui leur font present de quelque fruit ou de quelque piece de toile, apres ce [3]) ils se retirent dans leurs maison, et le troisieme jour l'epouse, apres avoir frotté la teste de son mary avec de l'huile de Gingely, ceque le mary luy fait aussy reciproquement, etant tous deux couverts d'un seul drap, se vont laver à un etang ou rivierre, puis ensuite retournent chez luy (accompagnés de leurs parents avec le meme appareil que le jour precedent. — Le mary ayant encore demeuré quelques jours dans la maison de son beaupere s'en retourne chez luy) [3]), et quinze jours apres ses parents reviennent a sa maison ou de l'epouse [4]), et l'amenent chez eux avec grand cortege et grande pompe, ou, apres l'avoir gardée huit ou dix jours ils la reconduisent à la maison de son pere, ou elle reste ordinairement jusqu'à ce qu'elle ait eu [5]) ses regles, et les solemnisent de meme [6]) que les Brahames, excepté qu'ils ne disent point d'immondices. ny paroles sales non plus que ceux des autres castres [7]). — Dans cette castre de Raias, si le mary vient à mourir, la femme doit absolument se bruler toute vive, car quoy que l'amour de sa reputation ne luy force pas [8]), comme c'est parmis eux une

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[1]) De woorden: et qui ... habile niet in P.

[2]) Deze twee woorden niet in P.

[3]) Het in parenthesi geplaatste is niet in St. C., doch door mij aangevuld uit P. In p. v. het eerste chez luy P.: à leur maison.

[4]) P.: à la maison de l'epouse.

[5]) P.: eu pour la premiere fois.

[6]) P.: jour qu'ils s. avec les memes ceremonies.

[7]) P.: excepté qu'ils ne disent pas comme eux des paroles sales et deshonnestes, ce qu'observent aussy toutes les autres castres.

[8]) P.: ne l'y oblige pas.

coutume inviolable, les parents la contraignent à [1]) le faire, soit que le mary soit mort de maladie dans sa maison, soit que ce soit dans la guerre, ce qui arrive ordinairement, parceque tous ceux de cette castre, qui ne sont point princes, sont soldats et ne peuvent porter d'autres armes que la lance ou l'epée, etant un grand deshonneur parmy eux de se servir d'arc et de fleches ou d'armes à feu ou de quelque arme qui puisse blesser de loin, et, comme ils estiment une marque de noblesse de ne jamais reculer, mais de vaincre de pied ferme [2]), cequi fait que ceux qui ont l'honneur en recommandation, meurent ordinairement à la guerre, ayant pour la recompense de leur courage de n'avoir point tourné le dos à leurs ennemis. Il y en a pourtant plusieurs parmy eux, qui ne se mettent point en peine de ce que l'on dira d'eux et qui, pour sauver leur vie, sçavent bien se sauver [3]). Sitost que la nouvelle arrive au pays de la mort de quelque Raia, son epouse, qui sçait fort bien qu'il ne luy reste que trois jours à vivre, pendant lesquels il luy est permis de s'orner et de se vestir [4]) de ses plus beaux atours [5]) et de courir ainsy par les rues avec des limons [6]) attachés (186) à la teste en façon de coëffure [7]), le corps decouvert de la ceinture en haut et peint de saffran, comme aussy [8]) le visage, et dans cet equipage elle dit adieu et prend congé de [9]) tous ceux qu'elle rencontre avec un visage riant et joyeux et des paroles bouffonnes [10]), qui ne conviennent ny à son sexe ny à sa situation. — Ces trois jours expirés, on fait une grande fosse profonde et large au milieu d'un grand champ, on la remplit de bois et de bouze de vache, l'on y met le feu, et cette miserable victime de l'honneur, le voyant allumé, sort de sa maison revestue de nouveaux habits et couverte de fleurs tissues ensemble en forme de coëffe, et [11]) accompagnée de tous ses parents et amis ou gens de sa connoissance, elle s'approche de ce feu, au devant duquel on a mis une espece d'ecran, haut de cinq palmes; elle jette par dessus [12]) un peu

[1]) P.: de.

[2]) P.: et comme ils ont de l'estime à marquer leur noblesse, ils ne reculent jamais, mais ils gagnent la victoire de pied ferme ou ils meurent.

[3]) P.: et qui, pour sauver leur vie, prennent les moyens qui leur paroissent convenables.

[4]) P.: de se vestir et orner.

[5]) P.: joyaux.

[6]) St. C.: limonde.

[7]) P.: coeffe.

[8]) P.: aussy bien que.

[9]) P.: prend congé et dit adieu à.

[10]) P. voegt in: et galants.

[11]) P. voegt in: les autres en forme de colliers.

[12]) P.: pardessus lequel on jette dans ce feu.

de saffran, un peu de beure [1]) en recitant quelques oraisons, et apres s'estre reculée quarante pas et retourné par [2]) deux fois faire la meme ceremonie, à la troisieme, ayant ordonné qu'on retire l'ecran [3]), elle se recule encore de [2]) quarante pas, et courre ensuite avec beaucoup de vitesse et se precipite dans cette fosse embrasée, ou elle laisse en bien peu de tems ses cendres pour epitaphe de constance [4]). Les Gentils l'estiment de telle sorte, qu'ils assurent qu'elle renait en déesse dans le Paradis de Vichnou, et comme telle ils luy erigent des statues (187) aussy bien qu'à son mary, disant que celuy qui a eu le bonheur d'avoir une femme si courageuse, ne peut etre que quelque chose de divin [5]); mais si quelque femme des Raias, estimant plus la vie que l'honneur, ne vouloit pas se bruler, ses parents la jettent [6]) par force dans le feu pour son honneur [7]).

Des Ceremonies des mariaiges des Cometis [8]).

Les Cometis (188) gardent dans leurs mariages les memes ceremonies des Brames et des Raias, excepté qu'ils ne peuvent faire leurs mariages sans le faire sçavoir aux savetiers de la peuplade, qui sont regardés comme des gens les plus vils de toutes les castres [9]), et sans avoir obtenu auparavant son consentement (189); lequel ayant consenti, donne pour marque [10]) au futur epoux son tranchet, son hailaine [11]) et ses autres instruments [12]). La raison qu'ils donnent pour faire observer une ceremonie sy basse, est qu'anciennement leur castre a commencé par un Brahame, par la femme d'un savetier, laquelle luy paroissant fort belle, et sans garder les obligations de sa castre qui luy deffendoient non seulement de luy parler, mais

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[1]) P. voegt in: et quelques autres choses.

[2]) Dit woord niet in P.

[3]) P.: de lever l'ecran.

[4]) P.: pour servir d'epitaphe à la constance.

[5]) P.: ne peut etre que divin.

[6]) P.: mais si quelque femme de Rajas ne veut pas se bruler, preferant la vie à l'honneur, ses parents ne la laissent pas longtems jouir, parcequ'ils la jettent.

[7]) P. (i. p. v. pour son honneur): et la luy font finir de la meme sorte que celle qui la souffre de bon gré.

[8]) P.: Ceremonies des Comittes dans leurs mariages. — P. geregeld Comittes i. p. v. Cometis.

[9]) P.: ... sçavoir auparavant au savetier d. l. p., qui est reputé l'homme le plus vil qui sont dans l'endroit.

[10]) P.: pour marque de cela.

[11]) D. i.: alène.

[12]) De laatste 6 w. niet in P.

de ne l'approcher plus pres de [1]) 80 pas, luy demanda si elle vouloit se marier avec luy, à quoy la femme resista constamment, luy disant qu'elle ne pouvoit luy donner consentement sans le consentement [2]) de son mary. Cette reponse ne fut pas assez forte pour faire desister le Brahame de sa demande [3]), au contraire, cela l'obligea à la soliciter avec plus d'instance et à chercher [4]) l'occasion de se satisfaire [5]), ceque voyant cette femme, elle dit à son mary un jour: „puisque vous pratiquez tant de bonnes oeuvres et donnéz tant d'aumones, cedez moy par aumone à ce Brahame, et ce sera une des plus grandes actions que nous puissions faire, parceque si les Brahames sont nos Dieux, ce sera leur rendre [6]) un grand service et c'est grand hommage que de satisfaire à sa volonté, et vous en recevréz beaucoup de recompense" [7]). Le savetier ceda a ses raisons si peu valides et donna sa femme au Brahame, qui en eut des enfants, d'ou sont venus les Cometis, qui, etant beaucoup ambitieux de l'honneur qu'ils ont perdu, gardent en beaucoup de choses les coutumes des Brahames, comme [8]) de porter les cordons, de ne point manger de chair ny de poissons, de ne point manger dans un lieu, ou ils puissent estre vues des autres castres, mais comme ils sont dechus de la castre de leurs peres [9]), ils ont aussy perdu le droit d'etudier les lois et les sciences, privileige qui dans toutes ces terres est devolu aux seuls Brahames; ils se sont faits marchands, mais comme plusieurs autres castres, meme celle des Choutres, sçavent l'origine de leur mere [10]), ils ne veulent ni boire, ni manger dans leurs maisons. — Ceux qui donnent à present cette origine [11]) aux Cometis, font plus de compte de la verité que de la fable qui est rapportée aux chapitre 5^{me}, ou on dit que cette castre est la 3^{me} de ces terres, et qu'elle est sortie des cuisses [12]) de Bruma, car s'ils y

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[1]) P.: et sans faire attention aux obligations d. s. c., qui luy deffendoient de luy parler et meme de l'approcher plus pres que.

[2]) P.: qu'elle ne pouvoit consentir à son desir sans la licence.

[3]) P.: poursuitte.

[4]) P.: au contraire, elle luy donna lieu à la soliciter d'avantage et de chercher.

[5]) P.: d'effectuer son mauvais dessein.

[6]) P.: si ce Brame est notre Dieu, ce sera luy rendre.

[7]) Deze 7 ww. niet in P.

[8]) P.: comme est.

[9]) P.: mais comme plusieurs ont perdu la castre des Brames dans ce mariage de leur pere.

[10]) P.: ne sçavent pas de quelle mere sont venus les Comittes.

[11]) P.: un commencement.

[12]) P.: pour estre sortie de la cuisse.

adjoustoient foi, les castres des Choutres, qu'ils disent [1]) sortis des pieds du susdit, ne feroient pas de difficulté de boire et de manger dans les maisons des Cometis et ne les regardoient pas comme si vils ny si bas [2]), mais, comme [3]) ces Cometis s'estiment si fort eux memes qu'ils ne laissent pas remarier leurs femmes apres leur mort, mais qu'elles demeurent veuves, et dans une plus grande circonspection que celles des Brahames [4]), s'ils s'aperçoivent qu'elle eut fait quelque breche à leur honneur, ils les feront mourir [5]), voulant montrer par la que leur castre est plus noble et superiere [6]) à celle des Choutres, qui repudient les leurs quand il leur plait [7]).

Ceremonies des Choutres.

Comme il y a quantité de castres parmy les Choutres, je ne rapporteray point les coutumes de chacune en particulier, outre qu'elles different entre eux en estimes [8]). Voila ce qui se passe dans celle des Resoüs [9]), qui passe parmy eux pour la plus basse (190), en ce que vivant presque tous dans les bois sans crainte ny respect des magistrats, ils en sortent toutes les nuicts pour voler dans les villes et jusqu'à dans les palais des princes, et, non content de voler les passants, ils les tuent ou leur donnent tant de coups sur les jambes, qu'ils restent sur la place [10]). — Or, ces larrons, voulant faire quelque mariage, ensemblent, comme [11]) les autres castres, tous leurs parents et amis sous une ramade devant la cahute [12]) ou se doit faire le mariage, et le frerre du futur epoux [13]) y assiste, tenant dans la main gauche [14]) une verge deliée mais forte et dans la main droite [14]) une grosse boule faite de boue [15]) et de bouze de vache, et la future (epouse), venant au dit lieu, on luy demande à quel dessein elle

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[1]) P.: que l'on fait estre.
[2]) P.: et n'auroient pas cette haine pour eux.
[3]) P. laat „comme" weg.
[4]) P.: que les femmes des Brames.
[5]) P.: car sy s'apperçoit qu'elles ayent fait quelque chose contraire à leur honneur, ils les tuent.
[6]) P.: et meme superieure.
[7]) P.: des Choustres, que nous allons voir.
[8]) In P. deze zin wijdloopiger, zonder iets nieuws te bevatten.
[9]) Zoo St. C., Pa.: des Raisous, Pb.: des Larrons.
[10]) P.: qu'ils les laissent pour morts sur la place.
[11]) P. voegt in: font toutes.
[12]) P.: maison.
[13]) P. voegt in: venant à ce lieu.
[14]) P. verwisselt „gauche" en „droite" en laat weg: mais forte.
[15]) P. laat weg: „de boue".

vient la, et ayant repondu qu'elle (y) vient pour se marier avec celuy qui cherche à donner à manger, alors le frerre du futur epoux luy jette avec force au nez la boule qu'il tenoit à la main, et afin de luy faire payer la drogue avec laquelle [1]) il l'a sy joliment barbouliée [2]), il commence à la fustiger fortement avec la verge qu'il tient à la main gauche [3]), et ce jusqu'à ce qu'elle se retire à sa maison ainsy bien fustigée [4]). Ensuite on la fait asseoir sur une Estere et la soeur du futur epoux luy attache au col le Tali, ensuite de quoy l'epoux et toute l'assemblée font un banquet, dans lequel tous ont soin de bien boire et de bien manger; lequel etant fini, l'epouse donne un second banquet au mary, et toute l'assemblée en donnent un autre aux mariés, le tout sous la ramade [5]). Pour les autres ceremonies, elles sont sembables à celles des Raias. — De plus ces larrons ont une tres mauvaise [6]) coutume, qui est que quand un mary est las de sa femme, il luy donne une espece de petit jonc ou de rozeau à la main [7]), appellé *Turumbo* (191), qui est la marque de la rupture du mariage [8]), de sorte que sans faire injure à sa femme, il peut se remarier, et la femme de meme. Non seulement le mary peut repudier sa femme, mais elle, non contente de son mary, peut l'obliger à luy donner le *Turumbo*. — Cette coutume la ne s'observe pas [9]) dans la castre des Brahames, ny dans celle des Raias, ny des Cometis, non pas meme dans les grandes castres des Choutres, parmy lesquelles, quoy que les hommes puissent plusieurs fois faire divores avec leurs femmes et se remarier, les femmes

[1]) P. i. p. v. avec laquelle: dont.

[2]) P.: barbouillée.

[3]) P. laat weg: gauche et ce.

[4]) P.: ... se retire à sa maison, et pour l'habileté et valeur qu'il a montré dans cette occasion les parents le recompensent, et la future epouse, s'etant retirée bien chargée de coups (ensuite) etc. De toedracht volgens Manucci is deze: "There they encounter the brother of the bridegroom with a stick, thin but at the same time strong, held in his right hand. At this moment the bride comes out of the house carrying in her right hand a ball of cowdung and mud. When the brother-in-law sees her, he asks her with what object she is going out. To this she replies that it is to get married to him who seeks her, and to offer what she has in her hand to eat. Forthwith she hurls the ball at the brother-in-law's nose. He, not to have the worst of it and to give her something for her dose to him, falls upon her with the stick.

[5]) P.: lequel etant fini, les parents de l'epoux donnent un autre banquet aux mariés et à tous les conviés qui sont hors de la maison sous la ramade.

[6]) P.: méchante.

[7]) Deze 5 ww. niet in P.

[8]) P.: la marque que le mariage est deffait.

[9]) P.: n'a point lieu.

ne peuvent se marier deux fois [1]) ny du vivant, ny apres la mort de leur mari [2]), parceque dans ces grandes castres, des que le mary a attaché le Tali au col de sa femme, le mariage est indissoluble, et ainsy, quoy que le mary puisse se remarier avec plusieurs femmes, ou successivement, ou conjoinctement, parceque parmy ces Gentils il est permis d'avoir plusieurs femmes, il y a eu des rois de nostre tems qui en ont eu jusqu'à 5000 (la femme pourtant ne peut pas se marier plusieurs fois) [3]).

Coutumes des Parias dans leurs mariages [4]).

Pour les Parias [5]), ils s'habillent comme les Brahames, mais personne n'a pu [6]) assister à leurs mariages que ceux de leur castre, et [7]) hors le Tali et le banquet ne font nulles ceremonies, et sont regardés comme gens tres meprisables. Ce sont pour l'ordinaire les sauvetiers, qui sont les executeurs pour la justice du pays et servent au meme usage aux Europeens [7]).

Des obseques des Gentils.

Excepté l'infame secte du Lingam, nommé Andis [8]), qui enterrent leurs morts (192), non dans leurs pagodes, ce qu'ils regarderoient comme un sacrilege des plus enormes, mais dans un champ eloigné de la peuplade, toutes les autres castres brulent leurs morts dans un champ eloigné, et en ont un pour cet usage dans chaque peuplade [9]). Ils ne permettent point aux Brahames, quelque riche qu'il

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[1]) P.: ne peuvent pas se marier une seconde fois.

[2]) P. voegt in: qui avoit fait divorce avec elles.

[3]) De laatste zin (uit P. ingevoegd) kan niet ontbreken. Alleen heeft St. C. waarsch. gelezen: ne peut se remarier.

[4]) Het opschrift niet in St. C. (kan met den laatsten zin van den voorafgaanden paragraaf zijn uitgevallen).

[5]) In pl. van deze 3 ww. P.: Ayant dit les coutumes de toutes les castres dans leurs mariages, voicy celles que les Parias observent dans les leurs.

[6]) P.: ne peut.

[7]) In plaats van de laatste zinnen (et hors ... aux Europeens) P.: Comme la maniere avec laquelle les femmes coupent le Taly apres la mort de leur mary est fort celebre parmy toutes les castres des Gentils, il ne sera pas hors de propos de rapporter icy les ceremonies les plus usitées qu'observent les Gentils, quand ils font les obseques et bruslent les deffunts, apres lesquelles la femme doit couper le Taly et par la se constituer en l'etat de veuve.

[8]) Deze 2 ww. niet in P.

[9]) P.: dans un champ le plus eloigné de la peuplade, et qui en chaque endroit est destiné pour cela, et voicy la maniere qu'ils observent en bruslant les corps.

soit, de mourir dans sa maison, parcequ'ils croyent qu'une personne, mourant dans une chambre, que tout ce qui s'y trouve est gaté [1]), ce qui fait qu'avant [2]) qu'il expire, ils ont soin de le porter sous quelque hauvent [3]) ou galerie [4]), que tous ont chez eux pour cet effect, et si le malade etant dans sa chambre vient à y mourir, on le prend aussitost et on le porte au lieu [5]) et l'on casse toutes les porcelaines et autres vases qui etoient dans la chambre. Tout le monde en sort et n'y peuvent rentrer, qu'elle ne soit bien enduite [6]) de bouze de vache, ce qu'ils font avec beaucoup de ceremonies et d'oraisons [7]). — Sitost que le Brahame est mort, tous les parents et autres femmes connues font un cercle, on danse en rond [8]), ou elles se battent continuellement la poitrine avec les mains, et pleurent le mort et se tournent [9]) continuellement et chantent [9]) des cantiques, qu'elles apprennent toutes à cet effect. Apres avoir recommencé [10]) trois fois cette ceremonie, on enleve le corps du deffunct, que l'on a vestu d'un vestement nouveau, et l'on luy frotte la teste de sandal. Ensuite on le met dans une espece de civierre faite [11]) sur le champ avec des morceaux de bois liés [12]) avec des cordes de paille. Quatre Brahames (193) le portent sur leurs epaules au lieu ou il doit estre brulé, faisant marcher devant eux une espece de cariole [13]) bien ornée de fleurs; puis, arrivés au lieu destiné, ils le brulent comme il est dit cy devant [14]). — Apres que le corps est brulé, les Brahames vont ensemble se laver dans un etang, ou ils lavent aussy leurs habits, et tous mouilliés se rabillent et s'en vont à la maison [15]) du

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[1]) P.: gaste tout ce qui s'y trouve.
[2]) P.: c'est pourquoy qu'avant.
[3]) d. i. auvent (afdak).
[4]) P.: de le porter sous une galerie.
[5]) P.: on le porte sous la gallerie.
[6]) P.: et n'y peut rentrer jusqu'à qu'on l'aye fait bien enduire.
[7]) P.: disant à ce sujet beaucoup d'oraisons.
[8]) Deze 4 ww. niet in P.
[9]) P.: le mort, se tournant... et chantant.
[10]) P.: fait.
[11]) P.: puis on le met sur le brancard fait.
[12]) P.: attachés les uns aux autres.
[13]) Zoo St. C., P.: cherolle en cherole; bij Manucci (III. 352) wordt cherolle door Irvine vertaald door: „a hand-barrow"; Man. (III. 72): „by a sort of shrine".
[14]) P.: etant arrivés au lieu assigné, on le brusle de la maniere que nous avons dit en parlant de leurs mariages.
[15]) P.: et tous mouillés comme ils sont, ils se vestent de leurs habits mouillés et s'en retournent à la maison.

deffunct, ou on leur donne un banquet, et ce jour la ils oignent [1]) la maison de palmes, qui representent le deffunct, et la il est pleuré pendant dix jours par ses plus proches, qui apres ce tems donnent chacun leurs habits à la veuve qui se tient au col d'une autre veuve, et alors toutes les veuves se mettent à pleurer [2]), et celle la qui tient la nouvelle veuve [3]) luy coupe le Tali, qu'elle à au col (194). Aucunes femmes ayant mary ne peuvent [4]) assister à cette ceremonie, qui constitue la femme du deffunct dans l'etat du veuvage. — Tous les ans le jour de la mort de son mary elle jeune, fait un sacrifice, et donne à manger à quatre ou cinq Brahames, et, si elle est riche, elle leur donne aussy à chacun un habit. La meme chose se fait aussy tous les mois [5]) du renouveau de la lune, mais avec moins de ceremonies et de frais. Ce qui s'observe dans le castre des Brahames, s'observe aussy dans les autres, ce qui fait que je ne feray point de detail particulier [6]). — Depuis quelques années ces Gentils perdent quelque chose de leur ferocité et ne font plus bruler les femmes vives apres la mort de leurs maris, mais leur font garder le veuvage [7]).

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[1]) Zoo (!) St. C.; jonchent P.

[2]) P. korter (en onvolledig?): qui est pleuré pendant dix jours par tous les parents et amis, et celles qui sont parentes se mettent à pleurer.

[3]) P.: qui tient embrassée la femme du deffunt.

[4]) P.: et aucune femme mariée ne peut.

[5]) P.: Elle fait la meme chose toutes les années.

[6]) P.: je n'en fais pas de particuliere mention.

[7]) P.: i. p. v. den laatsten zin: Ainsy je passe au dernier chapitre, qui contient l'opinion que ces Gentils ont des Européens qu'ils appellent Paranguay.

CHAPITRE 7ME.

LEURS IDÉES TOUCHANT LES EUROPÉENS. [1]).

Les Gentils appellent generalement tous les Europeens, tant François, Portugais, Anglois, Danois que Hollandois [2]), du nom de Paranguis [3]), nom si vil et si objecte parmy eux, que nous n'avons point de terme dans nos langues qui en puisse exprimer la bassesse. Non seulement ils croyent, que les Européens sont gens de basse extraction, mais encore qu'ils n'ont [4]) ny science, ny politesse, ny adresse. C'est pourquoy ils se laisseroient plutost mourir de faim et de soif que de recevoir de leurs mains un verre d'eau, ou de manger quelque chose qu'ils auroient aprestée, croyant que le faire est une infamie et un crime sans remission [5]). Ils s'imaginent que la plus grande tache qu'ils puissent recevoir [6]), est [6]) quand quelqu'uns de leurs castres se font Chrestiens, apprenant la doctrine et recevant le saint bapteme de quelque homme reconnu ou reputé pour etre Européen [7]), parcequ'ils disent que le disciple ne peut etre au dessus de son maitre ny le surpasser en science ny en noblesse hors le maitre, passant dans leur esprit pour etre si vil et si bas. Il s'en suit que le disciple le doit etre aussy [8]), ce qui a donné subject [9]) à ces Gentils de croire que c'est une meme chose de reçevoir le saint bapteme et de devenir infame et [10]) homme vil, comme sont, à ce qu'ils disent, tous les Européens, et [10]) la maniere avec laquelle les Portugais, qui sont les premiers qui ayent abordé à ces costes [11]), ont traité avec eux en matiere de religion, qui est qu' en voulant les

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[1]) P.: De l'opinion que les Gentils ont des Européens ou Paranguy (Paranguay).

[2]) P. laat weg: tant François... que Hollandois.

[3]) P.: Paranguay (soms Paranguy).

[4]) P.: Ils croyent aussy qu'ils n'ont ny politesse, ny science, ny adresse.

[5]) P.: croyant que s'ils le faisoient ce seroit une infamie irremediable.

[6]) P.: qui puisse arriver dans leur castre, c'est.

[7]) P.: de quelque Européen (zonder homme... etre).

[8]) P.: aus dessus de son maitre, or, comme selon eux le maitre est un infame, le disciple le doit etre aussy.

[9]) P.: lieu.

[10]) Van af „et homme" tot en met „Européens et", niet in P.

[11]) Van af „qui sont" tot en met „à ces costes" niet in P.

convertir [1]) ils ne leur demandoient pas, s'ils vouloient embrasser la veritable religion pour obtenir la remission de leurs pechés et parvenir à la gloire du Paradis [2]), mais ils leur demandoient [3]), s'ils vouloient entrer dans leur castre et se faire Paranguis [4]) comme eux, cette [5]) maniere de parler leur fit concevoir une si grande haine et une sy grande horreur de nostre sainte religion, qu'ils souffriroient plutost mils tourments que de souffrir l'affront de se faire Paranguis [6]). Par cette reponse, qu'ils ont faite plusieurs fois, ils montrent bien l'adversion et l'horreur qu'ils ont pour tous les Européens [7]). Les Portugais en ont usé de la sorte parcequ'ils ne pouvoient pas sçavoir les langues des Orientaux [8]), lorsqu'ils sont venus la premiere fois dans les Indes [9]), et voulant parler de religion avec ces Gentils, ils se sont servis des memes termes dont usent les Maures, qui, voulant persuader aux Gentils de ce faire Maures, leur disent d'entrer dans leur castre, dont ils font plus de cas que de leur religion meme, et comme les Portugais se servent encore [10]) de la meme façon de parler, aimant [11]) mieux se servir de la tradition ancienne et erronée qui leur est resté de ceux, qui par ignorance se sont servis de ces termes, que de la verité sincere de ceux qui desirent les attirer au service de Dieu [11]), ces Gentils jugent que la proposition que les Chrestiens Européens leur font de se convertir, est la meme que celle que leur font les Maures, et ce qui les confirme dans cette opinion, est de voir que les Européens mangent de la chair de vache, boivent du vin de [12]) palmier et autres boissons distilées des fruicts des arbres [12]), qu'ils crachent à terre [13]) dans leurs maisons, qu'ils enterent leurs morts dans leurs eglises, qui sont toutes autant d'ac-

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[1]) P.: ...ont traité avec eux, a donné lieu à cela, parceque les voulant convertir.

[2]) (i. p. v. pour obtenir... du Paradis): afin de parvenir à la gloire du Ciel.

[3]) P. laat: „ils leur demaindoient" weg.

[4]) Verbeterd naar P.; St. C.: Portugais.

[5]) P.: et cette maniere.

[6]) P.: qu'ils souffriroient plutost les peines de l'enfer que de se faire Parangui.

[7]) P.: Je leur ai oüy dire plusieurs fois cela, en quoy ils montrent l'adversion qu'ils ont contre les Européens et le peu de connoissance qu'ils ont des peines de l'Enfer.

[8]) P.: de la sorte, pour ne sçavoir pas dans les commencements les langues de l'Orient.

[9]) In P. niet: lorsqu'... les Indes.

[10]) P.: se servoient.

[11]) Van „aimant" tot „Dieu" niet in P.

[12]) In P. ontbr.: de palmier... arbres.

[13]) P. laat „à terre" weg.

tions abominables parmy eux, qu'ils se reservent [1]) des portes au dedans de leurs maisons comme des Parias. Comme ils croyent qu'un homme surpasse les autres en science et en sagesse qu'autant qu'ils les surpassent en noblesse [2]), ils assurent qu'il n'y a que ceux qui sont aussy nobles comme les Brahames qui puissent etre versés dans les sciences et dans la connoissance des loix, et que tous ceux qui sont de basse extraction sont absolument ignorants et incapables par consequent d'enseigner les autres [3]). C'est pourquoy ils disent qu'un homme vil et bas, comme sont les Paranguis, pourra bien etre riche et courageux, mais ne pourra jamais etre sçavant [4]), et la raison qu'ils apportent pour prouver ce paradoxe, c'est [5]) qu'en la plus grande noblesse est la (plus grande) sagesse et science, et que comme il est impossible (qu'un homme de basse extraction soit noble; il est aussy impossible) [6]) qu'il soit sçavant. Mais je ne puis comprendre comment ils accommodent la pretendue noblesse et la science de leurs Brahames avec l'ignorance, dans laquelle plusieurs d'entre eux vivent, ne sçachant ny lire ny ecrire [7])

De l'etablissement de la mission du Maduré [8]).

Voicy en abregé la connoissance des Erreurs que l'on a de cette Gentilité touchant la Divinité, la Religion, les hommes, la politesse et ce que l'on a retiré des ecrits du R. P. Nobili Jesuiste, qui arriva d'Europe à la cour et au royaume de Maduré en l'année 1600 [9]), pour apprendre les langues de Tamoul, Talinga et Grandam, qui sont celles qui se parlent en ces royaumes [10]), les deux premieres

[1]) P.: et qu'ils se servent.

[2]) In pl. v. den zin: comme... en noblesse, P. alleen maar „et".

[3]) P.: sont absolument incapable de science.

[4]) P.: mais jamais sçavant.

[5]) P.: et la raison qu'ils donnent, c'est.

[6]) De tusschen haakjes geplaatste woorden heb ik uit P. aangevuld, blijkbaar zijn ze door den schrijver overgeslagen.

[7]) In pl. v. dezen zin P.: Comme la croyance des Brames de ce pays est chimerique, leur science et noblesse l'est aussy, parceque leur noblesse ne les empeche pas de faire mille actions qui passent pour tres viles parmy les Européens, et leur science n'est pas incompatible avec l'ignorance qu'ils ont souvent de ne sçavoir ny lire ny ecrire.

[8]) In P. wordt dit opschrift niet gegeven.

[9]) P.: Voila en abregé la connoissance de leurs Erreurs que j'ay de la Gentilité touchant la Divinité, la Religion, les hommes, la politique, et ce que j'ay pu decouvrir dans les conversations que j'ay eu avec eux depuis onze ans que je suis dans la mission de Maduré, qui a eté commencé par le R. P. Nobily de la Compagnie de Jesus, qui arriva d'Europe au royaume de Maduré en 1600.

[10]) P.: qui sont les langues famillieres de ce royaume.

parmy differents peuples, et la troisieme parmy les Brahames, les gens de lettres, les Saniazes et maitre(s) ordinaire(s) des sciences [1]), qui sont toutes écrites aussy bien que les loix dans cette langue. L'experience lui apprit ce qui empechoit [2]) la conversion de ces peuples, qui ne sont point subjects aux princes Chrestiens, c'est [3]) la haine et l'adversion que tous les naturels du pays ont pour le nom et la maniere de vestir des Paranguis [4]), mais la charité, qui est ingenieuse et sçait sy sainctement se métamorphoser en toutes sortes de manieres, obligea le R. P. Nobili à quitter [5]), avec le nom, les vestements, les coutumes et les manieres de vivre des Européens, et sçachant que les Brahames Saniazes sont consultés et estimés dans ces terres comme des oracles [6]), apres avoir surmonté une infinité de difficultés et de contradictions, se vetit comme les dits Brahames Saniazes, disant qu'il etoit aussy un Brahame Saniaze de Rome, ce qui veut dire un Religieux lettré de Rome, et embrassant en toutes les choses qu'il trouva exemtes de superstition [7]), la maniere de vivre tant dans l'habit que dans l'habitation qui s'observe dans cette castre [8]), il donna avec l'aide du Seigneur commencement à la conversion d'un grand nombre de peuples, qui y sont Chrestiens aujourd'huy [9]). — Il est tres certain [10]) que le Pere [11]) Nobili et beaucoup d'autres qui l'ont imité en quittant l'habit et la maniere de vivre des Européens et qui ont vecu à la maniere des penitents de ces terres, apprenant avec beaucoup de travail les langues barbares de ce pays et [12]) dans laquelle ils ont composé plusieurs devots livres, il est tres certain [13]), dis je, que, n'ayant pu laisser leur couleur naturelle, ils n'ayent donné lieu aux grands du pays de les croire aussy Paranguis [14]), mais pour persuader aux dits Gentils que leurs

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[1]) P. (onbegrijpelijk!): les Brames et les gens de lettres, comme les maitres des sciences qui sont etc.

[2]) P.: empeche.

[3]) P.: que c'etoit.

[4]) P.: ont pour le nom, la maniere de se vestir et les coutumes des Européens.

[5]) P.: le pere Nobily de quitter.

[6]) P. voegt in: se faisant à tout sans epargner ni peine ni travail.

[7]) P.: qu'il trouva estre exempt de superstition et d'idiolatrie.

[8]) P.: dans les autres castres.

[9]) P.: nombre de peuples converty, que nous voyons aujourd'huy.

[10]) P.: Je ne puis pas disconvenir.

[11]) P.: R. P.

[12]) niet in P.

[13]) P.: je ne disconviens pas.

[14]) P.: donné lieu aux barbares de soupçonner qu'ils etoient aussy Paranguay.

soupçons estoient faux, ils avoient soin de leur prouver de la maniere suivante: Entre [1]) les naturels de l'Inde, quoy qu'ils soient tous noirs, il y a pourtant une grande quantité [2]) de castres [3]), de meme entre les Europeens, quoy qu'ils fussent tous blancs, il y en a parmis eux qui sont tres nobles et tres sçavants, que l'on nomme Brahames, qui veut dire sçavants; qu'il y en a d'autres qui sont rois, princes, grands seigneurs, capitaines et valeureux soldats, que l'on regarde comme leurs Raias; qu'il y en a d'autres qui sont artisans [4]), marchands, courtiers, qui correspondent aux Cometis; qu'il y en a d'autres de basse extraction comme leurs Parias [5]), et ceux qu'ils [6]) traictent familierement comme porteur d'eau et qui mangent ce qu'ils ont apresté [7]), mais [8]) comme d'estre noirs, on infere pas de la que l'on soit Paria [9]), de meme que pour etre blanc il ne s'en suivoit pas de la, que tous fussent Paranguis, mais que la connoissance de chaque castre et leur noblesse se connoit par la science par la politesse et par la maniere [10]) avec laquelle ils se comportent avec les autres castres. C'est pourquoy comme nous sçavons la loy et les sciences, et que nous conversons avec les Brahames, et que nous ne mangeons [11]) rien qui ne soit apresté par eux, gardant en toutes choses la politesse et la circonspection necessaire [12]), il est evident que nous sommes [13]) blancs comme les Paranguis, parceque la chaleur du soleil y est moins forte, et nous [14]) ne sommes pas noirs comme des Parias, qui sont cependant bien differents des Brahames quoy que de meme couleur, soit en noblesse, soit en sciences ou en coutumes [14]), et de meme tous ceux qui habitent la partie du Nord

[1]) St. C.: ce qui est.

[2]) P.: diversité.

[3]) P. voegt in: dont les uns sont des Brames, les autres des Rajas, les autres des Comites, les autres des Choustres et les autres enfin sont les Parias et autres gens vils de basse extraction.

[4]) Alle drie de hss.: partizans.

[5]) P.: comme les Choustres et les Parias.

[6]) het hs. qui.

[7]) De ww.: „qu'ils traictent... apresté" niet in P.

[8]) P.: et.

[9]) P.: on infere en Europe qu'on est de basse extraction; de volgende zin (tot Paranguis) niet in P.

[10]) P.: mais la noblesse de la castre se connoist par la science, la politesse et la maniere.

[11]) St. C.: manquons.

[12]) P.: la circonspection qu'ils gardent en traitant avec les autres castres.

[13]) P.: que nous sommes des Brames de la partie du Nord ou nous sommes blancs.

[14]) P.: nous ne sommes pas comme ceux qui habitent la zone torride qui etant tous noirs comme des Parias sont differents entr'eux en castres et en noblesse et en coutumes.

sont tous blancs comme les Paranguis, mais qu'ils different beaucoup entre eux en castres, en coutumes et en noblesse [1]). — Si quelques Gentils veulent refuter ces oraisons [2]) la, disant que la foy et la religion que nous professons est la meme de celle des Paranguis et des Portugais [3]), et que par consequent ne pouvons pas nier que nous ne soyons Paranguis comme eux, on leur repond que la religion n'est pas la raison constitutive des castres, parceque tout ainsy que ceux qui sont d'une meme religion peuvent etre d'une differente castre, ce que l'on voit evidemment parmis eux, puisque quelque castre que ce soit, il y en a plusieurs qui suivent la castre de Vichnou, et d'autres celle de Rutrem, et que, quoy que plusieurs Parias soient des dittes castres, les Brahames et les Raias ne laissent pas d'en etre, sans qu'on puisse reprocher aux Brahames et aux docteurs, qu'ils soient Parias, quoy qu'ils enseignent les memes sectes de Vichnou et de Rutren que les Parias suivent [4]). Avec ces reponses, qui ne contiennent en elles [5]) aucune contradiction, il y en a plusieurs qui se sont determinés avec la grace de Dieu de se retirer de l'Idolatrie et de se faire Chrestiens; on en comte aujourd'huy dans cette mission de Maduré environt cent mille. — La maniere de vivre que le R. P. Nobili et ses autres camarades prestres [6]) ont observée [7]) pour convertir de ces Gentils, est la meme que gardent parmy eux les Brahames Saniazes; ils alloient vetus d'une toile teinte couleur de caffé [8]), la teste et la barbe rasée, les oreilles percées, dans lesquelles ils mettoient un petit morceau de l'arbre que l'on appelle Margozier, ou d'un autre arbre que l'on nomme (195) bois leger [9]) parcequ'il est contre la profession des Religieux Saniazes [10]) de porter aux oreilles des pendants d'or ou d'argent [11]);

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[1]) P.: mais ils different d'eux en castres, en noblesse et en coutumes.

[2]) P.: raisons.

[3]) P.: la meme que professent les Europeens.

[4]) P. veel korter; op „on leur repond que" volgt: quoy que plusieurs Parias soient des Castres de Rutrem et de Vichnou, il n'est pas à dire pour cela que les Brames, qui sont de ces castres, soient Parias, de meme à l'egard de nous: nous ne sommes pas Paranguis pour estre de la meme religion que les Européens.

[5]) P.: par cette reponse, qui ne contient en soy.

[6]) P.: et tous les autres Peres ses compagnons.

[7]) P.: gardée.

[8]) P. voegt in: avec.

[9]) P.: dans lesquelles ils mettoient, de meme que les Brames Saniazes, un petit morceau de bois de Margousier, qui est tres leger.

[10]) P.: la profession des Brames.

[11]) P. voegt in: ou de quelqu'autre metal.

ils portoient dans la main gauche un petit vase de cuivre et dans la droite [1]) un baston de leur hauteur, qui avoit sept noeuds naturels, au bout duquel ils attachent une petite bandrolle [2]) de la couleur de leurs habits [3]), n'ayant pour toute chaussure que des socques de bois (196) sans courrois qui s'arrete au gros doigt du pied par un bouton de bois, qui y est attaché [4]); ils demeuroient dans des cahutes de terre couvertes de foin, mangeant à terre sur une Estere, des feuilles pour plats et assiettes [5]) et pour mets un peu de ris cuit sans sel [6]) et des herbages ou legumes [7]), s'abstenant absolument de boire du vin et de manger du pain, ny chair, ny poisson, ny oeufs, qui sont reputés chair parmy eux [8]), et les naturels du pays seroient plus scandalizés de voir manger de ces choses à ces Religieux Saniazes que de leur voir faire plusieurs grands crimes [9]). Pour siege et pour lict ils se servent d'une peau, soit de cerf, soit de tigre, un morceau de bois ou leurs brevierres pour oreilliers [10]); ils se lavent [11]) tous les jours avant de manger ou avant de celebrer le saint sacrifice de la messe; ils sont de jour et de nuict parcourant bois, deserts, montagnes, traversant les rivierres à la nage faute de ponts et de bateaux, et ce pour aller secourir les ames, qu'ils auroient desja attiré à Dieu, soit pour chercher à en tirer de nouvelles et les confirmer dans la pratique de la vertu, en leur promettant pour recompense la beatitude que nostre Seigneur a promise à ceux qui suiveroient ses commandements [12]). Dans ces courses ils estoient

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[1]) P.: dans l'autre.

[2]) P.: et la teste de ce baton etoit couverte d'une bandrolle.

[3]) P.: de la meme couleur que l. h.

[4]) P.: que des socques de bois, qu'on y attache.

[5]) P.: ils demeuroient dans des petits cahuttes dont les murailles estoient de terre aussy bien que le pavé, et la couverture de paille; ils mangeoient aussy à platte terre sur un petit estere, n'ayant d'autres plats que des feuilles d'arbre.

[6]) P.: cuit à l'eau.

[7]) In P. niet: ou legumes.

[8]) P.: s'abstenant de boire du vin et de manger de la chair, et du poisson ou des oeufs.

[9]) P.: à un R. Saniaze que de luy voir commettre un grand crime.

[10]) P.: Ils se servoient pour s'asseoir ou pour dormir d'une peau de cerf ou de tigre, pour coussin ils avoient leur breviere.

[11]) P.: ils se lavoient le corps.

[12]) P. (in pl. van: ils sont de jour... ses commandements): ils alloient de jour et de nuict parcourir les bois et les deserts et les montagnes et les peuplades, traversant bien souvent à la nage des rivieres, qui sont extremement rapides, et qui par la negligence des naturels du pays n'ont ny ponts ny bateaux, (et cela) pour secourir les ames que notre redempteur a racheté

exposés à passer les nuicts eloignés des peuplades à la mercy des tigres, des ourses, des elephants, des serpents et d'une infinité de bestes venimeuses, qui se trouvent fort communement dans ces terres; mais ce qu'ils avoient encore plus à craindre, etoit de la part des hommes cruels, qui venant à les trouver, les maltraitoient durement, et leur faisoient souffrir mille cruels tourments, et souvent les forçoient à abbattre et abandonner le fruict de leur travaux, bruloient leurs eglises, leurs maisons et tout ce qui leur appartenoit. Ce qui leur causoit tous ces maux, etoit leur couleur, qui, les faisant reconnoitre pour Paranguis, les faisoit souffrir mille opprobres, et malgré leurs vestements et leur maniere de vivre sy uniforme aux autres Saniazes, ils etoient continuellement suivis et observés, et s'ils n'eussent par la suite etés soutenus et deffendus par le grand nombre des nouveaux Chrestiens, il leur auroit eté impossible de precher ny d'augmenter la foy de Jesus Christ dans ces terres barbares, ou ils sont sy entestés de leurs coutumes, qu'ils la [1]) preferent à tous les dogmes des loix, si la verité n'en est pas authorisée par la coutume [2]). — Mais quand la haine, qu'on a pour la loi de Dieu est le guide des persecuteurs, il est bien difficile que ses predicateurs puissent se mettre par leur vigilance et leur attention à couvert des violences des barbares gentils [3]). C'est pourquoy l'observance, que nos Peres gardoient dans leurs coutumes n'a pas empeché qu'ils n'ayent estés plusieurs fois fouettés, tourmentés, chassés et quelques fois condamnés à mort, dont plusieurs ont echappés par la protection des gens de plus d'importance, qui representoient aux Magistrats que de donner la mort à un Religieux Saniazé etoit un crime dont on ne tardoit guere à en recevoir le chatiment, soit par la perte de la vie, soit par celle de l'honneur ou des biens, ce qu'ils ont remarqué tant dans les royaumes de Maduré et de Tritirappoly (197), de Fratramanga (198), de Tanjaour, que de Chamgamma (199) ou les perse-

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par son precieux sang, et pour instruire les ames des Chrestiens et leur administrer les sacrements de la sainte Eglise, les exhorter à quitter le vice et à suivre la vertu, endurant pour ce sujet des travaux et peines inexprimables.

[1]) lees: les.

[2]) Dit geheele stuk (van af: Dans ces courses ils estoint exposés) is geheel anders geredigeerd in P. Ik deel alleen de redactie van 't laatste deel mede: parceque ces Gentils font plus de cas de leurs coutumes que de tous les dogmes de la Religion, et n'en estiment la verité que par l'observance de ces memes coutumes.

[3]) P.: ... pour la loi de Dieu est grande, la plus grande vigilance du monde n'est pas suffisante pour mettre à couvert les predicateurs de l'Evangile de la violence de ces Gentils.

cuteurs de l'Evangile sont morts miserablement, tandisque la loy de Jesus Christ y a augmenté. Que le Seigneur benisse les missions [1]).

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[3]) Het slot luidt in P.: C'est pourquoy l'observance, que nos Peres gardoient de leurs coutumes, n'a pas empeché qu'ils n'ayent estés plusieurs fois persecutes, puis emprisonnés, fouettés et cruellement tourmentés dans le royaume de Maduré et Tridirapoly en Sabramanga en Tanjour et en *Chamgama*, ou quelques fois ils sont condamnés à mort, de laquelle ils n'ont estés delivrés que par quelques personnes considerables, qui representoient au juges que de tuer un Saniaze estoit un peché, qui ne se pardonnoit ny dans cette vie ny dans l'autre, et que Dieu chastie des ce monde ceux qui ont persecuté sa Foy et ses predicateurs, qui sont morts miserablement, tandisque la foy n'a pas laissé de s'augmenter par le soin et le zele de ces illustres Missionnaires, à qui le Seigneur veuille donner la couronne celeste pour la recompense de leurs travaux.

II.

LA GENTILITÉ DU BENGALA.

LA GENTILITE DU BENGALA.

Ces Gentils admettent 4 ages imaginaires auxquels ils donnent des noms particuliers depuis la creation du monde qu'ils croient éternel, disant que cette creation n'est qu'un changement, et que c'est le meme monde qui avoit ete c'y devant, lequel etant encore achevé et detruict apres le 4eme age doit encor se renouveler comme il etoit auparavant. Ils nomment le premier age Setajouga, qui a duré selon leur comte 1728000 ans. Le deuxieme, Trettajouga, qui a duré 1296000 ans. Le troisieme, Douaporjouga, a duré 864000 ans. Le quatrieme, Chelijouga, est celuy dans lequel nous sommes, et qui doit durer 432000 ans, dont nous avons deja passé 4000 ans; ces quatres ages font 432000 ans (200). Voila selon les Gentils la durée des tems, mais cela n'est rien en comparaison de Ramou (201), ou Brama, dont je parleray cy apres, c'est de luy qu'ils pretendent tirer leurs origines, et à qui ils attachent la creation du monde. Ils sont malheureusement persuadés qu'un de ces jours ait la durée de mil fois 432000 ans; et une de ces nuicts autant, c'est à dire que 24 heures de Brama font mil fois 8640000 ans; or, il doit vivre 108 ans, composés d'années dont les jours et les nuicts sont chaquunne de cette durée. Leur opinion est que le monde est eternel, quoy qu'à la veritté il se change par certaines revolutions, qui font leurs 4 ages, à la fin duesquelles tout se reduit en eau; puis apres quelque tems Dieu crea une autre fois le monde, tel qu'il étoit, de sorte qu'avant ce monde il y en avoit eu d'autres et qu'apres celuy cy il y en aura encore d'autres, mais il faut remarquer que, quand le monde perit, tout perit avec luy excepté l'eau qui demeure toujours, et une arbre qu'ils nomment Akcherom (202); cet arbre si particulier est proche de la ville de Banares, dont il sera parlé cy apres; il veut dire en leur langue la gloire du monde (203); il existe aussy toujours en un vilage nommé Paraque (204), qui n'est jamais detruict, non plus que Markande, fils de Brama, qui ne meurt point; et dont voicy ce qu'ils en raportent.

Comme ils admettent que le monde n'est autre que celuy qui a ete déja auparavant la creation de celuy cy aussi racontent ils de ce monde passé plusieurs fables, dont une des principales est que Markande et son pere Brama, qui furent Joguis, se santifierent par de tres austeres penitences; qu'en recompence Dieu leurs donna la

grace d'entrer dans le ciel, et d'en sortir lorsqu'ils le voudroient; c'est de ce Brama dont le monde est venu. Quant à Markandé, comme il devint plus grand Saint que son pere, il eut de Dieu le privileige de ne point mourir quoy que tout le monde perit (205); ainsy comme apres le monde passé tout fut reduit en eau, luy seul demeura en vie, se promenant (206) de tous costés et plongeant sans cesse dans les eaux, où il vescu toujours, mais non en verité dans le coeur de se voir privilegié seul au dessus de tous les hommes du premier monde; or, comme il est dit, l'univers se reduisant en eau à l'exception de l'arbre Akcherom dans le village de Praaque, proche de Benares, Markande se promenant et plongeant dans les eaux ariva au dit lieu, ou il fut fort surpris d'une chose qui est que Dieu, aiant dessein de refaire le monde, avoit crée un homme grand comme la moittie du poulce, qui s'appelloit Tezomé mazcoub (207), qui est à dire Region de lumiere; il l'avoit crée dans une feuille d'arbre au dessus du sçeau [1]) et tout remply d'une lumiere inaccessible. Markandé, s'approchant du dit lieu, ne voyoit rien, sinon de sortir de cet arbre tantost des montagnes de feu, tantost des lumieres [2]) qui l'eblouisoient sans qu'il put rien voir autre choses, ce qui luy fit voir qu'il y avoit la quelqu'un encore plus grand que luy; de plus cette lumiere luy donna si fort dans les yeux, qu'il fut prest de se noyer dans les eaux, ce qui l'obligea d'invoquer celui qui etoit dans cette lumiere, luy disant les mains joinctes: helas, sauvez moy, je me noye. Alors ce petit homme se montrant a luy, l'appella, et luy ordonna de venir, à quoy il ne vouloit point obeir, disant: comment iray je à vous, vous qui etes sy petit et dans une petite feuille et moy qui suis si grand; sans doute que je la feray submerger, alors noyray. N'importe, luy dit Tezomé, viens seulement, et entre dans mon oreille. Comment entrayage [3]) dans une oreille sy petite, dit encore Markande. Viens, luy dit il, luy entra [4]). Markandé vint donc, et y entra (208); il y vit tout le monde tel qu'il etoit avant sa destruction, il y vit le ciel et la terre, les mers, les rivieres, les royaumes, les provinces, et les villes, il y vit ceux qui se combattoient, et ceux qui faisoient penitence, enfin tout ce qui c'etoit passé luy fut rendu sensible la dedans; mais, voulant sortir, il ne le put, ne trouvant plus d'issue, et il luy fallut demeurer dedans. Les premieres considerations [5]) pendant 108 ans

[1]) l. au dessus des eaux?
[2]) Hs.: de lumiere.
[3]) l. entreray je.
[4]) Sic.
[5]) Bedorven tekst?

de l'age de Brama, plusieurs années s'ecoulerent, dont les jours naturels sont de 864000 ans, les mois de 30 jours et les années de 360 jours, creation de Brama. Plusieurs années s'ecoulerent de la sorte, apres quoy Tezomé mazcoub prit resolution de recr(e)er le monde, et pour cet effect il fit sortir de son nombril une fleur (209) nommée Camala par les Indiens, et par nous en medicine Nenufar, qui croit dans les maraix; il produisit un bouton dans la Fleure, et au milieu etoit Brama, voulant dire il n'est point née des hommes. La fleur suivant sa nature s'epanouoit sur les eaux, et, venant à s'ouvrir, Brama parut au milieu. Il ne sera pas peu recreatif, de decrire cette fable à leur mode, cependant dans toute la partie de l'Inde, il est, je crois, impossible, d'en trouver une dans les eaux soit dormante, ou courante; mais pour en faire la description: le dessus etoit d'or, le dessous d'argent, le dessus comprenoit les sept cieux, le dessous le monde, dans lequel sont comprises les sept abismes, et au milieu de cet or et de cet argent etoit assis Brama. Ils ne disent pas que le monde fut effectivement dans cette fleur, mais qu'elle en etoit l'image et le modele. Ce n'est pas le tout, le monde y etoit tel qu'il est à present, divisé en sept parties, de figure ronde en façon de cercle, chaque partie sa mer et sa terre, comme qui diroit sept cercles de mers, sept cercles de terres, chaquun different des autres et les cercles de mers differents en goust et en couleur de ceux de terre, dont la premiere est sallée, et la seconde douce. Brama demeura assez longtems dans cette fleur en contemplation sur les eaux et à y faire penitence, lorsque Tezome mazcoub fit sortir deux Geans de ses oreiles. Leur nom est: Maddou et Kaittaba (210), qu'il fit asseoir sur les eaux aux deux costes de la fleur de Brama, ou ils demeurent [1]) aussy fort longtems à faire penitence, sans apercevoir Brama dans la fleur.

Combat de Brama et Creation de la Terre.

Les dits Geans aperçurent à la fin Brama dans sa fleur, sur quoi, se mettant en colere, ils luy demanderent qui il etoit, et lui firent la guerre environ 5000 ans, mais ils le combatirent une fois avec tant de vigeur, qu'ils le vainquirent, et il tomba comme mort dans sa fleur; puis, etant revenu à soy, et aiant invocqué Tezome mazcoub, auquel il s'ecria: Seigneur, secourez moi, car ils venoient pour achever de le tuer, le dit Tezomé aussytost luy apparut, et voyant que les Geans le maltraitoient avec injustice il se revetit sur [2])

[1]) l. demeurerent.

[2]) l. sous.

la forme de la grandeur d'un homme eclatant de lumiere, et prenant des armes, il tua les deux Geans dont il prit la chair, afin d'en former la terre sur l'heure meme; c'est d'ou vient qu'en langue Bramane la terre s'appelle Mediny (211), qui veut dire chair; on l'appelle encore de differents noms, dont l'on fera voir l'etimologie. Tezome mazcoub, ayant delivré Brama de la persecution des Geans, et ayant crée la terre, ordonna à Brama de la peupler et de procedder à la creation; alors Brama, sans avoir recourir à sa femme, mais par la seule volonté, crea tout d'un coup 60000 enfants, entre lesquels etoit un certain Nared mahauroumy (212), dont je raporteray l'histoire (213). Ces enfants, etant tous donc crées, vinrent faire la Sambaye à leur pere, la Sambaye ou le salam est le salut a l'indienne; il se fait portant la main à terre, à l'estomac, et sur la teste; et lui demanderent à quel dessein il leur avoit donné l'estre, et qu'ils etoient prest d'obeir à ses ordres; Brama leur ordonna d'aller repeupler le monde, à sçavoir d'enfants, de forets, de montagnes, d'arbres, de rivierres, enfin generalement de tout, et luy aiant encore faite la Sambaye, ils partirent tous. Mais Nared, qui etoit dans leur compagnie, leur remontra dans le chemin, sur ce qu'ils alloient faire, qu'aller creer le monde etoit un grand peché; car, disoit il, si nous creons un monde, il ne pourra etre sans peché, sans meurtres; quantités seront masacrés, d'autres irons en enfer, it se fera quantité des pechés plus grands que nous ne pouvons prevoir, et desquels, cependant, nous nous rendons coupables, et nous serons en danger d'aller nous memes en enfer; faisons mieux, mes frerres, croyez moy, j'ay un privilege de Dieu, moyennant quelques paroles, par le moyen desquelles je sçais aussy tous les secrets de la divinité passée present et futures; je vous feray egaux à moy, si vous voulez. De si belles paroles et si raisonnables en apparence ils consentirent, et Nared leur dit des paroles à l'oreille et leurs mit un chapelet au col, les fit mettre en prierres, et par la vertue des paroles, qu'il leur avoit dit à l'oreille, ils disparurent sans plus jamais reparoitre; il n'y eut que Nared qui resta seul sur la terre. Brama en créa encore autant jusqu'à 21 fois, et Nared les fit toujours disparoitre par ces memes conseils.

Histoire de Nared. Or, ce Nared avoit ete negre (214) d'un Raia du monde preceddent; le Raia son maitre etoit un homme fort charitable enver tous les passants, mais principallement aux Bramanes, et avoit chargé le dit Nared et sa mere de cet office charitable, dont ils s'acquitoient ponctuellement, lavant les pieds aux Brahames et leur donnant ce qu'ils leur etoient nécessaire, dont tous s'en alloient fort contens et si charmés de Nared, que pour recon-

noissance il luy fit [1]) tirer la langue et y ecrivit [1]) 12 paroles misterieuses. Tous les Gentils refusent de les dire, soit pour or ou pour argent, et je croye qu'ils ne les sçavent pas et ce sont celles là memes, qu'il fit dire à ces 1260000 freres, qui disparurent toujours aussitost; et Nared n'eut pas plustost reçu les paroles sur sa langue, qu'il commença d'estre remply des lumieres divines et n'avoit dans les yeux que des apparitions et illuminations. Sa mere etant venue à mourir peu apres tout s'affligea de la mort d'une personne sy charitable, et il n'y avoit que son fils Nared, qui s'en rejouissoit, puisqu'il se trouvoit libre d'aller faire penitence dans les deserts. En effect il s'y retira bientost apres, et y passa dans une austerité incroyable 60000 ans, sçavoir les premiers 10000 ans il ne but de l'eau que la moittie de la main, les seconds il ne mangea qu'une feuille d'arbre tombée, les troisiemes 10000 il ne but qu'une demy goute d'eau au bout d'une pal [2]), les 4emes 10000 il ne se nourit que d'air et de l'exalaison de la terre, les 5emes 10000 il ne se soutint qu'en respirant des fumées, enfin les 10000 derniers il demeura le corps en l'air apuyé seulement sur le poulce de la main droite (215); apres quoy Dieu luy manifesta sa lumiere et en l'embrassant luy dit: toy seul sçauras mes secrets, et jamais pour renaitre dans les mondes à venir tu ne rentreras dans le ventre des femmes, mais tu te reproduiras à ta volonté. Voila l'origine de Nared et pourquoy il nacquit de Brama de la façon qui'l a esté raporté.

De la creation de l'homme et de la femme.

Ils disent que Brama aiant donc reçu l'ordre de recreer le monde, il fit d'abord un homme avec un pied et un oeil, et qu'il ne pouvoit marcher avec un pied, il en fit un autre avec trois yeux et trois pieds, ce qui l'embarassant pour marcher, il en fit un troisieme à la fin avec deux yeux et deux pieds, et le trouvant bien, il le nomma Cassiapa (216). Il y en a d'autres qui rapportent cette creation differemment, et ils disent que Brama, ennuyé d'avoir crée tant d'hommes inutillement, alla s'adresser à Tezomé mazcoub et l'invocqua. Lequel ne luy aparut qu'apres de rudes penitences, en luy demandant ce qu'il souhaitoit, à quoy il luy dit, qu'ayant crée 21 fois 60000 hommes sans que le monde en fut peuplé d'avantage, il ne sçavoit plus comment faire; alors Tezomé mazcoub luy dit, qu'il s'y falloit prendre d'une autre manierre; faite seulement, dit il, un homme et une femme, et de la sortira le monde, apres quoy il disparut, et Brama, se trouvant seul, alors il vit sortir de son poulce

[1]) lees: „ils ... firent" en „écrivirent" (?).

[2]) l. d'un pal?

droit un homme qu'il nomma Dakchiporra (217), et du poulce gauche une femme, qu'il nomma Pety (218), la plus belle qu'il y ait eut dans le monde. Sitost qu'ils eurent reçu la vie, ils vinrent faire la Sambaye devant Brama, en luy demandant ses ordres, surquoy ils les maria d'abord et leur dit d'aller repeupler le monde, et s'en etant en allés ils rencontrerent Nared dans leur chemin, qui leur parla de la meme manierre et leur donna le meme conseil, qu'il avoit donne à ceux, qui etoient disparuts, mais ils luy repondirent que se trouvant au monde, ils vouloient l'habiter, et gouter ses plaisirs, ne suivant en cela que leurs ordres, qu'ils avoient reçus de Brama, et qu'ils contoient y obeir jusqu'à la fin de leur vie.

Creation des trois especes d'hommes.

Brama, ne se contentant pas d'avoir fait un homme et une femme, en fit sortir de son corps de sa propre volonté trois autres especes sçavoir les Deontas, les Deitas et les Maneuits, de chaquun un couple, masles et femelles; ils disent que leurs Deontas sont anges, les Deitas geans et les Maneuis, hommes ordinaires; que sitost qu'ils furent crées, ils vinrent (219) se presenter à Brama les mains joinctes, et luy demander pourquoy il leur avoit donné l'estre, et luy leur disant, que c'estoit pour creer le monde, ils luy representerent tous les crimes qui s'y commettoient, et dont par consequent ils se rendoient coupables, et ne pourroient obtenir le ciel; Brama leur repondit qu'il etoit necessaire de creer le monde; que pour ce qui etoit d'aller dans le ciel: „de". Avec cela il les renvoya sans s'expliquer d'avantage, mais à peine furent ils sortis, que Nared qui estoit là trouvé proche, se vint presenter à Brama et luy dit: vous venez d'envoyer ces trois nations créer le monde; en les expediant vous leur avez dit: „de"; que veut dire cela, quelle est dans [1]) l'explication de ce mot „de". Brama luy dit que cela suffiroit [2]) plusieurs explications conformement aux naturels, et à ce que Dieu demande de chaque particulier, que pour les Deoutas le „de" misterieux veut dire Daman, qui signifie en langue Bramane: penitence; par consequent les Deontas, pour parvenir a la gloire, doivent faire penitence; que pour les Deitas le „de" veut dire Dea, qui dans leur langue signifie: pitié et misericorde; cequi enseigne aux Geans, que pour obtenir le ciel, ils doivent exercer la charité et etre misericordieux; que pour les Maneuis, qui sont les hommes ordinaires, le „de" signifie D'han, ce qui signifie: donner et faire l'aumone, leur etant comme le seul moyen d'evitter l'enfer et celuy d'aller au ciel. Ce

[1]) l. donc.
[2]) l. souffriroit?

sont la les trois significations de cette sillable misterieuse (220) de Brama et l'explication qu'il en donna a Nared. Apres cela Brama fit encore sept enfants males accouplés avec chaquun leurs femmes, qu'on nomme Bramanes Roussis, et dont voicy les noms particuliers Gouten, Visna, Berdvaznezittra, metra zamadhagny, maritchy et attry (221); la femme de Maritchy engendra un enfant nommé Kachiapa, ou Casseapa, lequel eut 13 femmes, filles (de) Darchiporsa et sa femme Pety, qui etoit sortie d'un poulce de Brama, comme je l'ayt dit cydevant. Lesquelles avoient engendré 60 filles sans aucun garçon, de ces 60 filles, le fils de Maritchy en epouza donc 13, les principales desquelles etoient Ditty et Additty; Ditty lui enfante deux Deitas ou Geans nommés Hirrncacheb et Hirnach. Additty enfante 33 couroux de Deontas; or le courrou en langue du pays veut dire: dix millions (222).

Creation d'un Roy et d'une Reine.

La commune croyance est que Brama pour la creation des premiers hommes les produisit tous, ou de sa volonté, ou de ses mains, comme se peut faire meme, qu'il en fit de terre ou de boue (223), comme il en fit dans la suite, auquel Dieu donna l'ame à mesure de leur formation, mais, voulant creer un Roy et une Reine, il produisit du costé droit Souamboumanevanter (224) et du costé gauche une femme nommée Setteroupa (225), qui veut dire: bonne et plus belle que cent femmes belles; et Brama les maria incontinent, leur ordonnant de gouverner tout le monde, chaquun selon ses coutumes, à quoy ils acquiesserent et prirent le gouvernement du monde; quelques années apres ils eurent un fils, qu'ils nommerent Ottampat Raia (226), qu'ils eleverent jusqu'à l'aage de 12 ans, ou, commançant à etre propre pour le gouvernement, ils l'envoyerent ça et la. Le pere et la mere se retirant du monde, et luy ayant enfin laissé l'entier gouvernement, ils se retirerent au desert et embrasserent la vie d'une rude penitence, qu'ils continuent encore aujourd'huy, demeurant sans cesse les yeux baissés, les bras elevés audessus de la teste, sans boire ni manger. C'est à leur imitation que l'ont voit dans toutes ces terres cette multitude de malheureux penitents, les bras eleves sans discontinuation par dessus la teste, et en mils autres postures differentes et gesnantes, comme il sera demontré dans la suite (227).

Histoire de Dronu fils du Roy Ottampat.

Ottampat Raia (228) eut deux femmes; l'une s'appelloit Permedha et l'autre Ambarvetty. Or, Permedha, qui s'appelle encore Valab, qui veut dire amoureuse, eut de la jalousie contre Ambarvetty, et les prevalant de l'amitie de son mary Ottampat l'alla trouver, le menaçant de le quitter, s'il ne chassoit Ambarvetty, qui pour lors se

trouvoit grosse, et fut chassée malgré cela, et se retira chez les Jaguis, et des Bramanes qui faisoient penitence au desert, ou ayant demeuré quelque tems sans se faire connoitre pour qui elle etoit, son terme etant enfin achevé, elle accoucha d'un fils, qu'elle nomma Dronu, qui veut dire: fixe, immobile, stable ou eternelle; cette pauvre mere eleva son fils le mieux qu'elle put jusque à l'aage de 5 ans, que l'enfant, s'etant informé de sa mere quel etoit son pere, et elle luy ayant repondu les larmes aux yeux, qu'il etoit fils du Raia du monde, mais qu'à l'instance d'une autre femme elle avoit eté chassée alors [1]) de sa grossesse. L'enfant reflechissant demanda à sa mere la permission d'aller trouver son pere, qui peut etre auroit quelque afection pour luy, ce qu'elle luy accorda; il fut donc de differents costés chercher des vestements, l'un luy donna une tocque, l'autre une cabaye, l'autre des papous, et dans cet equipage il fut trouver son pere, se mit dans son giron, puis luy sauta au col, et comme il se trouva qu'il luy ressembloit beaucoup, cela fit que Ottampat l'aima, mais Permedha, toujours jalouse et envieuse, ne le pouvant souffrir, luy dit que l'enfant ne luy convenoit point, que ny l'enfant, ni sa mere n'auroient point fait assez de penitence, pour meritter un si grand honneur. Ces paroles piquerent tellement ce pauvre enfant, qu'il quita tout, et s'en fut au desert pour faire penitence; il y rencontra Nared (229), qui voulut l'en dissuader à cause de sa grande jeunesse, et les risques des bestes feroces, mais il persevera, disant qu'il esperoit en Dieu qui le secoureroit, et avec cette reponse passa outre et s'enfonça dans ces deserts. A peine y fut il 4 jours sans manger, que Dieu luy aparut, luy disant qu'il etoit sy contant de luy, qu'il luy accorderoit ce qu'il luy demanderoit, mais il ne voulut rien demander, ce que Dieu voyant et le voulant gratifier, il luy dit: vous avez nom Dronu Eternel; bien, vous demeurerez fixe eternellement, et en meme tems luy fit descendre du ciel 33 couroux de Deontas et quantites de danseuses avec leurs instruments de musique et son chariot de lumiere qu'il luy donna. Dronu, dans cet equipage, fut visiter sa mere et la consola; de la il fut chez Permedha, qu'il remercia du bien qu'elle luy avoit fait par sa jalousie, puis il fut se placer dans le ciel du costé du Nord, et ils pretendent que c'est luy qui est l'etoile polaire fixe, qu'ils nomment pour cet effect Dronu; quant à Permedha, elle n'eut point d'enfants.

Creation des ames.

Outre ce que Brama avoit deja crée, il crea encore de sa volonté 4 coffres ou 4 mines d'ames pour animer tous les corps et animaux

[1]) l. lors.

qui doivent avoir l'etre dans le monde, sçavoir (230) le premier des Fedezz, le second des Zobedezz, le trois des Andezz et le quatre des Zerajougezz. Les Fedezz sont les ames pour animer tous les corps produits par la conception et la sueure ou par la force des rayons du soleil, comme les poüs, puces, punaisses et autres insectes. — Les Zobedezz sont des ames pour animer les plantes, les herbes, buissons, arbres et arbutas. — Les Andezz sont des ames pour animer tous animaux engendrés par le moien des oeufs. — Les Zerajougezz sont les ames des hommes et des animaux à quatre pieds, dont il créa encore 21 couroux, ainsy que des Zobedezz et des Andezz.

Creation des 4 castres des hommes Gentils.

Brama, ayant ainsy commencé à peupler le monde, invocqua Tezomé mazcoub, qui lui aparut et luy demanda s'il trouvoit bon ce qu'il avoit fait d'autant qu'il avoit obei à ses ordres, et qu'il avoit eté jusques ou le pouvoir qu'il luy avoit donné pouvoit s'estendre. Tezomé, ayant tout ecouté, secoua la teste, et dit que le monde devant etre le jardin de Dieu, il devoit etre plus rempli qu'il n'etoit, ne luy paroissant que vuide et desert. Dans l'instant qu'il le regardoit, il prit à l'instant un air majestueux, et luimeme [1]) touchant depuis le 7eme fond des abimes de la terre jusqu'au 7eme et dernier ciel, les gentils l'appellant dans cette vision Vairatseroub (231) c'est a dire commencé en toutes choses, ou pour mieux dire suivant l'idiome de leur langue: remply d'yeux, d'oreilles et de bouche sans nombre; ainsy du reste Brama, l'appercevant dans [2]) manierre, baissa la veüe, et ne pouvant soutenir son etat, se prosterna devant luy à genoux, les mains joinctes, la face contre terre et luy fit sa prierre et l'adora en meme tems. Vairatsaroub tira de sa bouche une infinité de Bramanes tant hommes que femmes, tout egallement il fit sortir de ses bras une infinités de Katris, de ses cuisses et de ses reins il engendra les Vaneas, et de ses pieds sortirent les Soudrous. La 1ere de ses castres, qui sont les Bramanes, est au dessus de toutes les autres en dignité, possedant seul les sçiences, comme etant sortis de la teste de Tezomé mazcoub; il n'y a qu'eux qui puissent lires les Vidarts et les Chastras, qui sont leurs livres sacrés, et s'appliquer à la contemplation des astres, ou il faut avouer qu'ils ont quelque connoissance, sçachant prevoir assez juste une eclipse, ce qui surtout paroit d'une elevation en monce au reste des Gentils, qui n'en donnent la connoissance, qu'à la revelation et

[1]) Dit woord niet geheel zeker. De zin loopt niet!
[2]) Sic.

à la communication intime avec les Dieux, et bref, qu'ils regardent comme un miracle. Ces Bramanes sont distingués à l'exterieur par un grand cordon qui leurs pend [1]) de la gauche à la droite jusque sur la hanche, et ce cordon n'est autre chose que trois (232) ou six fils misterieux, qui doivent etre filez par un Brahame en disant certaines prierres; ils l'appellent (233) Grani Brana [2]); ils se connoissent encore par certaines linges, qu'ils ont au lieu de calçons, qui se nomment Dougesin (234), qu'ils ajustent entre et par dessus le haut de la cuisse d'une manierre assez particuliere. Les Bramanes, quoy que tous crées d'une meme castre, se sont cependant divises en plusieurs selon les pays; la succession meme des tems a produit entre eux differentes sectes, on en compte jusqu'a 94 castres, dont les unes mangent d'une façon, les autres d'une autre. L'ordre general est cependant, que si quelque etranger passant, se disant Brahame, vient en la maison d'un autre, pour demander à manger, il le traite en Brahame, pourveü qu'il profere avant toutes choses certaines paroles des Vedas dans l'oreille de celuy à qui il demande de la passade. Ces paroles sont secretes entre eux, et comme le mot duquel pour reconnoitre ceux qui sont de leur castre.

Noms des principales castres (235) des Brahames:

Canoja.	Talinga.	Gouzerati.	maracht.
Cailandd.	Carnateke.	Draover.	gaourr.
Tirotery.	Senoria.	Maipall.	nourrall.
et Gangapoutrr.			

La pluspart ne mangent ni viande, ny poisson, ni ails, ny oignons, à l'exception des Maracht, qui mangent des oignons, les uns en ayant moins d'horreur que les autres. Le mot de Kateris, dans la signification, veut dire Intrepide, et c'est le nom de la deuxiesme castre, qui fut crée pour la concervation de l'etat contre les ennemis. Ils ont aussi au col un cordon, mais de tours differents de celuy des Brahames (236); ils ont toujours avec eux leurs armes pour etre toujours prest a se battre; il s'en trouve de deux sortes, sçavoir quelqu'uns qui ont quitté la profession des armes, gardant toujours leurs rangs et castres. Ceux la à l'imittation des Brahames ne mangent ny chair, ny poissons. Les autres, qui ont demeurés dans leurs 1eres institutions suivant la profession des armes, mangent du poisson et

[1]) Het hs.: prend.

[2]) De lezing van de eerste helft onzeker; er kan ook bedoeld zijn Gram of Grant.

de toutes sortes de viandes à l'exception du boeuf et de la vache. Les Brahames disent que les Kateris ont etés etablis pour la deffence des Brahames et des vaches, auxquels il est enjoinct, au cas qu'ils voient en passant tuer ou faire la moindre insulte aux Brahames ou à une vache, de prendre les armes, et de mettre à mort les prevaricateurs, et ce sans autres difficultés. L'on remarque meme que quoy que les Indiens gemissent sous la tirannie des Maures depuis Tamerlan, qui a rendu le Mahometisme la religion de la cour, l'on a remarqué, dis je, que les Maures ont conservé quelque estime pour les Katris. Cette castre fournisse [1]) d'assez bons soldats dans le pays et de bonnes testes pour le gouvernement; il y en a même plusieurs reconnüe Raias ou Prince, en voyez un exemple dans la personne d'un nommé Rognaldas, fait depuis peu Raia et dont le genie se soutient à la cour de Derkousykan, Maure de religion, à present gouverneur de Gouzeratty, des pays d'Amadabat et Suratte (237). L'on raportera alieurs la revolution de la cour du grand Mogol (238). La troisieme castre sont les Vansart (239) ou Vaisas, qui signiffie marchands, qui sortirent à ce que disent les uns des cuisses, les autres des reins de Tezomé, et furent destines au commerce et à l'egard des bestiaux. Ils peuvent porter quelques fois un cordon de soye au col, au bout duquel est une espece de reliquaire d'or, d'argent, ou de cuivre, et le linge qu'ils mettent au lieu de calçons, est attaché d'une autre manierre que celuy des Brahames. Ils ne peuvent lire ny entendre lire les Veidas (240) ainsy incapables de sçiences. Ils sont encore divissés en quantités de castres selon les coutumes des pays, qu'ils habitent. Peu d'entre eux mangent de la chair. Il n'y a point de difference exterieure entre eux et les Soudrous, qui suivent, qui est la 4eme castre que Tezomé mazcoub produisit de ses pieds; il la destina pour les services des autres castres et tous les arts meçaniques meme à servir, mais aujourd'huy les autres castres se plaingent, que les Soudrous, qui sont les Baignaux (241), ont entrepris sur l'office de Vansas, quitant et leur castre et leurs obligations, et faisant la marchandise. Ils sont aussy divisés en plusieurs castres, mais peu, ou point, ne mangent de viande; ils ont la meme distraction que le Brame pour le cordon et le linge.

Generation des Serpens (242).

Nous avons desja parlé de Casseapa, qui avoit 13 femmes: la 1^{ere} nommée Ditty, et l'autre Aditty; mais la 3eme, nommée Cadrou, apres avoir eu ses regles, s'etant lavée et purifiée, s'en vint demander

[1]) het hs.: fournissant.

à son mary les mains joinctes de lui donner beaucoup d'enfans. Casseapa, qui n'avoit pas autant d'amour pour elle que pour les autres, et qui d'alieurs n'estoit pas de bonne humeur ce jour la, luy dit, en la renvoyant comme en colere: allez vous en, vous aurez beaucoups d'enfans. Elle devint grosse au meme instant, mais le tems de sa grossesse etant accomply, elle accoucha de serpents de toutes les especes, qui se trouvent dans le monde, dont ils appellent les especes ordinaires serpent. Ceux qui ont des pierres ou escarboucles dans la teste, ils l'appellent Naques; or, entre ces Naques il y a neuf especes qui ont chaquune leurs chefs. Le 1er Chef se nomme Cheknaque, le 2eme Vasoucnaque, le 3eme Takcheknaque, le 4eme Karkoutknaque, le 5eme Dencamzeanaque, le 6eme Acouvassennaque, le 7eme Dertracternaque, le 8eme Dourmournaque et le 9eme Soumouknaque (243), desquels sortirent les autres serpents, election pour le gouvernement des Deontas et des Deitas. Les Deontas, enfants d'Aditty, et les Deitas ou Géans fils de Ditty en peu de tems peuplerent beaucoup, et comme ces Géans etoient d'un naturel feroce, ils exercerent beaucoup de tirannie, chaquun d'eux vivant à sa volonté, sans roy ny la moindre marque de loy, n'ayant ny prestres non plus que les Deontas, ny jours d'assemblée, ce qui les obligea un jour à s'assembler chaqu'un de son costé, pour tenir conceil sur ce qu'il y avoit a faire sur cela, et les deux parties resolurent de s'elire chaqu'un un roy [1]) Irenekkachebed, et pour leur prestre Soukratecharge, l'un fils d'Additty (244) et l'autre son petit fils et neveu de leur roy. Les Deontas prirent pour leur prestre Beresspont et pour leur roy Indrou, son frerre. Ayant donc eluz Berresspont pour prestre, ils l'allerent trouver pour recevoir les enseignements, car ils se deffioient des Deitas, et craignoient d'en etre detruicts; il conseilla d'abord d'aller faire de grande penitence pour mẽtir [2]) la faveur de Dieu; c'est pourquoy ils s'en allerent dans le desert et y persisterent l'espace de 10000 ans.

Apparition de Tezomé mazcoub au Deontas.

Tezome mazcoub, ou Dieu meme, selon plusieurs, satisfait ou plustost comme charmé d'une sy longue penitence, leur apparut avec une grande majesté, tout revetu de lumiere avec 4 mains, dans la 1ere des quelles etoit une grande coquille de mer, qu'ils nomment Pantchezen; dans la 2eme une roue Sandresenchakera; dans la 3eme une massue ditte Guedha ou Kaoumadaky, et dans la 4eme une rose Camalapouspa; sur le costé gauche une vierge nommée Lakchimen,

[1]) Hier moet iets ontbreken, bijv. „Les Deitas prirent pour leur roy".
[2]) Is dit „maintenir"?

dans le col un diamant precieux nommé Kaoustoubmany, aux oreilles des pendants de rubis et autres pierres precieuses, une couronne en teste, qu'ils nomment Matecqmotecq, à l'entour des reins une etoile [1]) jeaune, qu'ils nomment Pitemba et une autre sur les epaules, qu'ils nomment Náraon (245), passant par dessus les epaules et par dessous les bras. Dans cet etat personne ne pouvoit le regarder, et il est bon de donner l'explication de ces figures misterieuses. Cette lumiere est la lumiere innaccessible de la vérité, qui selon eux avant la creation du monde etoit racouvrie [2]) en elle meme et representée par le meme Tezomé mazcoub sy petit, et renfermée dans la feuille de Lakché (246), c'est a dire de l'immortalité; ce Dieu renfermé dans Tezome mazcoub paroit aujourd'huy aux hommes avec un corps plus etendu qu'a l'ordinaire, et entouré de lumiere pour recompenser les Deontas ou leurs anges. Ses 4 mains signifient sa puissance, sa justice, sa liberalité et sa sagesse; dans une il y a une coquille, dont il sort quand il veut une voix comme une trompette; par ce son il tire cequ'il veut de ces abismes, et ceux qui ont le bonheur de l'entendre, sont purifiés de leurs pechés; la massue, qu'il a dans l'autre, est pour ecraser la teste des mechants par sa justice; la roue qu'il a dans l'autre, est à ce qu'ils disent pour l'examen du tour du monde, pour faire mourir ou naitre ceux, dont le tems est venu; enfin la rose est la marque de recompence et de liberalité, qu'il a toujours pour les bons; cette vierge marque sa providence, qui produisant sans cesse, demeure toujours entierre et produit au dehors toutes choses sans rien perdre de cequ'el a au dedans, et la couronne qu'il a sur la teste et ses autres joyeaux sont les marques de son immense souveraineté.

Repartition du soin du monde au Deontas.

D'abord que Tezomé mazcoub parut, tous les Deontas se prosternerent devant luy et l'adorerent; alors leur voulant donner confiance, il les appella et luy dit que leur penitence ayant eté agreable, il l'avoit bien reçue, et que pour cette effect il etoit venu pour les gratifier de ce qu'ils voudroient demander; ils repondirent avec respect, qu'apres avoir vu les pieds de sa majesté, ils n'avoient plus rien à demander, et persisterent dans cette resolution; mais Tezomé, ne voulant pas differer de leur faire du bien, leur donna ce qu'ils ne vouloient pas demander, et voicy comment; d'un d'entre eux, il en fit le Soleil, qu'il nomma Aditta ou Souveg [3]) ou Bhanou

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[1]) lees: toile.
[2]) l. recouvrie?
[3]) Misschien staat er Soureg.

ou Divacker; d'un autre il en fit la lune, qu'ils nomment Indrou (247) ou Nichaker; un troisieme fut Indaoü (248), qui avoit desja eté choisy par les Deontas pour leur roy, fut confirmé et fut fait roy du ciel; Agné ou Paourou (249) ou Visounadouk (250) reçut le soin du feu; Paouana ou Marout eut le soin des eaux, Couverr fut fait seigneur des richesses; Dermeraz ou Jam, qui signifie terrible, fut juge des ames apres la mort; Brama eut le soin de creer les ames et les corps des creatures du monde; Visnou prit le soin de la conservation des plaisirs; Roudrr fut commis pour faire mourir les hommes et les autres creatures; Visnacarou (251) le soin des arts et toutes les mecaniques et fabriques etc.; Azumé et Comar (252), tous deux frerres, presiderent à la medecine; outre cela 92000 couroux de Deontas femelles furent etablies pour danseuses et chanteuses à la musique du ciel; le reste des Deontas eurent tous des emplois au ciel, ou ils furent tous.

Instruction de Tezomé aux Deontas sur leurs offices.

Tezomé mazcoub, ayant ainsy pris le soin du monde, voulut aussy leur donner quelques instructions sur ce qui les touchoient. Additta, qui est le soleil, il luy ordonna de faire son cours au milieu de la terre (253) et de courir en chaque demy clin d'oeil 2202 gauzen; le gauzen est environ deux lieux; or le monde, à leur compte, a 50 couroux de gauzen et chaque courou, comme il est dit, est de dix millions; il est facile de voir leurs erreurs. Il fit aussy la meme ordinance à la lune, qu'ils disent etre plus haute que le soleil (254); outre cela il luy ordonna de jetter la nuict avec la veüe de l'amrouts, eau ou suc de la vie, sur tous les arbres, fruicts, fleurs, herbes, que le soleil auroit brulé le jour par sa chaleur. Indrou eut les ordres pour gouverner le ciel, la terre, les abismes qu'ils nomment Patal, d'envoyer la secheresse, la pluye, le chaud, le froid, d'avoir soin des Bramanes et de faire tuer par d'autres, ceux qui leur feroient mal; Augné maistre du feu, il luy ordonna de se trouver dans toutes les creatures, pour les animer et faire la coction necessaire (255), et hors que les Brahames [1]) le haouana, cequi est un sacrifice de feu fait aux Deontas, de leur en porter la fumée de ce que l'on jetteroit dans son ventre (256); il dit à Varrouna de prendre soin des mers et rivierres et des fontaines, d'en fournir le monde, et d'en faire sortir à sa volonté. Pour ce qui est de Couverr, maistre des richesses, il les laissa à sa disposition pour les faire changer de mains en mains à un chaqu'un selon son merite ou ses demerites; Dermeras ou Jam, ils le depeignent

[1]) l. et lorsque les Brahames font?

avec deux visages (257), quoy qu'ils disent qu'il n'en a qu'un, parcequ'il eut ordre de juger les morts sans misericorde, et de paroitre aux bons avec un visage de bon air et remply de lumiere, et au contraire aux méchants de paroitre remply de menaces, de foudres, d'esclaires, et de les envoyer aux enfers. Quant à Brama, son ordre fut de faire sans cesse des images de terre avec des formes dissemblables, aux quels Dieu donna l'etre d'abord; c'est ce qu'ils expliquent, disant que le male et la femelle, s'estant connus, Brahame prend sa semence dans le corps de la femelle et luy donne une femme. L'ordre de Visnou fut de faire prosperer toutes choses dans le monde et de conserver tout, soit par fertilité ou autrement; Roudder, qui est celuy qui fait mourir les creatures, Tezomé luy ordonna de faire mourir un chaquun quand l'heur qu'il auroit marqué sur le front (258), seroit venue. Visnacarou fut pour pourvoir à la construction des villes et des royaumes, mais sy habile que dans un clin d'oeil il en peut battir un. C'est à lui à qui ils attribuent la fabrication de toutes les fameuses pagodes des Indes, qui sont certainement des prodiges en grandeur et en sculpture dans le gout gotique, semblable à peu pres aux notres; quand aux danseuses et muziciennes, ils leur attribuent les memes qualités que nous donnons aux anges, disant qu'elles ne boivent ny ne mangent, n'ayant ni faim, ny soif, ni maladies; ils les nomment en general apesteras. Les principales sont Oruessas, Rambbha, Messerky (259). Il y a un ordre parmis les danseuses et tous les autres Deontas, qui est que sy quelque Deontas vient à faire quelque peché de pensée, alors Indiou, Roy du Ciel, qui en a la connoissance, sur le champ le fait descendre du ciel sur la terre, ou il est obligé de faire une penitence proportionnée à son peché, soit dans le corps d'un poisson ou de quelqu'autre animal, apres quoy il est renvoye dans le corps d'un homme pour meriter de retourner dans le ciel.

Apparition de Tezomé aux Deitas ou geans (260).

Comme les Geans avoient fait aussy de grandes penitences à leur particulier, Tezome mazcoub leur aparut aussy dans la meme figure qu'aux Deontas, et leur proposa de leur accorder leurs demandes. Les Geans, n'ayant en veüe que la domination et la tyrannie, pour tenir conseil, s'assemblerent. La nouvelle de ce qui auroit eté accordé aux Deontas leur causant d'un costé la jalousie de l'autre, se voyant sans esperance de pouvoir rien obtenir de ce qui etoit dans le monde, les Deontas etant desja en possession du ciel et de la terre et des habimes, ils conclurent entre eux qu'ils demandroient l'immortalité pour avec le tems tacher de gagner par combat et par

finesse, ce qu'ils ne pouvoient avoir pour le present. Ainsy Hirinkkachebed, leur roy, fut au nom de tous pour en faire la demande à Tezomé mazcoub, qui leur accorda le privileige de ne point mourir de jour ny de nuict, ny au soleil ny a l'ombre, (ny) dedans ny dehors de la maison, de main ny d'hommes ny de femmes, ny par le fer ny par le feu, ny par les pierres ny par l'eau, de vieux ny de jeunes Deontas, ny des Raksesses, qui sont des Geans de la castre de Ravana, dont je parleroy tout à l'heure, ny de la main de qui que ce fut, ny d'oizeau ny d'aucun animal, enfin de ne pouvoir etre tué d'aucunes choses, grace que Dieu leur accorda rapport a leurs penitences.

Combats des Deontas et des Deitas.

Quittons pour un moment le fil de cette histoire pour voir les fameux combats des Deontas et des Deitas. Or ces derniers ne se virent pas plutost en possession de leurs privileiges, qu'ils commencerent les actes d'hostilité contres les Deontas et partout ou ils se rencontroient, ils enleverent leurs femmes et leurs enfants et les faisoient esclaves, les empechoient de faire leurs sacrifices ou prieres, surquoy les Deontas outrés leur declarerent la guerre a leur tour. Or il ne faut pas s'etonner, si les Deitas etoient sy fort en etat de leur faire de la peine, ayant cette vertue de voler en haut comme oizeaux, meme de penetrer dans le ciel, qui etoient la demeure des Deontas. Ces guerre et combats durerent longtems, l'avantage etant souvent egal, nul ne se trouva victorieux, les deux parties etant egaux en merites, les Deontas par leurs sainteté et penitence et les Deitas par la si longue penitence qu'ils avoient faite auparavant; d'ou s'en suivoit qu'il ny avoit personne de tué dans de sy rudes combats. Cependant apres 20000 ans que cette guerre dura, il ne se pouvoit autrement qu'ils ne fussent extremement fatigués des coups qu'ils se donnoient, sans pour tout cela avancer en rien, cequi fit qu'ils convinrent tous unanimement de s'addresser à Dieu pour sçavoir cequ'ils avoient à faire pour etre d'acord; ils eurent recours à la prierre et la penitence, et etant demeuré quelque tems, une voix se fit entendre du haut du ciel, disant qu'ils batissent et renversassent la mer, qu'en le faisant ils trouveroient le moyen de ce mettre d'accord. Ils obeirent et furent deraciner une montagne nommée Menderachell (261), faite comme une coquille, haute de cent mils gauzen et grosse de 21 mils, et la porterent dans la mer, ou l'ayant renversé, il s'abima à cause de la profondeur de la mer, dont ils furent tous etonnés et tout a fait tristes, ne sachant comment faire. Ne voulant pas entreprendre d'en deraciner une autre, ils eurent encore recourir à la prierre et à la penitence, et Dieu en eut pitïe, en creant une grosse

tortue, d'autres disent une carangaise, c'est chez eux l'ecrevice du globe celeste; quelqu'uns croyent que ce fut Visnou qui prit cette forme. Cette tortue alla incontinent au fond de la mer, et donna avec ses costes une si grande secousse a la montagne abismée qu'elle la fit remonter sur la mer. Alors les Deontas et les Deitas, n'ayant pas de cordes pour lier une si grosse masse, furent ensemble prier Vassouknaque, le 1er des serpents, de vouloir bien servir de corde pour lier cette montagne, afin d'en battre la mer. Or ce serpent, qu'avoit engendré Cadrou, femme de Casseapa, s'accorda volontiers pour leur rendre service, mais il y eut du debat, quand il fallut travalier, à qui prenderoit la teste ou la queue. Les Deontas, plus ruzés que les autres, feignirent de vouloir prendre la teste, pour aider à remuer les montagnes, dont les dits Deitas se trouvant choqué croyant que par la les autres les traictoient comme gens vils et bas, ne devant avoir que la queue, voulurent s'en aller, mais les Deontas, qui voioient bien le peril ou l'on etoit de tirer par la queue et qui ne demandoient pas mieux que de la cedder, complimenterent aussitost les Deitas, leur avouant qu'ils avoient raison de prendre la teste, qu'estant plus grand qu'eux, cette honneur leur apartenoient (262). Par ce moyen tout s'accorda, l'un et l'autres se mirent a tirer le serpent et à battre la mer avec cette montagne, de la meme façon que l'on bat le laict cailliée pour en tirer le beure. Ils travallierent bien aïnsy 14000 ans sans rien gagner que de la peinne, mais il en couta cher aux Deitas de s'etre piqués d'honneur pour tirer le serpent par la teste, la force du poison qui en sortit, rendit les uns noirs et empoissonna les autres, qui devinrent comme moribons, d'autres extraordinairement fatigués, de sorte qu'ils s'en desisterent et recoururent a Dieu par la prierre.

Des 14 choses precieuses qui sortirent de la mer (263).

Ayant donc ete exaucé dans leurs prierres, Dieu leur envoya sa lumiere Naraen (264), que le commun appelle Naren, c'est le meme qu'ils nomment aussy Tezome mazcoub. Il se reposoit sur les eaux appellées Nar (265) dans la feuille de Kilevorr (266). Il leur apparut donc avec cette coquille à la main, dont il forma ce qui encouragea les Deontas et les Deitas. Ils reprirent leur travail et recommancerent à battre la mer, et il en sorty du fond 1° Latchimen, cette vierge, dont il a été parlé cy dessus, depeinte sur la poitrine de Tezomé et elle s'alla placer sur son costé. 2° Un diamant precieux Koustouvamany, dont il a été aussy parlé, et qui se vint mettre dans le col de Naren. 3° vint un arbre, que les Portugais nomment Arvoré tristé (267), en ce qu'il ne fleurit que la nuit. Les Indiens le nomment Kalpamarouk (268). Cette arbre, disent ils, a

la proprieté de produire tout ce que l'on lui demande; celui qui se trouve aujourd'huy dans l'Inde de cette meme espece a quelque rapport tant en feuilles qu'en fleures, avec notre Jassenium, mais un peu plus fort; ses fleures tombent le mattin et la nuict il en reparoit d'autres, l'on tire de ses racines une espece de soffrane. Cependant selon eux cette arbre s'en fut au ciel. 4° il sortit encore du fond de la mer un vaisseau plein de vin (269), qui fut se planter au bord du rivage. 5° vint un medecin, qu'ils nomment Dhanarantary. 6° un galon ou vaze d'eau de la vie d'imortalité, appelle Amrout. 7° La lune appellée Chanderma; elle fut se placer au ciel. 8° La mer produisit une vache miraculeuse, qui donne de tout. Elle fut se placer aussy au ciel dans le logis d'Indrou. 9° suivit un elephant blanc, dit Lairatoué testis (270), qui fut chez Indrou. 10° une Danseuse nommée Ramdha (271) qui y fut aussy. 11° un cheval à 7 testes qui s'en alla chez Indrou pour servir à tirer le char du soleil. 12° un grand arc, qui fut aussi pour Indrou. 13° un beau coquilliage de mer, aussi pour Indrou. Apres quoy Naren fit signe de cesser de battre la mer, de peur qu'il n'en sortit quelque chose de fatal. Mais les Geans, avides de tirer encore quelques choses, desobeirent aux preceptes, et continuerent leur travail, cequi leur couta cher. La 14eme chose, qui sortit, fut un poizon sy violent, que personne ne put demeurer sur le bord de la mer plus longtems, et tous prirent la fuite; on eut dit que c'estoit un feu qui devoroit tout ce qui se trouvoit la autour. Cependant les Deontas et les Deitas s'assemblerent, on proposa de la rejetter dans la mer, mais la crainte de l'empoissonner et de faire mourir tout le poisson, en empecha; on ne jugea pas non plus qu'il fut à propos de la laisser sur la terre, de peur qu'il ne l'empoisonna et ne fit mourir tous les vivants. La dessus Roudrr, qui comme je l'ais rapporté, est proposé pour faire mourir tous ceux dont le tems est venu, craignant tous les accidents, qui en pourroient arriver au public, le prit et le but, sur quoy sa femme, qui etoit presente, courut à luy pour l'empecher (272), mais il avoit desja coulé jusqu'au neud de la gorge, par ou sa femme, le serrant, l'empecha de passer outre, et la gorge lui devint aussitost bleue, ce qui luy fit donner le nom de Nilcanth, qui est à dire „gorge-bleue". Les Deontas se saisirent d'abord de la pluspart de ces choses qu'ils porterent dans le ciel, et il ne resta sur la terre que le poizon, la liqueur d'immortalité, le vin, dont les Geans fort irritez voulurent faire une grande guerre aux Deontas pour reprendre ce qu'ils avoient emportés, sans faire des partages raisonnables. Alors Visnou, voyant qu'ils maltraictoient desja les Deontas, prit la figure d'une femme extraordinairement belle, et

s'alla presenter aux Geans, qui d'abord epris de son amour condessendirent chaqu'un au qu'elle voulut proposer, qui fut d'assembler les Deontas avec les Deitas et pour óter toute semence de querelle à l'avenir, qu'il leur failloit distribuer egallement le vin et la liqueur d'immortalité aux Deontas, dont il n'y eut qu'un Geant, qui en but etant assis entre le soleil et la lune, dont Vinchou s'estant aperçu, luy coupa la teste, au quel spectacle le soleil et la lune s'en furent jusqu'au globe celeste, ou ils sont à present et ou Vinchou, qui les veut aussy tuer, les attacqua quelques fois, qui est ce qui fait paroitre l'eclipse (273).

Nouveaux combats des Geans avec les Deontas.

Nous avons veü avant le dernier article comme Rouder avoit bu le poizon, de sorte qu'il ne restoit plus sur la terre que le vin et la liqueur d'immortalité, ou les Deontas et les Deitas coururent pour s'en emparer et y arriverent sy à propos les uns et les autres, que chaqu'un tient son beut [1]) de chaque costé du vaiseau; alors ce fut à qui tireroit le mieux, pour faire quitter prise a son ennemy; on en vint au coups, et cette guerre dura 21000 ans, pendant lesquels ils tinrent toujours bon, personne ne quittant sa prise. Dans ces affreux combats il ne mourut cependant personne et toute cette fatigue n'aboutissant à rien, ils firent comme à la derniere guerre, ils s'adresserent à Dieu pour obtenir quelque lumiere sur ce qu'ils avoient à faire. Leurs prierres furent executées et exaucées, et Dieu leur envoya Visnou, lequel prit la figure d'une Mehemony (274) ou anchanteuse, belle en merveille, et dont les regards pouvoient enchanter les coeurs de tous les hommes. Ainsy dans cette atirail de tant de charmes elle parut au milieu des Deitas, qu'elle fit d'abord consentir à faire la paix avec les Deontas, de partager la liqueur de l'immortalité, et leur faisant aporter le vaiseau, ou elle etoit, elle leur façina les yeux, elle fit apporter, sans qu'ils s'en aperçurent, le vasse de vin, et faisant asseoir les uns d'un costé, les autres de l'autre, donna aux Deontas à boire l'eau de l'immortalité et aux Deitas le vin. Les Geans, ayant bu le vin, demeurerent dans une profonde suresse [2]), mais un certain Rahou, Deitas plus fin que les autres, s'alla placer finement parmy les Deontas, au milieu du soleil et de la lune, dont la Mehemony ne s'estant point aperçu, luy donna a boire de la coupe de l'immortalité, qui n'etoit que pour les Deontas, mais le soleil, ayant averty l'anchanteresse, elle donna ordre à la roue Soudersun-cakker, qui tourne a lentour du monde, et qui en tournant coupa

[1]) Zóó het hs. l. tint son but?

[2]) lees: ivresse.

sur le champ la teste à Rahou, mais comme il avoit bu de l'eau de l'immortalité, il n'en mourut pas, son corps demeura seulement separé de sa teste qu'ils nomment Rahou et sa teste [1]) Keté, c'est que les astrologues nomment la teste et la queue du Dragon. Aussy disent ils, que depuis ce terme la le dit Rahou porte au soleil une inimitie perpetuelle, l'atacquant partout, cause seconde de l'eclipse; aussy quand il s'en fait une, les Gentils ne boivent ni mangent de tout ce jour la, et font de grandes aumones, un denier, un peza donné ce jour la, etant plus meritoire qu'un Lak de Roupies dans un autre tems. C'est pour delivrer le soleil et la lune des embuches de Rahou, qu'ils pratiquent les jeunes et aumones (275); la depuis ils disent que c'est Rahou, qui nait et qui renait, quand ils voyent une comette, or, comme les commettes sont les unes rondes et les autres longues, ils prennent les rondes pour Rahou et les longues pour le corp de ce Geant, lesquelles deux especes ils mettent au rang des planettes, ce qui fait qu'ils en admettent neuf.

Soukratcharge obtient la vertu de resusciter les morts.

La Mehemouny ou Visnou deguisé en enchanteresse etant disparue, les Deontas se prevalurent de leurs avantages et profiterent de l'ivresse des Deitas, qui etoient encore endormis, lesquels battirent dos et ventre et emporterent dans le ciel le rest de l'amour [2]) ou liqueur de l'immortalité, mais les Geans, revenus de leurs assoupissements et de leurs yvresse, s'apperçurent de la fourberie des Deontas et l'affront qu'ils avoient vescü dans cette occasion, s'en furent fort affligés à leur pontif Soukkratcharge. Voyant leurs ennemis fortifiez par l'immortalité et le reste de l'Amrout, ils luy representerent leurs desastres, luy disant de leur donner conseil, et que, s'il etoit vray Bramane, de leur donner un remede à tout ces maux de quelque manierre que ce put estre. Il les renvoya, en leur donnant quelques esperances et apres les avoir consolé se mit aussytost à faire de grandes penitences l'espace de 1000 ans, au bout desquels Dieu luy aparut, luy promettant qu'en veüe de ses penitences il luy accorderoit ce qu'il luy demanderoit. Il luy demanda le pouvoir de ressusciter les morts (276), ce qui luy fut accordé. Il s'en fut alors donner cette nouvelle aux Deitas, qui se prosternerent devant luy pour le congratuler et le remercier de la peinne, qu'il avoit prise pour la nation qui se trouvoit autant avantagée par ce privileige,

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[1]) lees: queue?
[2]) lees: amrout.

que les Deontas avec l'Amrout qu'ils avoient enlevée. Il leur dit donc alors d'aller combattre sans crainte ayant le pouvoir de les resusciter si quelqu'un d'eux etoit tué. Il est bon de remarquer qu'il pouvoit communiquer son pouvoir, qui consistoit en certaines paroles, qui d'elles memes avoient cette vertue. Alors les Deitas encouragés s'en furent combattre les Deontas, qu'ils fatiguerent etrangement par leur force et leur valeur, et meme les affoiblirent tellement, qu'ils furent aussy obligés d'aller consulter Berespont, leur Bramane ou grand prestre, pour le prier de faire en sorte d'obtenir de Dieu quelque secret pour vaincre leurs ennemis, comme avoit fait Soukkartcharge, Bramane des Deitas, mais il leur dit, qu'il etoit pour lors trop vieu pour s'occuper d'apprendre quelques sciences et encore plus foible pour entreprendre des penitences, mais pour les consoler il leur conseilla d'envoyer son fils en la maison de Soukkartcharge sous pretexte d'etudier sous luy et apprendre aussi son secret, ce qui fut executé, quoy que ce fut son ennemy. Or comme la coutume est de ne refuser aucun Brahame, lorsqu'il vient pour apprendre, Kats fils de Berespont fut bien reçu. Cependant les Deitas ne pouvoient gouter cela sans neanmoins pouvoir l'empecher ouvertement. Ce Kats etoit un jeune homme fort aimable, qui gagna bientost l'affection de son maitre, et de plus l'amitié de sa fille, qui d'abord jetta les yeux sur luy pour en faire son mary. Apres la fin de ses etudes elle ne luy ouvrit point son coeur n'y a son pere, voulant attendre l'heur de son depart. Voicy la coutume des ecoliers Bramanes. Ils doivent laver les linges et les Doguezins, dont on se sert pour faire les sacrifices (277), ils doivent demeurer dans la maison de leur maistre, qui les nourit des aumones, que l'on luy fait, et qu'il leur envoye quester de portes en portes. Ils font comme 4 classes d'estudes, dont chaqu'un dure 12 ans et dans chaqu'unes des quatre ils etudient un Veidas ou livre sacré, ecrit en langue Sanscourtes, qui est chez eux ce que nous est la Latine. Les Bramanes seuls les lisent, les autres ne pouvant pas meme l'entendre lire. Apres 48 ans d'estudes l'étudiant demande congé à son maitre, et l'ayant obtenu, luy fait le Posa ou Sacrifice, tourne 7 fois autour de luy et le prie de luy demander ou ordonner telle chose qu'il voudra, pour luy marquer par cette soumission qu'il n'oublira jamais qu'il a esté son disciple. Voila la principale partie de leurs ceremonies de separation. C'est sur cela que la fille de Soukkratcharge nommée Deourany cachoit son feu dans son coeur, ne le faisant paroitre que fort peu en donnant toujours a Kats ce qu'il y avoit de melieur dans la maison, le preferant toujours aux autres, quoy que parmis eux les disciples d'un maitre se regardent tous comme

frerres uterins, à quoy elle ne faisoit cependant nul attention, aveuglée par la violence de son amour.

Morts et resurections de Kats.

Kats se trouvoit donc en sureté dans la maison de son maitre. Les autres Deitas, ne luy pouvant rien faire ouvertement, ils étoient cependant en embuscade pour le surprendre, et lorsqu'ils sortirent dehors, le grand Prestre le conservoit assez, mais ne se doutant plus de rien, il l'envoya un jour laver les Dougezins (278), pour lors les Deitas, le voyant seul, luy coururent sur et le tuerent. L'heure du diner s'approchant et Kats ne paroissant point, Deourany s'en apperçut la premiere et d'autant que les autres ne restoient que deux heures à laver les Dougezins, et qu'il y en avoit quatre qu'il etoit party, elle s'inquieta et plèurant elle pria son pere de l'envoyer chercher, lequel ne se doutant de rien temporisa. Cependant l'heur de manger etant venue, Deourany protesta qu'elle ne mangeroit point qu'elle ne vit Kats de retour, surquoy le pere s'attendrisant, fut lui meme le chercher à la rivierre, sur le bord de laquelle il le trouva mort et les Dougezins prest de luy. Soukkartcharge dit alors sur son corps les paroles qui le ressussiteroient, et ils revinrent à la maison dont Deouray fut fort aise, veillant dans la suitte à la conservation de Kats, l'empechant de sortir seul. Le tems faisant oublier toutes choses, 2 ans apres le grand Prestre, ne se souvenant plus de rien, mais les Deitas ne cessant point de le prier, Kats etant toujours sorty pour aller dans le bois chercher les feuilles pour disner (279), leur coutume etant de s'en servir au lieu de plats et d'assiettes les cousant ensemble avec des joncs, de façon que rien ne se pert du dedans et en changeant à chaque repas, Kats donc trouva ses ennemis qui le tuerent et jetterent son corps en morceaux, cela est la [1]), croyant par ce stratageme empecher la resurection. Ainsy Kats manquant comme l'autre fois, son maitre fut encore le chercher, et rassemblant et rejoignant les morceaux, il le ressuscita pour la seconde fois. Sy le grand Prestre fit un grand miracle dans ces deux resurections, il en fit encore un bien plus grand dans la 3eme, car les Deitas, l'ayant encore tué quelques années apres, ils le hacherent en petits morceaux et le mirent dans les chaudieres ou ils faisoient distiler leur vin ou leur eau de vie, et le firent tellement consommer, qu'ils le reduisirent jusqu'au moindre morceaux des os en eau et en liqueur (280). Ainsy Deourany, se desesperant de ne le point voir revenir, engagea son pere pour la 3eme fois à l'aller chercher, mais n'en apprenant

[1]) Iets uitgevallen?

aucunes nouvelles, n'en trouvant aucunes marques ni vestiges, il s'en fut plaider au Roix du pay, nommé Verichparna (281). Sur l'action des Geans, il en fut reçu avec courtoisie; les serviteurs lui vinrent laver les pieds et luy faire le posa (282) ou sacrifice, à leur façon luy presenterent meme de la liqueur, ou Kats justement avoit eté consommé, ce dont il but et s'en revint chez luy, la teste un peu troublée de ce vin, mais la fille, le voyant revenir sans son amy, sort d'elle meme, se desespere et dit que n'ayant pas ramené Kats, elle veut aussy perdre la vie et mourir de faim. Le pere, etonné de la resolution de sa fille, n'y trouvant aucun remede, but de l'eau avec l'angely [1]), en disant les paroles de la resurection des morts a tout hazard. Or cette ceremonie de l'angely [1]) est de boire dans le creux des mains (283) en elevant les doix index et baissant les poulces, ce qui est une des plus grandes ceremonies des Bramanes. Apres quoy la fille s'ecriant: mon cher Kats, celuy cy lui repondit du ventre de son pere: Je suis icy. C'estoit justement de ce vin que son pere avoit but chez le Raia, qui etoit composé du corps de Kats. Ainsy les paroles de la resurection tombant sur ce vin, firent ressuscitter Kats meme dans le corps du grand Prestre et d'un [2]) Kats meme leur raconta comme la chose s'estoit passée. Voila ce que l'on peut appeller un miracle, un homme en fait ressusciter un autre dans son ventre et en avalant du vin il avale les especes d'un autre homme, dont ce grand Bramane fut si fort surpris, qu'il fit un serment solemnelle de ne jamais boir de vin, ny de manger de viande, donnant la malediction a quiconque des siens qui en useroit autrement (284). Apres un si notable accident cependant la chose n'en pouvoit demeurer la. Deorany demandoit Kats, qui ne pouvoit sortir d'ou il etoit, sans tuer Soukkratcharge, ou en demeurant, il falloit qu'il mourut, et Deorany apres luy ne pouvoit plus vivre; enfin l'amour, qui est quelque fois cruel, fit trouver à cette fille un remede un peu dur, qui fut que son pere apprit a Kats les paroles de la resurection, qu'en suite il souffrit que l'on luy ouvrit le corps pour en faire sortir Kats, qui le ressusciteroit apres. Il en arriva ce qu'elle avoit proposé, et les choses revinrent en leur 1er etat et furent tous content. Cependant Deorany, attendant la fin des etudes de Kats avec grande impatience, lorsqu'elle fut venue, elle fut demander son mariage à son pere, lorsque suivant la coutume, il luy viendroit demander sa volonté, mais de partir en memoire d'avoir eté longtems son ecolier. Or Kats, ne

[1]) Het hs.: avec Langely.
[2]) Zoo het hs!

sçachant ce qu'il souhaitait tant qu'il etoit de ressusciter les morts, et voyant le danger ou il etoit de demeurer chez les Deitas, son tems finy, il ne tarda guere à aller faire le posa à son maitre, qui, prevenu par sa fille, [1]) luy d'aller trouver Deorany et de faire ce qu'elle luy diroit. Kats obeit et etant allé trouver Deorany, cette fille luy declara son amour, luy faisant remarquer les soins qu'elle avoit pris de sa conservation, et que pour toutes recompenses elle luy demandoit le plaisir d'etre sa femme, tous deux etants enfant de Bramanes. Kats se trouva fort embarassé, ne pouvant se marier à Deorany, qui etoit sa soeur à double degré (285), 1° ayant etudié chez son pere, 2°. etant sorti du ventre de son dit pere, outre qu'il n'avoit point envie, ny meme garde d'epouzer une fille de Deitas pour l'enmener parmy les Deontas, qui ne consentiroient jamais à cette aliance, ny a ce melange de sang. Enfin l'un et l'autre se chauferent, et comme l'amour irrité devient furieux, Deorany, qui l'aimoit tant auparavant, luy donna la malediction, prenant de l'eau à l'angely c'est à dire dans le creux de sa main, la jetta en l'air, luy disant: que la science que vous avez aprise, ne vous puisse jamais servir. Il faut remarquer que cette malediction ne l'empeche pas de la pouvoir communiquer aux autres, auxquelles elle peut servir et non à luy raport à la malediction de la fille d'un grand Saint, qui ne peut etre inutile. Kats prenant aussy de l'eau dans son angely pour se venger et la versant luy dit: que jamais vous ne serez mariée avec un Bramane (286). Cela dit, il s'envola dans un palanquin celeste, nommé Beman (287), et fut dans la Souergue, qui est dans le ciel d'Indrou, qui, l'appercevant le 1er, en donna la nouvelle à Berespont. Tout le ciel fut alors en joye et Kats fut reçu avec de grandes acclamations, parcequ'il apportoit par sa science de nouvelles forces aux Deontas.

Gageure de Benta avec Coddru (288).

J'ay entré dans un long detail des differences des Deontas avec les Deitas, je reprends donc ma 1ere histoire pour voir les productions des femmes de Casseb, dont j'ay parle cydessus; j'ay desja dit comme la 3e Coddru, avoit engendré les serpents. La 4e de ses femmes, nommée Benta ou Veneta, se trouvant un jour proche de Coddrou avant le soleil levé à faire le Dentiin [2]); faire le Dentenn (289) est une coutume de toutes les nations des Indes, c'est de la pointe du jour de se laver la bouche d'eau fraiche et de se frotter les dents avec un bois pour cela; cette coutume particulierre est

[1]) Werkwoord uitgevallen!

[2]) Het hs. heeft hier Dentiin.

devenue commune a toutes les nations Gentils et Maures meme sistost que les Europeens ariverent aux Indes, la pratique trouvant la methode bonne et fort bonne et propre. Coddru luy demanda de quel couleur etoient les cheveux du Soleil (290), elle dit qu'ils etoient blanc, l'autre soutient qu'ils etoient noirs, quoy qu'il sçut bien qu'ils etoient blancs; enfin il fallut parier et mettre aujour; elles convinrent que celle qui perderoit seroit l'esclave de l'autre. Coddrou, qui sçavoit bien perdre si [1]) elle n'usoit de quelque stratagesme, s'en fut trouver les serpents ses enfants, et leur dit la gageure qu'elle avoit faite, leur disant que pour luy rendre service, il falloit qu'ils s'allassent entortiller autour d'elle pour la faire gagner. Le jour nommé pour le voir [2]) mais Cheknaque (291), le 1er des serpents, voyant qu'il s'agissoit d'imposer à la verite et de faire une Supercherie, en avertit Settejougue (292), et pour s'en exempter aima mieux s'enfuir dans les deserts, et y faire une longue et dure penitence. Cheknaque soutient la machine du monde sur l'eau. Cheknaque, s'estant ainsy volontairement excité pour ne pas choquer la verité, ayant demeuré quelque tems dans les deserts à faire penitence, Tezome mazcoub (293) luy apparut et luy dit que le monde par ses pechés etoit prest d'abismer dans l'eau, et qu'il falloit qu'il s'employa à la soutenir avec ses testes, car comme il a eté dit, il en avoit une multitude. Cependant, comme le centre des serpents n'est pas de demeurer dans l'eau ou Cheknaque se seroit noyé, il fit une tortue pour luy servir d'apuy, qu'ils nomment Agoupar. Quelqu'uns croient que c'est Visnou qui prit cette forme luy meme pour apuyer le monde de ses costes, et c'est de la encore pourquoy ils ont un grand respect pour la tortue. Ainsy la terre est sur le serpent et luy sur la tortue, qui nage sur les eaux, qui sont soutenues sur les 4 vents [3]). Cependant les autres serpents, excites par l'exemple de leur chef Cheknaque, s'assemblerent et d'un commun accord refuserent leur mere Codrou, ne pouvant faire pour elle cette injustice, ce qui eut esté un grand peché, elle seroient preste à perdre les maudits [4]) de colere, leur disant que Zanemze devoit faire un jour un sacrifice de feu, et qu'ils y seroient brules en punition de leurs desobeissance. A ces mots quelques serpents epouvantés prirent le party d'obeir à leur mere, et s'en allerent jusqu'au ciel d'Indrou, ou s'entortilliant auteur des cheveux du soleil, les firent paroitre noirs, de quoy Codrou avertie fut chercher Veneta, et la persuadant de la perte de sa gageure, la fit son esclave, la

[1]) Het hs. schijnt ci te hebben.
[2]) onvolledig!
[3]) lees: elephants?
[4]) lees: maudit. De zin is onduidelijk. Interpunctie!

traitant en Negresse (294) et s'en servant aux choses les plus basses et sales, ne pouvant approcher de son mary Cassep. Cependant peu apres il s'en aperçu, et tout etonné luy demanda d'ou provenoit ce changement. Elle luy conta alors sa gageure et la fourberie des serpens pour noircir les cheveux du soleil, mais que nonobstant cette ruse elle n'avoit pas voulu manquer à sa parole et s'estoit reduite à l'esclavage, qu'au reste elle le prioit de luy donner des enfants, qu'ils l'elevassent [1]) au dessus de sa maitresse, ce qui luy [2]) promit, et pour cela se disposa à faire un sacrifice de feu pour obtenir du ciel quelque chose de grand. Or, en cette occasion il se passa bien des choses, que pour entendre il faut sçavoir l'histoire des Bramanes Vailequils, dont nous allons donner l'éclaircissement (295).

Brama, mariant Roudder avec Pernaty (296), fille d'Aimanchell, qui est une tres celebre montagne, il arriva par hazard que pendant la ceremonie du mariage, Rouder et Pernaty etant assis aupres de Brama, Roudder prenant le gros doigt du pied de Pernaty pour le faire toucher au sien, le fit par megard toucher à Brama, qui sentit de l'emotion, dont il luy tomba quelque peu de semence par terre, ce qui le fit rougir de honte, car on s'en aperçut. Roudder, voyant que cela chagrinoit Brama, luy dit pour le consoler, que ce n'estoit pas un subject de tristesse pour luy, mais bien de joye, la terre ou cela etoit tombé devant produire des Bramanes, et ordonna en suitte qu'ils naquissent sur l'heur, cequi arriva, car il en nacquit 60000 petits hommes, grands comme le poulce qui se nomment Vailaquils, et ils s'en furent aussytost au desert faire penitence.

Sacrifice du Feu (297).

Cassep, sollicité comme nous l'avons veu par Benta, devenue esclave de Coddrou, de luy donner des enfants qui la delivrassent, voulut donc s'y preparer par un sacrifice du feu, afin d'obtenir du ciel des enfants d'une puissance extraordinaire. Ce sacrifice ce fait de 18 Lakts de bois rare, dont ils mettent 1° moula, 2° poussa, 3° Tala, 4° Pattra, c'est a dire les racines, les fleurs, les fruits, et les feuilles (298). Ces 18 Lakts d'especes d'arbres se nomment en general Rabervena Sebty (299); de plus on y ajoute des Semids (300), qui sont des batons d'un bois particulier longs d'une paulme; il en faut 60000 assorties de chaqu'un un [3]) Semid; de plus il y entre du sucre candis, de la graine de gingily (301), du beure de vache, du riz cuit dans du laict, et de l'orge. Nota que les feuilles,

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[1]) l. qui l'elev.!
[2]) l. ce qu'il luy.
[3]) „un" te schrappen?

dont il est parlé cydessus, doivent etre toutes en forme de trifolium ou trefle. Voila tout ce qui doit entrer dans le sacrifice pour etre veritable et de grande vertu, mais à present dans ce siecle de Chelijouga ce sacrifice ne se peut plus faire veritablement, c'est pourquoy celuy qui se fait à present, n'est plus d'une sy grande vertu; ce sacrifice à present s'appelle Havana.

Autre preparatif de Cassep pour le sacrifice du feu.

Cassep, se mettant en devoir pour faire ce sacrifice celebre, envoya chercher de tout costes les choses necessaires, ce qui fit un grand eclat dans le monde, de manierre que les Deontas et les Vailequils en eurent nouvelle. Les Deontas en prirent grand ombrage et s'assemblerent craignant que par ce sacrifice Cassep n'obtient quelque enfant, qui leur porta prejudice en les detruisant, ou les persecutant un jour, c'est pourquoy, ne pouvant s'opposer au sacrifice, ils jugerent à propos de se rendre amis et du pere et du fils, qui naiteroit ou seroit obtenu du havana. Ainsy ils porterent des presents à Cassep pour aider à fournir au sacrifice, c'estoit de tous les Deontas à qui en porterait d'avantage. Les Vailequils, en ayant aussy eut le bruict et voulant s'attirer l'affection de Cassep, craignant quelque dessastre de la part de celuy, qui viendroit de ce sacrifice, esperant d'en etre apuyés dans leur foiblesse, se mirent tous en chemin pour y contribuer de leur mieux, et aporterent de (la) montagne de Himanchell les 60000 Semids necessaires pour le havana. C'estoit quelque chose d'admirable de voir la charge qu'ils portoient pour leur petitesse, n'estant pas plus gros et grands que la poulce. Cependant, ils portoient chaqu'un deux Semids d'une paulme, l'un sur la teste, et l'autre sur les epaules. Je vous donne à penser de la peinne qu'ils eurent, veü que la montagne d'Himanchell est proche de celle de Merou, qu'ils placent sous l'etoile poulaire, ou ils croient estre le milieu du monde.

Sacrifice et colere des Vailequils.

Comme les Vailequils, fort fatigués, faisoient leur chemin et qu'ils approchoient de chez Cassep, Indrou s'y rencontra aussy chargé de son present à la teste des D(e)ontas, et comme ce jour la il avoit plüe, il etoit resté de l'eau dans un pas de vache assez profond et remply de boue (302), ou un Vailequils etant tombé, Indrou s'eclata de rire de sa chute et de ce qu'il avoit pensé à se noyer. Les autres se mirent dans une telle colere de ce ris moqueur, qu'ils jeterent la leurs Semids, et apres avoir retiré leurs camarades, ils se mirent en devoir de faire une Tonque (303), à dessein d'y faire un sacrifice de feu pour tirer vengence de cette mocquerie d'Indrou, qu'ils pretendoient deposseder par ce moyen. Ils creuserent

donc un fossé pour faire leur Havana, cherchant toutes les choses necessaires et allumerent le feu ou ils mirent leurs Semids, criant à haute voix: s'il y a un Dieu veritable, et sy nous sommes Vailequils, qu'il y ait un autre Indrou, et en meme tems l'Indrassan au trosne du soleil trembla, et Indrou se souvint de la mocquerie qu'il avoit faite aux Vailequils; pour ce subject il s'en fut trouver Cassep avec tous les Deontas, et luy dit tout ce qui s'estoit passé et la faute qu'il avoit faite, dont les Vailequils s'etoient irrités contre luy et s'estoient arrestés pour faire un havana, afin de le detruire, et meme que son Trosne avoit desja tremblé, et qu'il le prioit de faire sa paix [1]). Cassep, accompagné de tous les Deontas, fut trouver les Vailequils, qu'ils apaiserent par de belles paroles, et Indra se jetta a leurs pieds pour leurs faire reparations d'honneur; neantmoins, comme ils avoient deja repandu l'eau ou faite l'Angely qu'il avoit [2]) dit qu'il y eut un autre Indrou, et que cette parole ne pouvoit etre sans effect, ils conclurent que cette ceremonie seroit pour Veneta, afin qu'elle eut un Indrou, roy des oizeaux. Cassep de son costé fit en meme tems son Havana et les deux sacrifices eurent leur effect comme il s'ensuit.

Aussytost Veneta apres les deux sacrifices conçut (304) et devint grosse et au bout de dix mois elle acoucha de deux gros oeufs, que son mary luy recommanda fort de prendre garde de casser avant le terme accomply de 1000 ans, cequ'elle luy promit, mais comme la curiosité est naturelle aux femmes aussy que l'impatience, elle en ouvrit un au bout de 500 ans, et il en sortit un homme nommé Aroun, qui n'estoit formé que jusqu'à la ceinture. Lequel en sortant se plaignait fort à sa mere du tort qu'elle luy avoit fait, et qu'elle se donna bien de garde d'ouvrir l'autre oeuf avant les 1000 ans. Cette Aroun, quoy qu' imparfait de la moittié du corp, etoit doué d'une beauté incomparable. Son visage etoit sy eclatant que Indrou en fut charmé et le demanda à sa mere pour en faire son cocher. Elle le luy donna avec plaisir pour cette employ, n'estant pas propre à autre chose faute de jambes. C'est luy qui paroit tous les mattins avant le leve [3]) du soleil, ou plustost selon eux c'est l'aurore.

Naissance de Guedroch (305).

Veneta etant venue sage au bout de 1000 ans, le deuxieme oeuf s'ouvrit de luy meme, et il en sortit un grand oizeau parfait nommé Guedroch, qui prit d'abord son vol, et pour se faire connoitre se

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[1]) lees: la paix.
[2]) l.: qu'ils avoient.
[3]) l.: lever.

fit croitre à l'instant d'une grandeur si extraordinaire, que de la terre il touchoit au ciel, dont les Deontas epouvantés prirent ombrage, crainte [1]) qu'il ne leur en voulut, et leur dit alors de ne rien craindre, et qu'il n'etoit pas né pour faire du mal aux Deontas, mais pour leur faire du bien, et leur rendre service, mais voyant cependant leur peur continuer, il diminua sa grandeur et se rendit a l'ordinaire et vint se placer aux pieds de sa mere pour la decharger du service de son esclavage, qui etoit principallement de porter au col les enfants de Coddrou, qui etoient les serpens, les promenant tantost dans l'air, tantost dans les abismes et sur terre, selon le commandement de Coddrou, qui en cela etoit insuportable, de façon que Guedroch ne servoit à tout cela qu'à contre coeur et ne sçachant pas la cause de l'esclavage de sa mere, quoy que femme de Cassep. Comme l'autre il la luy demanda et en connoissant l'injustice, il resolut de manger tous les serpens en faut de Coddrou. Ainsy l'ordre etant un jour donné de les promener, il les porta sy haut, que le soleil, qui craignoit aussy quelquunes de ces impertinences, avec quelques goutes d'Amroust les resussita; or cecy rendant la volonté de Guedroch inutile, il conseilla à sa mere de demander à Coddrou ce qu'il luy demandoit pour sa liberté, surquoy l'autre luy demanda l'Amrout. Veneta l'ayant dit à son fils, il se resolut de combatre les Deontas et d'enlever de force l'Amrout, qu'ils gardoient à veüe; mais ayant besoin de grandes forces pour de tels desseins, il mangea bien des Geans et d'autres choses, car comme il etoit d'une grandeur extraordinaire, il ne pouvoit se resussiter de peur, à quoy sa pauvre mere Veneta ne pouvoit [2]) suffire, luy enseigna une isle, dont les Gentils ont perdu le nom (308), dont tous les habitans alloient prêcher [3]) à une certaine heur, elle luy dit de s'y envoler et de les manger tous à la reserve d'un Bramane, qui, etant serviteur de Dieu, le feroit mourir, s'il l'avaloit, et que pour le connoitre il s'apercevroit de luy, lorsque l'ayant dans sa gorge, elle lui cuiroit beaucoup. Ainsy cet enorme oizeau, ayant tout devoré ce qui etoit dans cette isle et venant avaler le Bramane et l'ayant au neüd de la gorge, il le voulut alors rejetter, mais il ne le voulut pas, disant qu'il vouloit rester avec sa femme, qui etoit desja descendue dans le ventre, mais Guedroch pour le faire sortir, luy dit d'alonger sa main et de prendre celle de sa femme et de l'amener avec luy, ce que fit le Bramane, qui s'appeloit Gougely (307), auquel l'oizeau

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[1]) d. i.: de crainte.
[2]) l. pouvant?
[3]) l. pêcher?

demanda pardon, le priant de ne luy point donner de malediction pour la faute qu'il avoit fait sans le connoitre. Les Gentils assurent avoir encore aujourd'huy des Bramanes descendus de ce Gougely. Cependant (308) Guedroch, n'estant pas encore rassasié, s'en fut consulter son pere Cassep, qui etoit à faire penitence au desert, qui le voyant luy demanda, ou il vouloit aller, il luy decouvrit son dessein d'aller au Souvergue ou Royaume du Soleil chercher l'Amrout, pour rendre la liberté à sa mere, mais qu'ayant encore faim, il voulut bien luy donner à manger ou luy enseigner ou il pourroit trouver. Cassep luy designa un lieu dans la Gange nommé Galleky (309), qu'ils appellent Ariaracter, du coste de Katemier, ou il y avoit quantités des plus grands elephants et des crocodrilles gros comme des ballenes, et pour plus d'intelligence il faut eclaircir se suject.

Gé et Gibé metamorphosés et leurs combats.

Un certain Bramane, grand Saint, eut deux enfants Gé et Gibé (310), qui firent aussy de grandes penitences et sy meritoires qu'ils obtinrent de Dieu le privileige de le faire descendre luy meme du ciel pour luy faire le Posa et leurs sacrifices; or le Raiamoroum (311), en ayant entendre parler, les fit venir, leur fit un sacrifice de feu à l'ordinaire et les pria d'accepter une somme d'argent, qu'ils refuserent, mais il les conjura de la vouloir prendre au moins pour la distribuer aux Bramanes; à quoy ils consentirent, mais l'ainé, voulant prendre les Dieux fiers [1]) de cet argent, et le cadet la moittie, ils s'echauferent ladessus et le puisné dit à l'autre: sy vous prenéz la moittie de cet argent, je prie Dieu que vous deveniez poisson. L'autre la voulant avoir luy repondit: si je deviens poisson, tu deviendras elephant. Le parole de deux si grands Saints ne pouvant etre nulle, ils se trouverent metamorphosés avec une grande rancune l'un contre l'autre ainsy que les Dieux de l'antiquité Romaine. Le 1er devint cocodrille, et s'alla jeter dans le Gange au dessus de la province de Pattena, qui s'appelle Galleky, et l'elephant ayant soif y fut boire, et le susdit poisson s'y trouvant et ne respirant que vengeance, fut prendre son frerre l'elephant par le pied pour le tirer dans l'eau et le tuer. L'elephant de son costé faisoit tous ses efforts pour obtirer le poisson à luy, mais leurs forces etant egales, ils demeurerent 5000 ans à se battre, surquoy quantité de l'elephants et de poissons s'assemblerent de toute part pour avoir la divertissement de leurs combats. Enfin apres un sy long tems ils se souvinrent de Dieu et l'invocquerent, qui n'ayant

[1]) lees: les deux tiers.

pitié des coups qu'ils se donnoient, fut trouver le Soudersinguechaker (312), qui est cette roue qui est dans la main de Tezomé mazcoub, et luy ordonna de les separer en coupant au milieu des deux. Etant donc separés, il parut en l'air deux palanquins du ciel tout remplis de lumiere, et en ayant quitté leurs corps de cocodrille et d'elephant, il furent enlevés dans le Ciel et furent mis à la porte du Paradis, ou furent faits Poholis [1]), ou portiers, possol voulant dire porte (313). Or ces palanquins celestes volerent dans les airs de leur propre mouvement; ils les appellent Beman (314). Dieu qui avoit en [2]) l'ingreable [2]) les penitences de Gé et Gibé, voulut eterniser leur memoire dans le ciel, et les consacra [3]), luy donnant ce privileige, que tous ceux qui iroient s'y laver, iroient droit au ciel et que toutes les pierres et cailloux qui y naiteroient, auroient chaquune au milieu un Tollas d'or (315), le 2½ font l'once de France, et audessus se trouveroit imprimé un Soudersingehakker et une autre dans la ditte pierre, auxquelles ils donnent le nom de Saligrame, qui en langue Bramane veut dire: Salut de tous (316). Il faut bien marquer icy le respect des Gentils pour les cocodrilles, attribuant une grande sainteté à ceux que ces monstres emportent en se baignant, croyant que c'est par l'ordre de Gé, un des Poholis du Souverge, et comme ce malheureux endroit en est rempli, il en perit tous les jours une quantité effroiable reputée saints en deux manierres: premierement pour avoir eté enlevé par le cocodrille, qui leur est partout un bon signe, en 2° lieu, d'estre morts dans une eau sy saincte et sy salutaire; ils assurent que tous les cailloux qui sont dans ce fleuve, ont cet or au milieu, que les gens du pays sçavent en tirer et les rejetter ensuitte; que sy l'on veut par devotion avoir de ces pierres saintes et entierres, il faut donner un Tollas d'or au Prince du lieu. Elles sont dans tout l'Indoustant dans une sy grande veneration, qu'il n'y a que les Bramanes qui les peuvent garder et toucher, representant, à ce qu'ils disent, la Divinité. C'est pourquoy ils font tous les jours la Posa à cette pierre et elle leur sert d'Idole. Il reste encore à dire sur la sainteté particuliere de ce lieu et de cet endroit du Gange, que les riches Gentils en font venir de l'eau, de meme que nous faisons en Europe venir des eaux mineralles d'une province a l'autre. Ils la transportent dans des flacons bien cachetéz avec les sçeaux des gouverneurs du lieu et des certificats des Bramanes, bref avec toutes les suretés

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[1]) Of Possolis?

[2]) er staat eu l'ingreable (?).

[3]) Dit is niet begrijpelijk. Er is zeker iets uitgevallen.

qu'ils peuvent prendre pour qu'ils ne leur en soit point donné de supposé, et elles leur revient à des sommes considerables selon le chemin.

Guedroch prend un cocodril et un elephant (317).

Cassep, tant pour donner suffisamment a manger au voraxe oizeau son fils, luy enseigna donc le lieu, ou tout fraichement se venoit [1]) de rendre ce fammeux combat, ou etoit encore une multitude d'elephants et de cocodrilles, venue pour en etre spectateur. Guedroch s'y transporta et enleva dans une de ses serres un crocodille, et dans l'autre un elephant, et alla avec sa proye percher sur un grand arbre, nommé Rouhenpast (318), d'une sy grande etendue, que la branche sur laquelle il etoit [2]) longue 4000 lieues (319); dans cette meme branche s'estoient mis les 60000 Vailequils, dont nous avons parlé, et faisoient la penitence pendus par les pieds (320), et Guedrouche, arrivant avec rapidité rompit la branche, ou voyant tous les Vailequils, il la retint en l'air par son bec, de peur qu'ils ne tombassent à terre et luy donnassent leur malediction, et l'emporta ou etoit son pere, pour prendre son conseil. Cassep fut fort surpris de cette avanture et s'en fut parler aux Vailquils et leur fit excusses pour Guedrouch, les priant de ne luy donner aucune imprecation, et qu'ils les remetteroient [3]) ou ils voudroient, surquoy ils luy pardonnerent de bon coeur et prierent Guedroche de ne les point mettre à terre, et il les porta sur une montagne que luy enseigna son pere Cassep (321).

Montagne d'Himanchell et de Merou (322).

Cette montagne est située vers le pole dans le pied de la montagne Merou. Il y fait un froid sy excessif, qu'on n'y voit encore aucun arbre et qu'il n'y eut aucun animal, tout ce qui y va se reduisant en eau; c'est qu'ils pretendent que plusieurs de leurs grands Saints qui y sont allés, se sont reduits ainsy; or la montagne Merou meritte aussy que l'on la decrive. Elle est, disent ils, inaccessible, personne ne la pouvant regarder, etant toute d'or et couverte de neige, scituée immediatement au dessus du pole arctique; elle est sy haute, qu'elle penetre dans les cieux, les 7 planettes y ayant choisi leur demeure. Enfin Guedroch, y ayant posé les Vailquils, qui choisirent ce lieu pour y faire penitence à cause de sa sainteté, et n'y trouvant ny hommes ny animaux, qui put blesser, il y mangea son elephant et son cocodrille, et s'etant achevé de remplir le jabot, il se mit en

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[1]) het hs.: ce menoit.
[2]) lees: etoit, etoit.
[3]) l.: qu'il les remetteroit.

devoir d'aller dans le Souvergue. Remarques. Quoy que ces fables ne soient que faussetes des plus grossieres, elles semblent avoir quelque fondement, car il paroit que ces Gentils, ayant eu dans son commencement quelques connoissances de l'Astrologie, ont composé ces histoires pour en faire leurs figures, cequi avec les tems joincts à leur ignorance du vray Dieu, leur est devenu un culte qu'ils conservent aujourd'huy par leur opiniatreté. Par exemple, ce qu'ils disent de Cassep ne convient il pas à l'oizeau qui dans le globe celeste est scitué aupres de Cassiopea ou se trouve encore le cocher, frerre de cette oizeau, demy homme transporté dans le ciel par Indrou, pour luy servir de cocher, la balene et la beste sauvage du globe se rapportent au crocodrille et à l'elephant, que cette oizeau enleve dans l'Imanchell voisine du Souvergue; pour les deux frerres Gé et Gibé, portiers du ciel, ils ont rapport à Castor et Pollux; pour le cheval, qui sortit de la mer, il rapporte à Pegase, l'Amrout ou liqueur de l'immortalité, ne pouroit elle pas etre cette rozée sy bienfaisante aux biens de la terre; qu'ils disent [1]) etre dans un vase gardé par des serpents, n'est ce pas ce qui est marqué par cette coupe nommé Crater sur le globe apuyé sur le corps du serpent. L'on poura faire alieurs les autres remarques sur ce beste. Je reprends le fil de l'histoire. Guedroch, ayant dont le jabot plein, pour s'elever en l'air fit un sy grand effort, que tout le Souvergue en trembla, la couronne d'Indrou, qu'ils nomment Mokoult, tomba de dessus sa teste, il sortit du feu du ciel (323), et tout trembloit sy fort, que personne n'etoit ferme sur ses pieds. Indrou, tout epouvanté de ce desastre, courut aussitost consulter Berespont leur pontif, qui luy dit franchement (324): souvenez vous qu'un jour vous vous mocquates d'un Vailquil, qui tomba dans le pas d'une vache remplye d'eau, et du Havana, que les Vailquils firent au suject; c'est de la force de ce Havana que tout cecy procedde, et c'est pour venger cet affront que vient icy Guedroch pour vous ravir l'Amrout, et vous ne pourez luy resister. Le plus sur est que vous et tous les Deontas preniez la fuite; à quoy Indrou ny les Deontas ne voulurent consentir, aimant mieux tout risquer que de commettre une pareille losiveté [2]). Ils songerent donc a se fortifier, et prirent (325) à leurs soldes plusieurs Deitas, qu'ils poserent sur les chemins pour empecher l'entrée du Souvergue. Ils etoient tous armés d'armes de penitence, c'est à dire que tel n'avoit qu'à commander et pouvoir faire tomber une pluye de feu, tel d'une seule parole en pouvoit faire

[1]) l.: qu'ils le disent.
[2]) l.: une pareille oisiveté.

tomber une de pierres, une autre de lances, ainsy du reste; ils firent outre cela des palissades de 100000 gros arbres, ne donnant nulle entrée dans leur ville aux troupes auxiliaires des Deitas; ils disent cette ville carrée flanquée de 4 grands bastions ceintrés de fortes murailles avec quatres portes l'habitation des Deontas, est [1]) joignant les murs laisant au milieu une grande place d'armes fort spacieuse, au coin de laquelle est un autre endroit particulier, ou est gardé l'Amrout au milieu de la place le palais d'Indrou. Voila comme ils decrivent la place; de cette place ils posterent sur les rempars et dans les bastions trente trois couroux de Deontas pour les deffendre. Indrou se retira dans le chateau avec quelques troupes d'elites, la garde de l'Amrout etoit outre cela infiniment plus fort et par trois lieu [2]) aussy etoit elle comme imprenable; elle etoit d'abord entourée de murailles et au dedans une roue de feu, qui bruloit de 4 lieues de loin du feu le plus subtil; ensuitte on trouvoit la porte de deux [3]) formidables serpents baziliers, l'un nommé Teucou et l'autre Chevana (326), des yeux desquels sortoit un poizon et un feu si penetrant, qu'ils tuoient de leurs regards d'une lieu loin. Il y avoit encore un Soudersenguekkaquer, dont j'ay parlé, rempli de razoirs, et qui en faisoit l'exercice et tournoit sans cesse (327), et au milieu de tout cela etoit l'Amrout dans une coupe. Mais Guedroch, s'approchant du Souvergue, renversa d'abord toutes les baricades. Les Geans (et les) Deitas eurent beau se vouloir se deffendre, ils furent forcés de se sauver. Guedroch s'avance, et les murailles du Souvergue tombent à son arivée, les Deontas sont renversés. Cependant Indrou fait forme et veut resister, mais il se voit renversé avec son palais, la force de Guedroch ne trouvant rien de capable à luy resister; bien [4]) plus Indrou, se voulant servir de ses armes, elles se brisent; enfin les murailles de l'Amrout se renversant, mais la force ne pouvant rien contre la roue de feu, les serpents et le Soudersinguekkaguer, quoy que le feu, les pierres et le fer ne pussent rien contre Guedroch, il eut recourse a la ruse: ayant attentivement contemplé ce feu deffenseur de l'Amrout, il se produisit autant de bouches qu'il y a rivierres au monde, sçavoir 990 (328), il y va d'un oeil rapide, les tire dans chaqu'unes de ses bouches sans rien avaler, et avec cette grande quantité d'eau revint et detiguit [5]) facilement la roue (328), et pour se garantir du regard

[1]) lees: et.
[2]) onzeker!
[3]) l.: on trouvoit à la porte deux.
[4]) hs.: resister bien.
[5]) Zoo! (l. eteignit?)

venimeux des animaux, il bat des ailes avec une telle force, qu'il eleve un nuage de poussiere, dont les serpents se trouvent aveuglés, et les bat tant du fouet de l'aille, qu'il les laisse comme morts sur la place. Pour le Soudersinguekkaquer, ne le pouvant empecher de tourner, il se fit petit comme un moucheron, se fut attacher à la roue, monta peu à peu, et se glissant entre les tranchants, il passa outre; de cette façon Guedroch etant entré victorieux au dedans, se saisit de l'Amrout, la mit sur sa teste, et se glisse entre les razoirs de la roue; mais pendant le tems qu'il luy avoit fallut aller querir l'eau, combattre et esteindre et le reste, les Deontas, revenus de leur premiere deffaite, s'estoient ralliés et fortifiés d'un nouveau secour de Deitas superieur aux premier, et s'estoient emparés des passages, les chefs meme en personne, sçavoir Agné, Persapetizon, Barenna, Anguira, Brama Pomha, Sersety Bayguebam Rakeh (329) avec leur suite et surtout Indrou comme le plus interessé, qui ayant rompu ses armes au premier chocq, s'en etoit pourveu de nouvelles. C'est ce qu'il faut expliquer avant de passer outre, il (330) alla donc, sytost qu'il se vit desarmé, consulter Brama, qui luy dit de prendre des os de Daliche Brama, grand penitent et grand Saint, qui etoit demeuré debout sy longtems en oraison, que ses pieds avoient pris racinnes comme un arbre, la mousse crut sur luy et il jetta des branches, les oizeaux vinrent nicher dans ses oreilles, et les serpents dans ses cuisses, sans que toutes choses le pussent faire desister de sa prierre; pourquoy ses os pour recompence reçurent le privileige de ne se pas casser par quelque effort que ce fut. Indrou luy fut donc demander de ses os, qu'il le tira luy meme sans souffrir de douleur, l'assurant que quiconque en seroit frappé, en moureroit, mais qu'il ne s'en servit pas en toutes sortes d'occasions, seulement quand il auroit affaire à un ennemy d'une force extraordinaire. Cependant Guedoch, passant par tout, se mocquoit de tout ces vains efforts. Indrou l'ayant frappé deux fois, Guedroch se tira les deux plumes (331), qu'il avoit touché, et les luy jetta en riant. Les Deontas les ramasserent et ne se pouvoient lasser d'en admirer la beauté; ils les appellerent Souppera (332). Depuis ce tems la Guedroch prit aussy ce nom la. Sur ces entrefaits Visnou accourut (333) au secours des Deontas et attacqua Guedroch avec un courage incroyable, mais il n'y gagna pas plus que les autres et ne les [1]) put vaincre Visnou ne soit pas surpris de voir un oizeau resister à ses efforts, et crut melieur pour son honneur de faire amitie avec luy que d'en faire de nouveau, il mit bas les armes, s'approcha de Guedroch avec

[1]) l.: le. Het onmiddelijk volgende is niet in orde!

caresse, le felicita sur sa force sans avoir but l'Amrout comme les Deontas se fait resister seul à tant de couroux de Deontas armés et les vaincre sans craindre ny le fer, ny le feu, ny la mort; ensuitte par un compliment à la mode des gens de l'Inde, le prie de luy demander tout ce qu'il voudra de luy, à quoy Guedroch luy repondit, que se seroit tout ce qu'il auroit pu faire s'il avoit ete vaincu, mais que luy meme luy fit quelques demandes. L'autre luy demanda de pouvoir monter sur luy, ce qu'il luy accorda en le promenant tout qu'il voulut. Guedroch ne luy demanda en echange que de se mettre sur son etandar, ce qu'il obtint aussy et il prit congé de luy pour vacquer à ses affaires. Sur ces entrefaites Indrou vint aussy voir Gueroudh et ne songeant plus à faire la guerre, le pria de luy rendre l'Amrout. Guerodh, gagné par cette courtoisie, luy dit qu'il en avoit un peu à faire pour le present, (334) mais qu'il pourroit la reprendre ensuite. Gueroudh quitta donc Indrou, tout glorieux de sa victoire, et laisant l'autre fort triste de la perte de l'Amrout, cequi le fit resoudre de le servir et de le suivre de loin pour voir ou il la metteroit, afin de la reprendre d'une façon ou d'autre. Ainsy Gueroudh l'ayant enlevée, la fut porter à sa mere, qui l'attendoit avec bien de l'impatience pour se delivrer des peinnes de l'esclavage, et lorsqu'elle eut reçu l'Amrout elle la fut aussitost porter à sa maitresse Coddrou, qui voyant ce qu'elle souhaitoit tant, luy rendit la liberté; mais Indrou, qui n'etoit pas eloigné, suivant partout son Amrout, prit la forme d'un Bramane (335) et la vint visitter, la felicitant sur son bonheur, puisque par ce moyen elle pouvait se rendre immortelle. La pauvre Coddrou, se sentant flattée des paroles de ce faux Bramane, le reçut fort bien, luy se remis [1]) aussitost sur les eccellences de l'Amrout, adjoutant qu'on la devoit traicter avec honneur et le dernier respect, qu'avant que d'en boire elle devoit se bien purifier, et s'aller laver à la rivierre, pendant quoy il se chargeoit de la bien garder, ce que croyant trop facillement, elle s'y en fut avec tous ses enfans, les serpents, mais le faux Bramane prit la fuite et remporta l'Amrout dans le ciel, la remit dans son lieu avec sa garde ordinaire.

Nous avons rapporté jusque icy avec detail tout ce que les Gentils du Bangala croyent s'estre passé dans le 1er age du monde (336), surquoy ils se reduisent à croire sommairement qu'en ces premiers tems il ne se trouvoit aucune infidelité, qu'on ne sçavoit ce que c'estoit que le mensonge, de la trahison, que la seule veritté y etoit connue, qu'on y [2]) reconnoissoit que les ordres de Dieu

[1]) Zoo!
[2]) l.: qu'on n'y.

contenus dans les 4 Veidas, qu'il n'y avoit aucunne querelle entre les maris et les femmes, que les enfans obeissoient à leurs peres et meres, les frerres et soeurs vivoient en paix, toutes les pensées des hommes ne tendant qu'à honnorer Dieu, qu'à le prier et à faire penitence, loin de songer à amasser des richesses. Enfin c'estoit un siecle d'or. La vie duroit au moin 100000 ans; quantités de personnes quittoient le monde et se retiroient dans le desert, ce qui fit que plusieurs acquirent un sy grand degré de sainteté, qu'ils auroient obtenus de Dieu le don de resuscitter les morts, de faire mourir ceux qu'ils vouloient, de seicher la mer et la changer en terre, de faire descendre le soleil et la lune du ciel, d'en arrester le cours, de changer les hommes en bestes et les bestes en homme, enfin d'une fourmy en faire [1]) un elephant. Dieu faisoit tout ce qu'ils souhaitoient, bref dans cette age heureux il se trouva 8.800.000 nourrissons de cette force et sy puissants, qu'ils pouvoient aller au ciel et revenir en terre à leur volonté. Quant au gouvernement, il etoit sy juste qu'on ne sçavoit pas meme le nom de l'injustice; on y vit jamais de voleurs; auroit on eu pleine sa maison de pierrerie et d'or ou d'argent, on dormoit en sureté de jour et de nuict, la porte ouverte; une femme auroit pu se promener toutes les nuicts sans crainte, un pauvre demandoit son droit au riche sans craindre la fauveur; enfin tout y etoit en sy bonne police, que c'estoit juste titre qu'on l'appelloit le siecle d'or. Cet age dura un million sept cents vingt huit mils ans (337). Nous finirons la description de ce 1er de leurs ages par cette histoire. Ils disent qu'un seigneur donna à rente une terre à un pauvre laboureur, qui en la travaillant decouvroit un tresor, duquel ne voulant pas profiter, estimant que ce bien ne luy appartenoit pas, il en donna avis au seigneur du champ, afin qu'il eut à le venir prendre comme à luy appartenant, luy declarant que, n'ayant le dit champ qu'à renter, ce thresor n'etoit point à luy. Le seigneur au contraire soutenoit qu'il luy avoit donné ce champ pour en tirer tout le profit qu'il pourroit, la rente payée. Enfin pour s'accorder ils convenirent [2]) d'aller devant les juges et de suivre leurs sentiments. Mais les deux parties deffendirent si bien leurs causes, que les juges ordonnerent que puisque l'un ny l'autre ne vouloit prendre le thresor, il seroit remis dans l'endroit ou on l'avoit trouvé, et d'ou le prenderoit qui voudroit. Cette histoire est tirée du livre Bramandépourana, tiré avec beaucoup d'exactitude. Ce livre est le 1er des 8 intitulés (338) Pourana, qui veut dire:

[1]) onleesbaar woord: enfre.

[2]) l.: convinrent.

anciens. Outre de ce que je viens de rapporter, plusieurs des Gentils font finir ce premier age du monde Settajouga d'une manierre assez surprenante et en meme tems plaisante. Ils croyent (339) qu'un penitent de ce siecle là, nommé Visuametra, parut devant Dieu sy parfait et sy enpuré par ses etonnantes osterités, que Dieu le dit Seigneur supreme du monde et l'en rendit sy absolument le maitre, que l'on disoit communement que c'estoit le monde de Visvametra, ce qui dura quelques tems, mais que plusieurs grands saints s'estant assemblés avec Brama, ils le virent [1]) trouver, et luy representerent que tout homme ne devoit point s'egaler à Dieu, à qui seul il appartenoit d'avoir un monde. Le Raia du Souvergue, nommé Indrou, se joignit à eux et apuya fort leurs raisonnements, surquoy Visvametra fit de serieuses reflections, et rentrant en luy meme, vit bien qu'il avoit raison. C'est pourquoy il aneantit sur le champ le monde, qui par consequent ne parut plus et envoya les hommes et les animaux vivre dans la mer. — Fin du premier age du monde et du siecle d'or.

Deuxieme age du monde nommé Thittajouga.

Ce siecle, ou plutot cet age, fut bien different de l'autre, ce qui s'exprime par le nom qu'ils lui donnent en leur langue, qui revient à tems deperissant (340), car les moeurs des hommes declinent beaucoup du vray chemin de la vertu, aussy les 100000 ans de vie furent reduit a 10000 ans. En cet age les Veidas ne furent pas sy bien observés, ny la fidelité non plus, la subordination des Castres ne se garda presque plus, ont vit des Bramanes se meler des affaires des Kateris, et ceux cy de celles des Bramanes, aussy les Sousdroust et les Vansas commencerent à confondre leurs offices, en sorte que tout alloit plus mal qu'auparavant, l'infidelité et la tyrannie s'insiñuant peu a peu dans le monde. Les Rois et les Raias firent de tres grandes injustices, ainsy que les Deitas, comme nous l'allons voir cy apres, jusqu'à maltraicter les Saints en penitences dans les deserts, ce qui obligea Visnou, le conservateur du monde, de prendre plusieurs formes, pour soutenir ces saintes personnages ou Rousses contre leurs persecutions.

Naissance de Rama.

Pour bien entendre l'histoire de Rama, il faut premierement sçavoir qu'il etoit et qu'il [2]) fut la principalle cause de sa naissance.

Ravana (341) etoit un Geant d'une grandeur prodigieuse et l'on peut nommer monstre, ayant dix testes d'homme et vingt bras, dont

[1]) l. vinrent.

[2]) l.: qui il etoit et quelle.

il se servoit dans l'occasion. Cette homme formidable etoit roy de Ceïlon, à present sa capitalle etoit la ville de Lemca, sy celebre dans l'idée des Gentils. Or ce Geant ne se servoit de sa force que pour maltraicter les Deontas, pour persecuter les Saints et les Rousses, mais avec un tel ecces, qu'il en tenoit 33 couroux prisonniers dans son isle; cequi le rendoit encore plus insolent, c'est qu'il etoit invulnerable par le moien d'une phiole de l'Amrout, dont un Dieu luy avoit fait present pour recompense des grands services qu'il luy avoit rendu en differentes occasions, d'ou venoit que dans les combats, quand on luy coupoit quelques testes ou quelques bras, il s'en mocquoit en renaisant d'autres à l'instant, de façon qu'il ne pouvoit estre vaincu par aucun homme, et il falloit que quelque Dieu se mesla de la destruction d'un sy terrible Geant. Ce fut Visnou, le conservateur du monde et le protecteur des Bramanes et des Rousses, qui en depit entreprit cette affaire, et qui voulut naitre sous la figure d'un homme par les marques ordinaires; pour mieux faire son coup il se mit donc dans le corps d'un petit enfant au ventre d'une femme, nommée Coussestea, de la castre des Katris, et nacquit au bout de neuf mois. Son pere se nommoit Dessarota dans la ville de Dahiea (342), dont le roy se nommoit Janacé (343). Pendant les 12 premiers jours de sa naissance on fit les ceremonies ordinaires et le nom de Rama luy fut donné, qui en langue du pays veut dire Dieu. Au meme tems tous les prophetes de ce tems la eurent revelation et prophetiserent par tout le monde sur l'enfant nouveau, ne [1]) faisant sçavoir a tous les peuples, que cette enfant etoit leur liberateur, que c'estoit luy qui apres avoir passé 12 ans dans les deserts devoit delivrer le monde de ce prodigieux tyran et persecuteur des gens de biens, de Ravana enfin, et qui devoit mettre en liberté les 33 couroux de Deontas et de Saints, qu'il tenoit prisonniers dans l'isle de Ceilon. Ce furent les esperances qu'ils donnerent aux peuples sur cette enfant avec une indiscible [2]) consolation de ses parents, qui ne furent pas trompés dans leur attentats, dans lesquels il les confirmoit à mesure qu'il avançoit en age; car desqu'il eut un peu de force il s'exerçoit aux armes conformement à la castre des Katris, qu'il s'estoit prescrit de suivre, sa mere estant de cette castre. Or Katris repond à armiger ou homme d'armes. Ainsy on luy donne dabord des armes conformes à sa petittesse, un petit arc, un petit sabre, et le reste à l'Indienne, avec lesquels il fit dabord mils petits gentillesses. Cependant etant un peu crû il se repandit un bruict,

[1]) Dit woord is wel te schrappen.

[2]) l.: indisible.

qu'un Roy des Indes, se voyant sans enfants males, vouloit marier sa fille avec quelqu'un d'une force et d'une valeur extraordinaire, mais qu'il le vouloit choisir, le voulant faire heritier de sa couronne. Ainsy ce Roy, qui s'appella Janaé (344), fit sçavoir son dessein aux Rois et aux Princes des Indes, et que qui voudroit epouser sa fille Cita, eut à venir dans le palais, faire preuve de ses forces et de son adresse. Or l'epreuve consistoit à lever et jetter en l'air un arc et une fleche d'un poid des plus grands. Surquoy tous les princes pretendant se trouver [1]) au jour nommé dans le palais du Roy, mais entre autres le Gean Ravana et le petit Rama, que l'on nomma petit, parcequ'il etoit encore fort jeune. L'arc susdit et la fleche furent mis au milieu de la cour du serail, pour etre l'instrument de trophée de celuy qui meritoit d'epouser Cita. Cependant aucun Roy, Raja ny Prince ne se voulut entreprendre de l'emporter sur Ravana, quy avoit plus luy seul de force et fut prendre l'arc et la fleche qu'il leva de terre à la veritté, mais dont le poid l'emportant, enfin luy retomba sy rudement contre la poitrine, qu'il fut obligé de se retirer avec confusion, rendant beaucoup de sang par ses bouches. Rama, se riant de Ravana, se presenta à l'epreuve et avec le gros doigt du pied gauche leva l'arc et la fleche sy haut, qu'en retombant ils firent trembler la terre. Tout le monde ne fut pas peu etonné d'une force sy prodigieuse dans un jeune homme, apres lequel personne n'osa entreprendre, le Roy fut aussy fort aise de luy donner sa fille Cita en mariage; pour accomplir les propheties, qui disoient qu'ils meneroient douze ans une vie de solitaire, il s'en fut avec sa femme au desert et son frerre Lacamena. Ils y vesçurent tous trois environ 12 ans de fruicts et de legumes. Cependant Ravana concevnoit dans le coeur une forte rancune depuis l'affront qu'il avoit reçu en sy bonne compagnie, ne pouvant par la posseder Cita. Il n'etoit plus occupé que de vengeance et à chercher les moyens d'en tirer raison. Ceque ne pouvant faire à force ouverte il eut recours à la ruse. Ainsy quelques années s'estant passées, et Rama ne se deffiant plus de rien, alla un jour dans le bois avec Lacamana son frerre, laissant Cita toute seule à la maison, dont Ravana s'estant approché, deguisé en Jogui, fut à elle dans cette figure demander l'aumone, que Cita ne manquoit [2]) jamais luy fut porter à l'instant, mais avançant la main le pretendu Jogue avança la sienne encore plus et la prenant par le bras la mit sur son dos et l'emporta au plus vite dans ses terres sans que personne en sçut rien. Cur ces entrefaites Rama de

[1]) l.: pretendants se trouverent.
[2]) l.: manquant?

retour ne trouvant pas sa chere Cita, la cherchant et l'appellant partout, il se douta de quelque trahison de la part de Ravana. Cependant, n'en etant pas encore sur, il continua d'en demander des nouvelles à tous les passants, mais comme il etoit dans cette peine Dieu luy envoya du ciel un grand singe nommé Hemmal (345), qui apres luy avoir donné l'esperance de retrouver Cita, le fit de cette manierre son espion sur cette enqueste. Ceque Rama accepta volontier et luy donna son cachet, afin qu'apres avoir trouvé Cita, elle put ajouter foy auqu'il luy diroit. Le singe, ayant pris congé de luy, s'en alla au Cap Kamorin, ou trouvant la grande mer, et ne connoissant pas bien le pays, au lieu d'aller chez Ravana, il fit un sault jusqu'à Malaqua en s'informant du lieu ou etoit la Royaume de Ravana, et apprenant qu'il l'avoit passé, d'un autre sault il tomba justement à Ceilon, ou apres s'estre enquis secrettement de l'endroit ou etoit Cita, il se glissa dans un des jardins du pallais de Lamca, ou elle se promenoit d'ordinaire, et il la trouva au pied d'un arbre qui faisoit sa prierre à Dieu. Or le singe, pour ne la pas etonner de sa veüe, monta tout doucement dans l'arbre, luy laissant tomber ce cachet en anneau dans les mains, qu'elle reconnut et s'attrista fort, croyant que quelque oizeau de proye l'avoit pris, et l'avoit ainsy laissé tomber par hazard. Dans cette pensée elle leva la teste, et le singe luy dit alors de se consoler, qu'il venoit de la part de Rama, qui n'etoit pas mort, sçavoir de ses nouvelles. Apres cette premiere conference le singe, qui se trouva fort fatigué de la longue traiecte qu'il avoit fait, luy demanda permission de manger quelques fruicts du jardin. Cita luy accorda avec cette restriction, qu'il ne mangea que ceux qu'il voiroit à terre, mais prenant de cette permission occasion de faire tapage chez Ravana, il sauta d'arbre en arbre et jetta en bas toute la moisson de fruicts et brissa tout, surquoy les jardiniers, voulant luy donner la chose, plus ils crioient et menaçoient, plus il faisoit de degast et se jouoit d'eux, ne sortant pas du jardin. En vain tacherent ils de le prendre et n'en pouvant plus, ils s'en furent avertir Ravana, qui tout etonné qu'un singe fit tant de degasts et la nigue [1]) à tant de gens, y vint luy meme en personne avec ses fleches et bien armé, mais le singe, qui sçavoit le peu qu'il pouvoit sur luy, voulant s'en mocquer aussy, se laissa prendre dans des filets tendus expres pour luy, ou Ravana, qui tout etonné le voyant arresté, courut à luy, le sabre a la main, pour le tuer, et luy en dechargea un coup de toute sa force mais fort inutilement, car il ne luy coupa que trois brins de poil, dont s'aperce-

[1]) ? l.: d'ennuis?

vant et voyant qu'il etoit invulnerable, desista de frapper, et luy demanda qu'il etoit [1]) et d'ou il venoit. Mais le singe, le voulant pousser a bout, luy dit qu'il etoit l'espion de Rama, venu pour voir Cita, surquoy Ravana dissimulant sa colere, luy demanda et luy remontrant [2]) qu' estant pris, et ne pouvant jamais echaper, il eut a luy declarer quelle partie de son corps etoit vulnerable, afinque sa mort fut plus prompte et plus douce au lieu de s'exposer a une mort continuelle par les tourments, qu'il luy feroit souffrir, le tenant en son pouvoir, comme il le voyoit. Le singe, voulant aussy dissimuler, luy dit qu'esperant que luy decouvrant sa foiblesse, il ne le feroit pas languir dans les tourments, il luy avoua que sy l'on luy envelopoit la queue du singe ainsy, à la page 9 premiere partie, comme je l'ay rapporté dans le 1er livre de la Religion des Gentils par le Pere Nobili Jesuiste, qui est la meme histoire (346). Apres (347) la desfaite de Ravana et l'incendie de Ceilon, Rama ayant reprit Cita, s'en revint dans la royaume de son pere, et le trouvant mort, resta paissible possesseur, et n'ayant nuls ennemis à craindre, ne se mettoit pas fort en peine de faire garder sa personne, cequi fit que, dormant un jour au milieu de sa cour sans se souscier des Geans dont le pays etoit fort eloigné, voicy que Marcadazou (348), qui etoit prevenu d'un commerce que le singe Hemmal avoit eut avec une balance [3]) dans son visage [3]) apres l'aventure de Ceilon, ce Marcâdazou fut roy des Enfers, entra ou etoit Rama endormi, et l'ayant chargé sur ses epaules, l'enleva dans l'air sans que personne en vit ny sçut rien, sinon deux aigles qui se trouverent en son chemin, lorsqu'il le portoit dans le pays des Geans pour le sacrifier a leur déesse Baganaty. Or les Geans haissoient particulierement Rama, parcequ'il n'avoit epargné aucun d'eux, outre qu'il venoit de tuer Ravana, qui etoit leur allié, protegeant ouvertement les Geans de bien [4]) qu'ils opprimerent, mais ne pouvant rien sur luy a force ouverte, il avoit [5]) profité de l'enlever par finesse, comme je viens de le demontrer. Peu apres cette enlevement l'heur ou Rama sortoit ordinairement ariva, et les Princes, ne le voyant point, le furent chercher à son cabinet, ou ne le trouvant pas, ils jugerent à propos de garder entre eux le secret, de peur que les armées ne se debandassent. Cependant ils se mirent tous en campagne à le chercher sous mains, mais un des premiers qui courut comme le plus fidele

[1]) l.. qui il etoit.
[2]) Zoo het hs.
[3]) l.: baleine dans son passage.
[4]) l.: les gens de bien.
[5]) l.: ils avoient.

au Roy son maitre, ce fut le singe, et vous jugez bien qu'il etoit en etat de courir et de fruter [1]) mieux que les autres, et comme il etoit sçavant et qu'il entendoit fort bien le langage des oizeaux, venant à passer aupres d'un arbre, il entendit deux aigles qui causoient ensembles, et qui, ne se croyant entendus de personne, se rejouissoient du repas qu'ils devoient faire ce jour la du corps de Rama, qu'on alloit sacrifier, surquoy le singe, jettant sa grosse queue dans cette arbre, les deux aigles en voulant en meme tems faire curée, il la retira peu à peu et se saisit d'eux et les interrogea. Ils luy raconterent ce qu'ils avoient vu, sçavoir que Macardazou avoit enlevé Rama dans la ville des Geans, ou ils vinrent l'immoler à leur déesse ce jour la meme. Le singe, ravi de sçavoir cette nouvelle, les remerçia et les congedia et s'appliqua a trouver quelque ruse pour le delivrer, et n'ayant pas de tems à perdre, il prit la figure d'un marchand de drap pour pouvoir plus facillement avoir entrée dans la ville des Geans, qui ce jour la etoit plus soigneusement gardée qu'à l'ordinaire. S'y etant presenté dans cette equipage, les portiers luy en refuserent d'abord l'entrée, mais à force de soumissions il y entra pour gagner, disoit il, quelques paijsses [2]) representant la peine qu'il avoit eu d'aporter sa marchandise de sy loin, il s'en fut d'abord vers la pagode ou il vit le pauvre Rama lié à une colonne en attendant le sacrifice. Sur cela le singe entre dans la pagode et pendant le tems, que tout le monde etoit occupé au preparatifs, il oste l'idole de dessus l'autel et la cachant avec soin, en prit la figure et se mit en sa place et attendit la que l'on amena Rama. En effet l'on ne tarda guere à l'amener avec tous les ornements d'une victime au milieu de tous les chefs des Geans au son des tembours et des hautbois, surquoy la Sainte Idole joua parfaitement bien son role, leur temoignant avoir le sacrifice sy agreable qu'avant meme de le faire, elle vouloit leur accorder quelque grace à tous et que pour cet effect its sortissent tous du temple et n'y rentrassent qu'un apres l'autre, à quoy ils obeirent avec grande joye. Chaquun en entrant se prosternoit la face contre terre. Alors le singe se baissant le prenoit par la gorge et leur tordoit le col, apres quoy il les jettoit dans les lieux communs et sitost que l'un etoit expedié, l'autre ne tardoit guere apres à l'estre. De cette façon s'estant desfaite des principeaux Geans, il sortit dehors et dissipa la populace et delia le Roy son maitre. Il le rapporta dans son palais, ce qui causa de la joye a toute sa cour; mais (349)

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[1]) l.: fureter.

[2]) ? (quelque paye?)

cela ne fit pas cesser les murmures des principeaux du peuple, qui trouvoient à redire qu'il se fut attiré ce sy cruelle affaire, pour retirer et meme conserver une femme qui avoit demeurée prest d'un an aupres d'un Geant infame, qui sans doute en avoit abuzé, ce qui leur faisoit bien de la honte et de la confusion à souffrir. D'abord Rama fit peu de cas de ces murmures, qui cependant augmentant partout ses plus affidés luy temoignerent ce qu'ils croyoient avoir sur le coeur, de ce qu'il concervoit Cita aupres de luy. Sur ces entrefaites il arriva que les marattes [1]) ou blanchisseur, que l'on appelle Dhouly en langue Bengalle (350), ayant disputé avec sa femme luy reprochat, qu'elle luy faisoit porter des cornes, à quoy elle luy repondit sans s'emouvoir, que Rama qui etoit bien d'une autre estoffe que luy, en portoit bien sans scrupule, ce qui etant entendu du Roy, qui etoit proche, il resolut de chasser Cita de sa cour, et des ce moment son amour se changea en haine, mais ne se pouvant resoudre à la tuer luy meme, et ne la voulant pas remettre entre les mains de ses parents de peur de revolte, il resolut d'en charger Lácamana son frerre, qui interessé dans la conservation de la couronne, garderoit le secret. Il luy ordonna donc de mener Cita à la campagne sans [2]) pretexte de promenade, et de luy couper la teste. Lácamana obeit, mais ne pouvant se resoudre à tuer de sangfroid une soeur pour qui il avoit beaucoup de respect, il luy conseilla de fuir hors de son royaume, et de se tenir caché chez quelques Joguis, jusqu'à ceque Dieu y pourvueü de quelque autre maniere, etant la son unique resource pour le present, d'autant que sy on la decouvroit elle ne pouroit evitter la mort; mais avant de se separer Cita avertit son frere Lácamana, qu'elle etoit grosse de Rama, afinque sy cet enfant paroissoit quelque jour, il fut reconnu legitime. Lacamana de retour dit à Rama, qu'il s'estoit desfait de Cita sans luy dire de quelle maniere, et l'on en fit courir à la cour differents bruicts pour calmer les esprits de ceux qui pouvoient etre du party de cette princesse. Cita s'en fut donc à l'aventure sans sçavoir aucun chemin, ce n'estoit pas sans peines d'aller à pied dans les deserts et d'estre exposée a la ferocité des animaux sauvages, etant née fille et femme de Roy, elevée dans toutes les delicatesses de la cour. Elle se trouva enfin pres de la maison d'un certain Bramane Roukky, qui s'appelloit Valmik, qui la reçut avec charité sans cependant la connoitre et ou, son terme etant venu, elle accoucha d'un fils à qui le 12e jour de sa naissance on donna le nom de

[1]) Zóó de tekst, die zeker niet geheel in orde is.
[2]) l.: sous.

Dancous (351) à cause de sa beauté et l'amour, que ceux de la maison et tous ceux qui le regardoient, ne pouvoient s'empecher de luy porter. L'on ne peut douter du soin qu'elle prenoit de ce cher fils, qui l'etoit d'un aussy grand homme que Rama. Or toute fugitive que fut cette reine, elle étoit toujours respectée comme telle des Singes, qui luy furent fidelles; aussy y en avoit il toujours autour d'elle une grande quantité à luy rendre service. Elle fioit meme son fils aux principaux d'entre eux pour le promener et le divertir, cequ'ils regardoient comme un grand honneur et une faveur singuliere.

Un jour que Cita etoit allée à la rivierre laver les langes de son enfant, elle s'endormit, et un singe femelle etant venue, et s'estant mise à caresser cet aimable enfant, l'emporta de son berçeau pour l'aller promener dans les bois. Mais le Bramane Valmik etant venu et ne trouvant point Ancous dans son berçeau ny partout, ou il le put chercher, jugeant du desespoir de sa pauvre mere, fit une espece de petit fagot d'une certaine paille, qui est proprement le Jonc (352) et luy donna la figure de l'enfant egaré, qu'il posa dans le berçeau. Apres peu de tems Cita revenant à la maison, le singe qui l'aperçut, luy ayant raporté Ancous, Sita fut fort etonnée d'en entendre crier un autre dans le berceau, ce que ne pouvant comprendre, elle en alla demander la cause au Bramane, qui n'estant pas moins etonné qu'elle de voir Ancous entre ses bras, luy avoua franchement ce qui etoit arrivé, la priant cependant de les nourir tout deux en faveur du miracle qu'il avoit plut à Dieu d'operer par l'Amrout aussy nommant Sancous [1]) de Jonc par son nom Arcatte (353), elle l'eleva avec Ancous comme son frerre. Ces deux enfants donnoient de jour en jour de grandes esperances, mais venant à dix ans, ils firent reflexion que tous les enfants de leur age auroient pere et mere, la dessus ils demanderent à leur mere, qui etoit et où etoit leur pere. Sita leur dit en soupirant, que c'estoit un grand guerier mais qu'elle ne sçavoit pas sy il etoit encore en vie, y ayant un tems considerable qu'elle n'en avoit eut aucune nouvelle, les voulant contenter par la en dissimulant son infortune. Mais ces jeunes gens à ce mot de guerrier se sentant augmenter le courage, demanderent des lors des armes pour s'exercer, voulant suivre un jour la profession de leur pere, et cette noble emulation donna à Sita esperance que ses enfants la tireroient un jour du miserable etat, ou elle se trouvoit reduite. Elle leur achepta à chaqu'un un arc, des fleches, un sabre, un Kataris (354), et un bouclier. Des qu'ils les eurent, ils

[1]) lees waarsch.: par l'Amrout. Aussy nomment l'Ancous.

ne sortirent plus de l'ecole des armes, et s'exercoient l'un et l'autre sans cesse et se rendirent dans peu de tems les plus habiles de leur academie non seulement, mais meme de tous les Katris du pays. Pendant tout ce tems la Rama se voyant en paix, et que tout luy etoit soumis, voulut chercher quelques occasions de guerre pour y exercer son valeur et tenir ses troupes du haleine. Pour cet effect il fit prendre le plus fougeux et le plus indompté de ses chevaux, luy fit otter tous harnois et brides, et luy donnant la liberté, luy fit mettre un ecriteau sur la teste (355), que quiconque pretendroit arrester ce cheval, eut a se preparer à se venir battre contre luy, et ayant fait lacher le cheval, il le fit suivre par ses patemards (356), qui sont gens dans l'Inde de la meme profession que nos coureurs en Europe. Il le suivoit luy meme de loin. Ce cheval vint donc lui meme par hazard dans les terres ou Sita s'estoit retirée, et se remontra dans la campagne ou etoit Ancus et Arcatte et en vinrent aux armes; des qu'ils eurent aperçu le cheval fougeux, ils quitterent leurs exercises et furent sy adroits qu'ils s'en saissirent, luy mirent un frein et le monterent. Sur cela les gens de Rama, estant accourus pour les arrester et les faire batre en duel contre luy, celuy qui etoit sur le cheval les mena de telle façon qu'il en mits à terre autant qu'il en vint, de quoy Rama estant averty, il les envoya prier de l'attendre pour en venir au combat singulier, et pendant que Rama rangeoit son armée, l'un d'eux mena le cheval à la maison, afinque s'il leur embarassoit dans le combat, il resta pour mouvement dans leurs valeurs [1]), ensuite de quoy Rama etant perché avec son frerre Lácamana, ces jeunes gens ignoroient que ce fut leur pere, et le furent saluer, l'assurant avec une mervelieuse resolution qu'il etoit prest pour le combat soit en duel ou en bataille quoy qu'ils ne fussent que deux, surquoy Rama, frappé d'estonnement, s'excusa du duel le plus honnetement qu'il put, et proposa la bataille rangée et pour cet effect disposa son armée avec Lacamana, et se posterent tous deux derriere pour donner les ordres à propos; le signal donné, ce fut une chose admirable de voir l'adresse de ces deux jeunes soldats, Ancous et Arcatte, quoy qu'à pied, et de voir avec quel vigeur l'un enfonçoit un bataillon et l'autre renverçoit un escadron, prenoient en flanc les uns, culbutoient les autres, paroient, et se couvroient des coups de sabres et des fleches que l'on decochoit contre eux de toute part, ce qui dissipant un peu cette nombreuse armée, ils attaquoient partout et faisoient un masacre horrible de tout ce qui faisoit ferme dans luy. Rama et Lacamana se voyant

[1]) Zoo het hs.!

enfin abandonné de tous leurs gens, se trouverent obligés de combatre eux memes et à en venir à une espece de duel, ou ayant etés vaincus, Ancous et Arcatte leur couperent la teste et retournerent à la maison chargés de gloire et de depouille. A l'air dont ces deux jeunes heros revinrent, leur mere s'apperçut bien qu'ils revenoient de quelque combat, et les questionnant, ils luy en firent le recit et luy presenterent cequ'ils avoient rapporté de plus precieux, mais helas, quels furent ses cris et ses douleurs, lorsqu'ayant ouvert un coffre elle reconnut le sceptre de Rama. Les enfants luy demanderent pourquoy elle s'affligoit sy fort au lieu de se rejouir d'une sy belle victoire, à quoy elle leur repondit les larmes aux yeux: has [1]), malheureux enfants, qu'avez vous fait, vous avez masacré vostre pere Rama et votre oncle. Surquoy la suppliant de leur pardonner, ils s'excusserent, mais cette femme desolée leur ayant demandé à voir le corps de son epoux, courut avec eux sur le champ de bataille, ou le trouvant avec Lacamana, elle repandit sur eux une certaine poudre qu'elle gardoit avec soin, et les corps se ranimerent, bref Rama et Lacamana resussisterent, et apres avoir repris leurs esprits et se ressouvenant de ce qu'ils avoient fait contre cette malheureuse princesse, ils se jetterent à ses pieds, luy demanderent pardon et la regardant comme leurs bienfaitrice, la prierent de revenir dans le royaume, et Cita oubliant facillement le passé, tendit les mains à son mary, qui reconnut aussitost Ancous et Arcatte pour ses enfants legitimes, et tous ensembles s'en retournerent dans le royaume en grande joye; de bonne foy n'est ce pas la un vray denouement de comedie! Cependant c'est un des articles des plus serieux de leurs croniques et de leurs livres sacrés et la croyance de plusieurs millions d'hommes, devant lesquels il ne seroit pas bon d'en plaisanter. — Un fait particulier de cet age est, qu'il vint au monde un homme Geant des Deitas nommé Sancaçur (357), qui ne sçachant faire pire, emporta les 4 Veidas dans la mer, mais que Rama (358) avant qu'il prit le corps et la figure d'un homme, comme il vient d'estre rapporté, se transforma en baleine, s'en fut dans la mer combatre et tuer Sancaçur et rapporta glorieusement les Veidas et les rendit religieusement aux Brames, bref, c'est icy le siecle qui a le plus fourny de Divinité aux Indiens. — Fin du second age.

Troisieme age du monde, selon les Gentils age nommé Douaporjouga.

Au commencement de ce troisieme age et nouveau monde les Ragulses (359) et les Deitas, qui en furent les premiers habitans,

[1]) l.: helas.

etant devenus tres mechands abusant de la force de leurs temperaments, et le monde allant par une triste declinaison de mal en pis, ils commencerent à comettre mils desordres et meme à tourmenter les Dieux et les Saints, qu'ils ne vouloient pas souffrir sur la terre, ils n'y eut pas jusqu'aux Bramanes, Katris, Vançàs et Sudras que la dissolution ne penetra avec la mesintelligence, à Dieu Veidas, à Dieu moderation et sagesse. Dieu les epargnant dans le commencement, et les voulant rappeller à son culte, ne voulant pas les exterminer, reduisit leur vie ou la durée du tems de 10000 du monde precedant à 1000 et sucitta à ces premiers pecheurs les Ragusses et les Deitas, qui etoient l'oeuvre de ses mains; leurs sussita, dis je, comme des instruments de sa vengeance et de leurs chatiments, mais voulant aussy corriger les Ragusses et les Deitas ainsy que le reste des creatures, et les voulant aussy faire rentrer dans l'observation de sa foy, il crea un homme nomme Trierma (360), à qui il donna en le voyant [1]) au monde un pouvoir absolut, voulant qu'il represanta sa majesté divine et son image, de façon que le sage depositaire de la supreme sagesse, apres avoir enseigné le chemin du ciel, recompençoit chaqu'un selon ses ordres en voyant selon leurs desirs les uns au ciel ou donnant aux autres des biens sur la terre conformement a leur meritte, mais en protegeant ainsy les Saints, il sçait aussy chatier les mechants et les desobeissants tels qu'etoient les Ragusses et les Deitas, car il les envoya en enfer et delivra les Dieux et les Saints de leurs tirannies; ce fut donc par ses soins que cet age si troublé du monde dans le commencement s'acheva en paix et tranquilité, apres avoir duré 864000 ans de sa destinée. Dans (361) la province de Hastanapor il y avoit dans la ville Dindyza (361) un Raia nommé Datarestra, né aveugle, et sa femme nommée Gandhary, se voyant mariée avec un aveugle, le voulut estre aussy pour se rendre tout a fait semblable à son mary, et pour cela elle se banda les yeux (363). Cependant apres quelque tems de mariage elle devint grosse, et son terme etant arivé, elle accoucha d'un fruict semblabe a une citrouille (364), d'ou sortirent, mais en differents tems, 108 enfants (365), qui furent tous nommés Cauvaravas; ils etoient aussy de differentes grandeurs. L'ainé de tous, nommé Durjodhana, fut roy du monde entier. Leur pere Datarestra avoit un frerre nommé Pandou, qui avoit deux femmes, l'une nommée Cunta et l'autre Madry. Cunta eut trois enfants males et Madry, qui etoit d'une beauté sans pareille, en eut deux (366). Or (367) un jour que Pandou Raia etoit allé à la chasse, il trouva

[1]) l.: en l'envoyant.

une chevre et un bouc gazelle en posture naturelle; alors trouvant cette proye à sa main, il tira dessus et jetta le bouc à terre. Ces deux bestes etoient un Saint, mary et femme, et la gazelle, au desespoir de la mort de son mary, croissant les pates, cria vers Dieu de toute sa force, luy disant: Seigneur faite moy justice, vous voyez que sans raison cet infame pecheur a tué mon mary, je vous demande qu'il ait le meme chatiment. Et Dieu exausant la prierre de la gazelle, Pandou se sentit condamné, son visage se noircit, et sans avoir la force de lever ny son arc ny ses fleches, il demeura immobile, jusqu'à ce que peu apres la gazelle mourut d'elle meme. Alors elle et son mary s'envolerent au ciel, ayant terminé leur penitence. Ces deux animaux estoient donc un Saint et une Sainte qui dans leur vie en qualité d'hommes avoient fait quelque faute, pour laquelle ils avoient etés condamnés à faire penitence sans la figure de ces animaux. Pandou fut à sa maison dans ce pauvre equipage; quelques sçavans Bramanes le vinrent visitter pour sçavoir le subject de cette disgrace, qu'il leur conta d'un bout à l'autre. Surquoy les Bramanes, consultant leurs livres, trouverent que c'estoit en effect deux Saints et qu'il seroit chatié [1]) de la meme façon qu'il avoit tué le bouc, de quoy il se trouva fort embarrassé; n'ozant plus voir les femmes par la crainte de la mort, il s'enferma donc seul dans sa chambre. Cependant il dit un jour aux Reines: que ferons nous, nous n'avons point d'enfants pour heriter du Royaume. Elles luy dirent: donnez nous seulement licence et nous ferons penitence devant Dieu, et les ceremonies ordinaires pour avoir lignée, et Cunta invocqua le Dieu Herma, qui est le Raia de la veritable loix du Ciel et elle en reçut Juzistar. Ensuite ayant adoré Indrou, elle en obtint Arzuna, et le vent à sa prierre luy accorda un troisieme fils, qu'elle nomma Bhimasina. Cependant la reine Madry, ne voulant pas rester inutile de son costé, invocqua le maitre medecin du ciel, qui luy fit avoir deux enfans jumeaux, qu'elle nomma Macula et Sedeva. De cette façon par la faveur des Dieux touchés de la grande penitence des ces femmes, Pandou se vit avoir cinq enfants, mais en voulant avoir d'avantage, il s'aprocha de Madry, ou il fut chatié comme la gazelle l'avoit demandé. Apres sa mort cette belle reine se brula avec luy, laissant la garde et la tutelle de ses enfants à la Reine Cunta. L'on nomma tous ces differents enfants les Pandavas, et les 108 autres de Daterestra, que leur mere Gandhary avoit engendré d'une citrouille, s'apellant les Cauaravas, qui etant un peu crue, furent tous mis avec leurs cousins germains les Pandavas chez

[1]) qu'ils seroient chatiés, het hs.

un sçavant maitre en toutes sortes de sciences, nommé Drunancharza (368). Il etoit le 1er de tous les maistres, et servoit à fond toutes les ceremonies, et ce qu'il y a de particulier, il etoit expert dans le fait des armes aiant le secret d'une fleche dix, et de dix, cent, de cent, mil, de mil, dix mils, les multipliant ainsy a l'infiny, de plus en decochant une sur quelqu'un, il jettoit du feu; d'une autre il inondoit tout ce qu'il vouloit d'eau, d'une 3eme il portoit les vents et la tempeste, d'une 4eme il rendoit muets ses ennemis, d'une 5eme il les rendoit immobiles, la 6eme faisoit naitre une infinité de serpents, la 7eme tiroit l'eau des abismes, la 8eme tuoit les personnes les mieux cachés, et ainsy des autres. Il avoit outre cela mils ruses pour la guerre et c'etoit ce qu'il apprenoit a ces 113 ecoliers, mais de tous ceux il n'y eut que Arzouna qui se perfectionna dans le Deuourenda (369) et l'ars militaire, mais il paya bien cet avantage en s'attirant l'envie de tous les autres, mais surtout de l'ainé des 108 frerres Cauaravas, nommé Doujodhana, ce qui fit que hors de l'étude ils avoient toujours quelques differents. Cela meme causa de grandes guerres entre les Cauaravas et les Pandaras. Le Raia Drupeda Peza (370), voulant marier sa fille Drapady, convia tous les Raias du monde de s'assembler, et fit faire un vaze ou chaudiere de cuivre de la grandeur d'un vaiseau à peu pres de la construction de nos Tartanes, le fit remplir d'huile et au dedans du vase avoit fait attacher un gros poisson (371), et y fit mettre grand feu, promettant la princesse sa fille au prince, qui auroit l'adresse de couper d'un coup de fleche l'atache du poisson, le feroit tomber dans l'huile et iroit le regarder bouillir. Les Raias etant assemblés, pas un n'oza s'approcher de la chaudiere de plus d'un trait d'arc, tant l'ardeur du feu etoit violente, l'huile petillant et sautant de toute part, il n'y eut qu'Arzouna qui s'en approchat avec courage et eut celuy d'approcher de la chaudiere, d'y avancer la teste, d'y jetter le poisson d'un coup de fleche, cequi luy fit accorder Drapady au son des tambours et des instruments; ce qu'il y avoit d'admirable dans cette fille, c'est qu'elle etoit toujours vierge, mais Darjodana conçut de la jalousie (et) un tel depit de cette victoire, qu'il commença deslors à faire une guerre cruelle au Pandavas, et dans ce tems la ayant eté je ne sçait par quelle occasion question de partager des terres entre les Pandavas et les Cauaras, pour ce cinq Raias avoient desja etés pris pour arbitres, lorsque Darjodana pretendit n'en pas cedder un poulie [1]), qu'estant l'ainé de la maison, il etoit né Raia du monde d'autant que son pere Datarestra etoit

[1]) l.: poulce (pouce).

l'ainé de Pandou, desquelles les Pandavas memes n'estoient pas fils legitimes. Cependant pour paciffier les choses en apparance il fit semblant de s'en vouloir rapporter au sort, et proposa de vuider la question dans un coup de dez, en ayant de faux tout prest, et joua donc contre Ingistar, qui etoit un homme juste et ne se deffioit de rien, mais Darjoudana, suivant sa pointe, gagna avec les maisons le royaume, les richesses et Droupady meme; ayant ainsy gagné et par la ruiné ses frerres et ses cousins les Pandauaras, il leur envoya des gardes pour les mettre hors des villes et envoya chez son oncle chercher Drapady; elle s'en voulut deffendre, et dit que quelque jour son mari couperoit la teste à cet infidelle Raia Darjoudana, ce que entendant ce tyran, il la prit par les cheveux et la voulut faire depouiller en pleine rue, sur quoy cette femme desolée, ayant emploré Dieu, à mesure qu'on luy ostoit son habillement d'un costé revenoit de l'autre, et Dieu luy fournit tant d'habits, qu'ils en firent presque des montagnes et ne purent jamais mettre nûde une sy pudique Reine (372). Dans ce tems la arriva Scricurna [1]) venant de sa jette à Hastanapor pour le secours de ceux qu'on y opprimoit, et desqu'il parut, les Raias s'estant levés et l'ayant fait asseoir, se tirant devant luy les bras croisés et luy s'estant assis, et prenant la parolle, il dit que Dieu ayant pris cette femme sous sa protection en faisant en sa faveur le miracle des vestements, il falloit rejouir une seconde fois, sinon que la femme s'en iroit avec son mary. Or Darjoudana qui se fioit en ses dés faux, les jetta trois fois, mais il perdit toujours par permission de Dieu; Droupady fut rendue à son mary et a ses frerres, avec lesquels elle s'en alla au desert mais avant que de partir Scricurna, leur mettant la main sur la teste, leur promit, qu'estant de la race des Dieux et suivant toujours la justice, il les appuyroit, mais que pour Doujourdana, qui venoit de la race des Davana (373), et qui ne suivoit que le mensonge, il sçauroit le chatier avec le tems. Les Pandavas tout consolés des paroles, mais le traitre [2]) Douzodana n'en voulant pas demeurer la, envoya plusieurs gens attitrés pour les tuer, mais en vain, car les Dieux les secourant toujours dans le peril, ils passerent leurs douze années de vie solitaire, qui enfin expirée, ils s'approcherent d'Hastanapor, ou le Dieu Scricurna les vint trouver et les assurer de sa protection, et leur donner les conseilles qui leur estoient necessaires; il voulut meme etre leur embassadeur aupres de Dourjoudana, et luy demanda pour le moins une ville pour

[1]) Zoo of sericurna het hs., ook in 't vervolg.

[2]) het hs.: traicte.

leur sejour; cette ville se nommoit Indrasprata; avec permission d'y vivre tranquilles et en paix, mais Dourjoudana n'y voulant point entendre, repondit qu'il ne leur donneroit jamais rien pas meme la grosseure de la pointe d'une eguille de terre, que ce ne fut l'epée à la main, il falut donc se disposer des deux costés à la guerre, et à assembler des troupes. Les Pandavas n'en manquerent pas et la bataille ayant duré 18 jours, il y perit 18.000.000 hommes et l'attaque fut si rude, qu'il n'en resta que neuf personnes, sçavoir les sept Pandavas, la princesse Droupady et sa mere. De cette façon Iustrapandava resta gouverneur du monde, qu'il gouverna l'espace pendant 300 ans avec une extreme sagesse et une nombreuse famille, et les Pandavas s'y rendirent fort recommandables, mais Draporjouga sçachant et justar [1]) voyant qu'il etoit tems de s'en aller au ciel, prit avec luy ses frerres, Droupady et la mers [2]) de Hemenchala [3]), et s'en furent dans ces pays, ou il fait un froid sy excessif, que les montagnes y peuvent venir en eaux, si d'entre eux y disparurent si etant fondue [4]). Insistar seul pour avoir eté amy de la veritté fut aussy seul au ciel en corps et en ame. La seule chose qu'il fit contre la veritté, fut qu'une fois pendant sa vie il montra du bout du doigt la 60eme partie du mensonge (374), ce qui fit, qu'il s'en alla au ciel dans ce doigt la qui se fondit en eaux; ainsy ses frerres, sa femme et sa belle mere n'y furent qu'en esprit ou en ame, leurs corps s'estant liquifié des la terre. — Fin du troisieme age.

Age present ou quatriesme age du monde, nommé Calijuga, ou il est parlé de la venue d'Alexandre le grand, de son invasion, et des conquestes dans l'Inde.

Les Gentils divisent les 4 ages du monde en 4 ages des meteaux assez conformement à la comparaison que nous en faisons, comme il a eté remarqué cy devant: age d'or, d'argent, d'airain et de fer. Ils se croyent donc comme nous dans se siecle dure et miserable, ou l'injustice et la violence [4]), les bons sont exprimés et les mechants triomphent, enfin ou les crimes des hommes sont a leur derniere periode. Ils trouveront suivant leur calcul, qu'il s'est desja ecoulé 4000 ans (375) des 4320000 années que cet age Calijouga doit durer suivant leur traduction [5]); ils disent qu'au commencement de ce monde les descendants et la famille d'Instar, qui

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[1]) ? Er steekt Instar (Iustar) of Insistar in.
[2]) l.: la mère of sa mere?
[3]) onduidelijk!
[4]) Werkw. (bijv. regnent) uitgevallen?
[5]) l.: tradition.

avoit eté conservé pour le repeupler, commencerent [1]) à diminuer, et de Raias du monde qu'il etoient, ils devinrent peu a peu Raias pauvres et ne se virent plus maitre absolus que de quelques royaumes et provinces comme les principeau d'entre eux, comme les Raias Janamis et Paregubita, dont les descendants conserverent la puissance royale l'espace de 148 ans, c'est à dire jusqu'au tems qu'il vint du costé du Nord un Roy formidable, nommé Sicander julearna (376), cequi rend en nostre langue Alexandre le Vaincoeur ou le Conquerant, qui reduisit toute l'Inde à son obeissance, et enfin selon eux tout le monde entier, gardant cependant, pour affermir une sy vaste puissance, la maxime de remettre l'administration des Etats à leurs princes, meme n'en retenant que le titre, ainsy respectant la memoire d'Insistar, qu'il reveroit beaucoup dans ses descendants: il laissa à cette maison toutes les marques de sa grandeur. Or ce Sicander n'avoit meritté de Dieu un sy grand pouvoir que par ses excessives penitences et son zele ardent pour son culte, ce qui le faisoit aimer et respecter de tout le genre humain, grands et petits, et le rendit enfin sy eclattant de gloire et sy victorieux; il avoit une suite digne de sa grandeur, on luy contoit 1.200.000 de chevaux sans les elephants et son infanterie; alors que cette attirail prodigieux paroissoit en campagne, la terre trembloit. Ce fut donc avec cette suite qu'il conquit les vastes pays du nord, du couchant, ceux du midy et l'orient entier; ils disent qu'il n'estoit pas sy occupé du soin de la guerre, qu'il n'ez [2]) eut des arts et de les introduire dans tous les lieux ou ils alloient, qu'il fut le 1er que dans les Indes fit fondre de foudroyantes machines de guerre, qui vomissent et la mort et le feu, qui est à dire des canons. Il y enseigna la navigation, fit bastir des vaisseaux, lever des plans de ville, faire les cartes des routes, et mils autres belles inventions, en quoy ils disent qu'il etoit aidé par son 1er medecin nommé Lucama, auquel par consideration pour ses belles connoissances il donnoit [3]) entrée dans ses conseils. Ils remarquent encore que ce grand roy estoit certain de ses victoires par son grand courage et par la vertu d'un anneau, qu'un Roy predécesseur luy avoit laissé, lequel roy estoit un grand Saint aux [4]) enseignes meme que cet anneau luy servit de cachet, qui est la coutume des Indes, le monde entier y estoit representé et gravé distinctement, et lorsqu'il vouloit attacquer

[1]) Het hs.: commencement.
[2]) Zoo! lees: n'en.
[3]) dormoit het hs.
[4]) Zinscheiding?

un empire, il n'avoit qu'à regarder cet anneau et y remarquant cette empire, il etoit sure de sa conqueste. S'etant donc soumis tout l'Univers, il desira d'en aller voir le bout, pour sçavoir d'ou en sortoit le soleil, contempla sa figure et sçavoir ou il vat [1]) et se voulant absolument contenter, il fit assommer une grande flotte et y fit embarquer toutes sortes de provissions, il s'y embarqua avec les principaux de son conseil Kakim Lucama Okem et Salmana, son precepteur et trois autres des principaux seigneurs, mais apres avoir couru pendant neuf mois les mers, il entre dans une Emisphere sy emplie d'obscurité, que la flotte, ne voyant plus les vaisseaux, ne pouvoit plus se distinguer; ce qui fut cause de ce malheur, fut que l'on ne sçait comment ce sy puissant roy laissa tomber son precieux anneau dans la mer; sur le champ qu'il s'en aperçut, il en perdit le sentiment de douleur et les autres perdant courage, tomberent aussy dans un extreme desespoir; pour comble de malheur, il se leva une sy furieuse tempette, que la flotte s'estant dissipée et tous les vaisseaux en pieces, ce Roy se sauva avec son conseil seul sur le debrie de son vaisseau; dans ce pitoyable etat les flots les porterent insensiblement sur le rivage, ou il y avoit plusieurs pecheurs, qui avec humanité les aiderent à se sauver à terre et les conduisirent dans leurs maisons, leur donnant à boire et à manger, leur demandant qui ils estoient et d'ou ils venoient. Le maitre pecheur reconnut d'abord Sicander pour un homme extraordinaire tant de son port plein de majesté que ses nobles regards et grandes manierres, et sans le connoitre d'avantage il luy presenta sa fille, et luy dit qu'il a sçut en songe, que s'il epousoit cette fille, il seroit plus heureux que jamais. Sicander se trouva avoir eu aussy le meme songe, ainsy il l'epousa volontiers. Or le beaupere ayant un jour peché un fort grand et beau poisson, il le presanta à son gendre pour se regaler, surquoy le poisson ayant eté ouvert, on y trouva un anneau sy eclatant de lumiere, qu'il eclairoit toutes les obscurités du lieu ou ils etoient et en fit present à la fille, qui le presenta à Scicander, qui le reconnut pour son cachet, ce qui remettant la joye partout, ils firent un banquet et donnerent à la nouvelle espouse le nom de Normoholla, cequi veut dire Reine et la tante [2]) et l'on nommé [3]) sur le champ son pere Roy de la mer. Peu apres Sicander et son conseil songerent à s'en retourner dans leur pays, dont ils se trouvoient eloignés de 1800 couzen de lieues ou de 3600. Lacama s'estant employé pour la construction d'un vaisseau, chaquun y travailloit de son mieux

[1]) Zóó!
[2]) Zoo!
[3]) l.: l'on nommait?

et ils en firent un le mieux qu'ils purent en 22 jours et ayant mis à la voile, ils ariverent chez eux en 23 jours de navigation. La nouvelle femme de Scicander devint la principale de son serail, son pere fut fait general des armées et des forces innombrables, souhaits [1]) et conquerans [1]) de trouver encore d'autres royaumes à conquerir et n'en trouvoit pas, mais un jour, regardant son anneau, il aperçoit dans le milieu de la mer une isle, dans lequel etoit enfermé un pot d'eau de vie, de laquelle une seule goute resuscitoit un corps mort; il resolut donc de l'aller chercher luy meme, et fit equiper une flotte, et comme cette isle se trouvoit fort avant au fond de la mer, il se mit dans un coffre de ver, que lui avoit donné Okem Kallemas, et y faisant attacher une grosse corde, y descendit. Cette corde avoit 70 lieues de long. Estant donc descendu a l'isle, il vint au devant de luy quantités de damoiselles de la castre Pandamavis, qui luy aiderent à revenir [1]) son coffre, les jeunes filles estoient belles comme l'aurore, leurs habits etoient remply de roze d'ambres, d'encens et de parfumes. Eller s'asemblirent en troupe autour de luy, ravies de voir un homme de sa façon, elles le conduisirent avec empressement à ala nine [1]), pour le presenter a leur reynne, qu'elles trouverent assise aupres d'un arbre tout couvert de fleurs et un autre arbre tout vis à vis d'elle, au pied duquel reposoit le Gallon ou vaze d'or remply de l'eau de la vie, autour de laquelle, pour veillier a sa suretté estoient rangées quantités de couleuvres cappelles enormes en grandeur, cequi ne laissa pas d'intimider un peu Scicander. Cependant la reyne s'informa de luy de quelle manierre il etoit venu et ce qu'il etoit; il repondit que quoy qu'à la fleure de son age il s'etoit rendu par sa valeur paissible possesseur de tout l'univers, remply de gloire et de victoires, et que se trouvant luy même un homme extraordinaire, il ne luy manquoit plus sur la terre, dont il etoit maitre absolut, que cette eaux de la vie, qu'il etoit venu chercher d'une manierre sy perillieuse, et qu'il regardoit comme un nouveau trophée. Alors cette reyne luy fit mils acoeuilles, et luy dit de remplir un vase, qu'elle luy donna, de cette eau qu'il etoit venu chercher avec tant de cóurage et de danger, ce qu'il fit aussitost, apres quoy plein de contentement il se remit dans son coffre de ver, et ses gens se retirerent, et il reprit la routte de ses etats avec sa flotte, mais y etant arrivé, il ne jouit pas longtems du plaisir que luy devoit causer son bonheur, car plusieurs des grands, ayant conspiré contre luy, le massacrerent et de peur qu'on ne le fit revenir avec l'eau de la vie, ils la jetterent dans la

[1]) Zóó.

mer en cassant le vase ou elle etoit, apres quoy chaqu'un d'eux se rendit le maitre d'une portion de ces etats, ce qui separa la monarchie universelle en plusieurs particulieres, et fut cause de la diversitté des religions qui se trouvent à present dans le monde. — Voila selon les Gentils la fin d'Alexandre le Grand et celle de la puissance imaginaire de leurs Raias du monde. — Fin de histoire des Gentils Bengalis.

Ceremonies des sacrifices des Gentils.

Telles qu'ils les observent à present à Bengalle les Gentils ont differentes manierres ou different culte pour adorer leurs divinités, les uns pour adorer Dieu seul, qu'ils reconnoissent en general pour le souverain seigneur du ciel et de la terre, les autres pour adorer les autres divinités dans lesquelles cet Estre souverain s'est manifesté aux hommes, d'autres pour les Deontas seulement, qui sont comme les directeurs de ce bas monde et qui habittent selon eux non dans l'empiré mais dans les cieux inferieurs, d'autres pour les ames de leurs ancestres en general; ils en ont encore d'autres differentes et affectez selon leurs castres et selon les sectes qu'ils se sont formées; dans certaines sectes ils ne reconnoissent point ny ne se servent point des Bramanes dont le general se sert, dans d'autres les Bramanes seuls font tous les sacrifices, et d'autres castres n'en peuvent faire qu'aux Bramanes meme, et jamais à l'idole ny aux Deontas, auquels n'ayant point de caracteres ils ne peuvent s'addresser directement. Il y en a d'autres qui en font d'animaux qu'ils brulent et dont ils repandent le sang autour de l'autel, et dans certains jours des enfants nées sous certaines planettes, cequi comble d'honneur toute la parente. D'autres ne tuent pas meme le moindre ver et par consequent n'offrent que des fruicts, des fleurs et des herbes, mais plus communement les Gentils de l'Indoustan et de Gouzeratte ne tuent rien et ne repondent point de sang dans leurs sacrifices, excepté en divers endroits de la coste Malbard. Sur tout c'est les princes Sevagis et Angriats (377), qui [1]) sacrifient ordinairement des enfants qu'ils egorgent devant l'idole, ou ils immolent [2]) aussy les prisonniers qu'ils font à la guerre. Or, comme il a esté dit, la pluspart des Gentils reconnoissent les Bramanes et ne peuvent faire des sacrifices qu'à eux pour les disposer à en offrir pour eux, ou, s'il leur est permis d'en faire avec eux pour les morts, ce n'est que sous la conduite du Bramane, qui leur dicte les prierres qu'ils doivent dire apres eux, ce qu'ils se donnent bien de garde de leur enseigner par

[1]) on het hs.

[2]) ou ils l'immolent, hs.

coeur pour les tenir toujours dans la suggestion, ou ils sont de les avoir. Le sacrifice Pouza (378) est le plus commun qui accompagne ou precede les autres. Les castres basses le font aux Bramanes quand ils font leurs prierres, voicy de quelle façon : les Gentils se mettent tout nus dans l'eau, n'ayant que le Dougezin, et y fait la prierre, qui consiste à rouler dans sa main son chapelet qu'ils appellent Mala (379), composé de 108 grains, en commemoration des 108 années de Brama (380). Ils font leurs prierres en roulant leur Malan dans leurs mains dans l'eau, ce qu'ils appreunent par la faveur du Brahame de la maison qui fait d'ordinaire les sacrifices. Voicy en quoy consiste quelques prierres : *stryvent, chourgy onkarnerygean nerakar retoulita seroubleragramm* (381). Ayant ainsy dit deux fois ou plus leur mala, et s'estant bien lavez, ils s'approchent humblement du Brame, qui se tient proche de l'eau, auquel ils font le Posa, qui est une espece d'adoration, apres le Brahame leur dicte, car ils s'en rapportent entierement à luy, ne le pouvant faire valide sans luy ; etant donc devant luy ils leur dit : *Padem sciverpiany*, je te salue les pieds (382). Le Gentil luy repand de l'eau sur les pieds et en boit en peu, ce qui est une ablution qui efface les peches selon eux. Le Brahame dit : *Soudanam sciverpiany*, je te donne du sandal, qui est un bois odoriferant dont ils s'oignent, et le Gentil qui en a de tout broyé dans de l'eau, luy en met sur le frond. Le Brahame dit : *akerta sciverpiany*, je te donne de l'Akerta, qui est du ris crudde trempé dans de l'eau et du saffrane, qu'il luy met au milieu du front de la rondeur d'un petit jetton. Le Brahame dit alors : *Tulessidan sciverpiany*, je te donne le Tulessidan, auquel mot le Gentil luy donne des fleurs ou feuilles de Tulessy, que le Brame se met sur l'oreille droite comme un bouquet ou bien dans son Sindy (383), et dit ensuite : *pouspam scriverpiany*, je vous donne des fleurs, alors le Gentil luy presente des fleurs blanches d'un arbre nommé *akera*, qui est une espece de Jassenium, qu'il met encore dans son seindy, ou sy c'est une guirlande, il se la met au col et dit ensuitte : *dhoump sciverpiany*, surquoy le Gentil jette sur du feu du benjoin et encense le Brame dont les derniers paroles veulent dire : je te donne l'encens.

Sacrifice du Seradcarmin (384) pour les agonisants.

Le malade desesperé et ne luy restant qu'un jour ou moins à vivre, le medecin en ayant averti les parents, on luy fit faire son testament, ce qui s'appelle *Bedherm* (385), et on prepare toutes choses pour le moribon, 1° on achepte des vaches ; l'aumone de la vache est chez eux preferable à toutes autres. S'il en a le moyen, on les orne, par le respect qu'ils ont pour cet animal, d'emboust de cuivre,

d'argent ou d'or aux cornes, d'une couverture picquée sur le corps, d'une sonnette ou timbre au col, les treilions se garnissent de meme avec du cotton dedans, on leur met des anneaux ou manilles de cuivre ou d'argent aux pieds et dans ce beau harnois on les amene dans la chambre du malade; on frotte de fiente de vache deux endroits du plancher de la longeur d'un homme, dont le premier se couvre de paille de ris et d'un linge fraichement lavé et seché sans que personne y touche. Le second est aussy couvert de paille d'herbes et de Tulesy, ou ils ettendent encore un autre linge semblable. Ensuitte on allume deux lampes, au lieu d'huile on y met du beure de vache. Tout ces preparatifs achevés, on raze les cheveux et la barbe au malade, qui, apres cette espece d'habandon des choses terrestres, ne peut plus boire ny manger. On luy lave le corps avec de l'eau froide avec violence et dans cet etat on le met sur la premiere couche, la teste tournée vers le nord (386), on le couvre de cambouy. Ensuitte le Brame vient dire au moribond, s'il est de castre Brahame, qu'il est devenu Saniasis (387), qu'il peut aller au ciel, d'autant que par la vertu de sa foy les pechés luy sont pardonnez, apres quoy il luy dit dans l'oreille certaines paroles qu'ils nomment le Mantre de vedag, ces paroles estant tirées des Veidas; que sy le moribond n'est pas Brame, il luy dit qu'il est devenu Joguin avec la meme assurance pour le ciel en vertu de sa foy, et luy fait prononcer le *mantre chastran*, paroles tirées du Chastran. Ces paroles dittes, le moribond prend les vaches par la queue et en donne une à chaque Brahame, qui l'assistent. Ils ne peuvent jamais vendre celles qui leur ont esté données en ces sortes d'occasions; que si le dit moribond est Brame, on apporte une idole. Les parents s'assemblent autour de la chambre et les Brames lisent les endroits des Veidas, ce qui s'observe aussy par la castre de Katris; que si le dit est d'une autre castre, tous les parents sont assis et disent Ram Ram plusieurs fois, cequi fait un bruict extraordinaire. Lorsqu'on s'aperçoit que le dit moribond est à l'article de la mort et qu'il n'en peut plus, on le lave une autre fois avec de l'eau froide et on le met sur la deuxieme couche, toujours la teste tournée au nord, on le couvre d'un linge blanc et le Brahame apporte un peu d'eau du Gange (388) delayé avec du laict caillée et du Bethel, qu'il luy fait boire bongré ou de force; apres quoy il luy bouche bien fort la bouche avec de l'herbe de Tolessy. Cela fait, il le laisse expirer ou pour mieux dire, etouffer. Sitost qu'il est mort, on lie des bamboux, espece de cannes longues et tres fortes, en travers et en large en forme de claye, on le couche dessus et on le couvre de son linge apres l'avoir lié. Alors le fils, frerre ou plus proche

parent du deffunct prend une masse de farine d'orge ou de ris faite en boule avec du beure de vache et du sucre candy pillé, et la met proche du mort avec la main droite et de façon qu'elle sorte à moittie de la claye du costé droit le long du poulce, cequi est une pratique singuliere de la ceremonie des morts, et parlant a cette boule, qui represente l'ame du deffnuct (389), il luy dit: allez vous en dans le ciel avec vos ancestres; apres cela les parents et ceux de la castre, qui ont assisté à cette ceremonie, se depouillent de leurs vestements, ne gardant que le Dougezin ou un linge passé entre les cuisses et qui fait une espece de ceinture; ils prennent la claye ou le corps est attaché et l'emportent sur leurs epaules dans cette posture demoniacale avec une grande vitesse par les rues, criant partout de toutes leurs forces: *Rampour Bairam, Ram, Kaobay* ou bien *Rangy Ram* et tout cela avec une telle furie que ce spectacle a quelque chose de tres fort affreux et horrible. Or pour le dernier jour ils ont plusieurs coutumes dont la plus generalement observée et meme ordonnée par les Veidas est de bruler les corps, comme il sera dit cy apres. La 2ème est de les enterrer lorsqu'ils manquent de bois pour les bruler, ou qu'on les empeche ou par coutume de secte comme font les Vertias (390) et quelques Jouguis, mais ils les enterrent dans un tronc rond, ou ils les mettent accroupis, les genoux ployez, les couvrant ainsy de terre. La 3ème est pour ceux qui vont sur la mer, ou venant à mourir on les y jette sans façon; quelque fois meme dans les mortalittés, qui sont assez frequentes dans ce pays, ils les laissent dans les campagnes aux bestes feroces et aux oizeaux, et ce par la quantité des morts ce qui souvent contribue à augmenter la contagion, comme il est arrivé depuis quelque tems à la coste Coromandel specialement à Mazulipatan, ou les Gentils attacqués de peste perirent par miliers et au milieu des campagnes, ce qui empoïsonna tellement l'air que les oizeaux et les bestes meme s'en ressentirent et donna lieu aux François, surtout à ceux de Pondichery, de faire connoitre partout la generosité de sa nation par des secours, qu'ils donnerent aux reste de ces malheureux peuples, qui reclamerent leurs charité. Revenant donc à la plus ordinaire des ceremonies funebres, qui est de bruler les morts, le corps enlevé, comme il a esté dit hors de chez lui, le fils ou le plus proche parent le suit, portant dans un vaiseau du feu de la maison du defunct, et s'il ne se trouve pas de parents du costé du male, le Brame fait cet office, et les porteurs du corps estant arrives au lieu destiné, qui est toujours aupres de quelque rivierre, ruisseau ou estang, quelqu'uns le mettant dans l'eau le lavent, en attendant que le bucher soit preparé, ce qui se fait de cette

manierre: on range les buches en manierre de lits, on y couche le corps sur le ventre, la teste vers le nord (391), et par dessus une couche de bois. Les riches employent du bois d'aigle, qui est une aromate de grand prix. Alors le fils ou celuy qui a porté le feu, l'y met et le doit allumer sans souffler avec la bouche, mais avec un linge qu'il agiste et avec de la bouze de vache seichée et de la paille. C'est luy seul aussy qui l'attige, pendant que la compagnie qui se tient un peu à l'escart bourdonnent entre leurs dents: Ram, Ram; et si quelque gros os ne se consume pas, le fils le pousse dans le brazier avec un long baston, et le tout etant consommé, ce à quoy ils ont grande attention, attendu que sy le bucher, qui se trouve toujours assez fournis, se trouvoit brulé en entier et qu'il resta quelque chose du corps, c'est pour eux une preuve assurée de predestination, c'est pourquoy le fils ou parent les met dans un pot de terre pour les enterrer secrettement au bord de la rivierre, ou les jette dans le Gange, ou les y envoye jetter, s'il en est loin et qu'il en ayt le moyen. Or le fils ou autre qui a eut soin du corps du deffunct, jette de l'eau sur le reste du brazier, et prend une boule de farine semblable à la premiere, et refait les memes ceremonies, en disant les memes paroles qu'à la maison: allez avec vos encestres qui sont au ciel. Il ne les a pas plustost dits, que tous les assistants tournent le dos au bucher, s'en fuyant le visage vers le nord, et le fils ou parent prend un pot d'eau sur sa teste (392), fait 7 fois le tour du lieu du bucher, auquel il tourne le dos et, la face au nord, il porte ce pot entre et un peu derrier ses jambes et la casse d'un coup de baston, et fait un grand cry, auquel tous les assistants courent se jetter à la rivierre, et s'y lavent depuis le haut jusqu'en bas. Ce lavabo se fait avec de la bouze et de l'eau, en disant les prierres de leurs castres; apres avoir fait seicher leurs linges, le fils du deffunct s'ecrie le plus haut qu'il peut: L'ame de mon pere est allé au ciel, et l'assemblée s'ecrie: Ram, Ram et reprend le chemin de la maison nud, comme il a esté rapporté cy devant. Mais avant de passer outre, je ne puis m'empecher d'admirer le contraste et l'aveuglement de ces malheureuses nations, qui tendant [1]) jusqu'au scrupule pour le plus petit insecte, menagent sy peu la vie des hommes et n'ont pas plus de charité pour leurs semblables qu'ils font mourir, et desquels ils precipitent l'heur avec tant d'inhumanité, car quoyque plusieurs des plus cruel que de fourer mils ordures dans la bouche d'un pauvre malade, qui souvent, laissé aux seuls soins de la nature et à son temperament, en revien-

[1]) tendent, het hs. In de volgende passage steken meerdere fouten!

droit, luy enfoncent dans le gozier un bouchez d'herbe [1]) Bethel, de Talessy, et cela de toute la force; qui est l'homme en santé qui, etant lié et traicté de la sorte, n'en seroit pas suffocqué sur le champ; avec quelle secousse ne les voit on pas manier avec de l'eau froide comme ces animaux que l'on pelle à l'eau bouillante les cris douloureux de ces pauvres gens, qui pour la plupart ne vivent que de ris, beuvant par ladessus tous les mattins une ecüellée de beure fondu, qui est leur ragoust. Il arrive meme quelques fois, que des gens vigoureux naturellement, mais tombant du haut mal apres avoir eté, comme il est dit, reçus Saniasis ou Joguis, et lavés et portés sur le bucher, venant à sentir le feu, se debattent et sentirent [2]) malgré les coups qu'on leur donnent au premier mouvement qu'ils y font; ce retour à la vie est regardé comme une resurection miraculeuse. Cependant il n'est plus permis à ceux, qui ont eté reduits à ce miserable etat, de retourner à leurs maisons, ny de posseder aucun bien, pas meme de demeurer avec leurs femmes, etant obligés de vivre de leurs jours Saniasis ou Joguis selon leurs castres, et cela aussy, parceque le mantre qu'il leur ont fait prononcer (393), a esté comme une espece de voeux et de profession, contre laquelle ils ne peuvent plus revenir; cequi cause encore un extreme abus contre les regles de la societté et ce qu'ils arrive souvent [3]), que des heritiers memes de miserables enfants à la moindre incommodité d'un homme subornent les Brahames pour leur faire decoire [4]) qu'ils vont mourir, et leur faire prononcer le mantre, les faire razer, et les rendre ainsy malgré eux Saniasis ou Joguis, enfin en bon françois, inhabiles à posseder leur bien.

Ceremonies du retour du bucher à la maison.

Pendant que les hommes vont bruler le corps, les femmes s'en vont de leur costé se laver à la rivierre et reviennent en criant d'une voix dolente par intervalles, os, os, os, qui est chez eux un cris de lamentation, se battant des mains la teste et l'estomach et les genoux. La veuve est à la teste de toute la troupe et d'ordinaire razée, ayant mis sa chevelure sur le corps de son mary pour etre brulée à sa place. Cet usage barbare ayant enfin cessé depuis la conquette de ces pays par le Mogol, cependant il y a encore quelques endroits ou les Nababes ou gouverneurs Maures le permettent quelque fois pour de grandes sommes d'argent, que leur donnent la castre du deffunct. Elles vont donc s'arrestant dans tous les coins des rues,

[1]) Dherbe, het hs.
[2]) Dit is zeker wel: s'en tirent.
[3]) l. waarsch.: est, ce qui arrive souvent.
[4]) ??

ou tous celles qu'[1]) accompagnent la veuve font un cercle autour d'elle recommencent l'os, plaintes et[2]) estant de retour à la maison elles s'oignent d'un bout à l'autre de cendre de fiente de vache et disposent un tison de feu et un vaze de cuivre nommé Tambian, tenant environ deux bouteilles pleines d'eau. Ce vaze est fait de cette manierre: sans anses avec une boule de terre jaune, s'il y est, ou d'autres que l'on jaunit avec du saffrane; et les hommes, estant arrivés à 20 pas de la maison, font un grand crit, afin que l'on mette sur la porte ce qui est necessaire pour le fils ou plus proche parent du deffunct, qui passe le 1er jettant une goutte d'eau sur le tison et sur la boule de terre jaune, dont il en prend un peu avec deux doigts et l'imprime sur le front et entre dans la maison, et tous les parents de costé paternelle en font autant, ceux du costé maternelle venant jusque à la porte sans passer outre, et s'en retournant tout droit apres chez elles. Or il faut demeurer d'accord que ces peuples aveugles, surtout ceux de la secte de Vinchoü[3]), croyent que l'ame du deffunct est à la porte, d'ou elle ne peut partir que 12 jours apres, et que les ceremonies suivantes ne soyent faittes. C'est aussy pour cette raison que pendant ce tems on ne peut rien prendre dans la maison, ou lieu[4]) se trouve dans la necessitté d'ouvrir un coffre, il faut que se soit quelqu'un de dehors, d'ou il faut aussy que viennent le boire et le manger. C'est ordinairement les Brames qui emportent ces choses. Estant donc tous entrés dans la maison, le fils s'en va ou est le mort, et prenant une petite boule de farine, composée comme il est dit cy devant, il parle au deffunct en ces termes: vous avez vecu en paix et avez des pechés pour avoir de quoy à manger et faire subsister vostre famille, mais ils vous sont tous pardonnés, vous etes dans le ciel, et faisant tomber la boule au lieu ou le deffunct est mort, il s'en retire promptement, promettant de ne se mettre nullement en peine de boir et de manger, mais, se laisant gagner par ses parents et amis qui viennent le consoler, ils luy font venir à manger et pour ceux qui sont avec luy. Et sy à la mort d'un homme l'on avoit obmettoit[5]) quelqu'unes des ceremonies, son ame va dans le corps du diable, qu'ils croyent en avoir un, et elle revient à la maison; ils tiennent cela pour vray et n'y manquent non plus pour ceux qui meurent en voyage qu'à la maison; ce que les Brahames

[1]) l.: ou toutes celles qui.
[2]) Zóó!
[3]) Zoo ook in 't vervolg, juist zooals in de Relation!
[4]) au lieu is mij onbegrijpelijk, men verwacht: où l'on of quand on.
[5]) avoit te schrappen.

ont grand soin de leur bien persuader pour ne rien perdre de leurs droits, et comme ils assurent voir souvent des maisons inquietéz des esprits, ils disent que ce sont ces pauvres ames qui demandent des sacrifices et ceremonies, qui etant faits, les maisons sont tranquilles, et que ces ames s'en vont. Or ils distinguent pour les morts deux Paradis, disant que les Brahames vont à celuy ou est Dieu meme, mais que les autres castres vont à celuy des Deontas dans le Souvergue. Le *massica* (394) ou sacrifice du 30e jour, est que le Brame en officiant le tourne vers le soleil levant, parcequ'il doit prier pour luy meme, l'orient etant le costé duquel on prie pour les vivants les mains joinctes et dit: seigneur faite moi la grace d'estre lavé par cette rivierre, puis il luy jette de l'eau sur le corps, ce qui est une obligation inviolable, ils s'en servent aussy dans ces affaires, ils ne relachent jamais rien de ce qu'ils [1]) leur est deub. Cette ceremonie de 13 jours se fait tous les mois jusque au bout de l'an ou 30 fois à la fois à la fin de l'année, sy on en a la faculté et les moiens.

Le *Versekserad* (395) ou le sacrifice du bout de l'an.

La veille du sacrifice le fils du deffunct va convier 13 Bramanes les plus sans reproche qu'il peut trouver aussy sans taches de corps et d'esprit et qui posse [2]) mieux les Veidas et qui n'ayent point de boutons de feu sur le corps, dont les femmes ne soient point grosses, ou n'ayent point leurs mois ou ne soient point nouvellement accouchées. Ces 13 Brames avec le Brame officiant il leur demande [2]) leurs Dougezins pour les nettoyer le soir à sa maison et les y lave et les fait seicher sans que personne y touche, et le lendemain, jour de la aniversaire, tous les parents et domestiques du deffunct nettoyent la maison, la parfument, et la frottent avec de la bouze de vache deseichée et detrempée avec de l'urine d'icelles et de la terre jaune, ainsy que les murailles à la hauteur d'un homme, de peur qu'il ne touche de l'impureté les parents, et la veuve se raze, et la castre se va laver à la rivierre; on dispose une chambre la plus carrée et une grande table de meme au milieu, ou ils posent un trosne nommé *Singuehaussen*, chaque Brahame en a un dans sa maison, le plus precieux qu'il peut, soit de laiton, de cuivre, d'argent et meme garni d'or et de pierreries, il sçavoit [2]) qui valent plus de 1000 pistoles; ils y mettent l'idole de Vinchou et y font leurs prierres. Chaque Brahame a chez luy une idole, qu'il garde dans un endroit secret dans une niche, qui ferme comme une fenestre. Ceux qui n'ont pas toutes les commodites pour cette ceremonie, la

[1]) l.: de ce qui.
[2]) Zóó!

vont faire dans cette chambre, mais ceux qui peuvent disposer d'une autre chambre comme je l'ay dit, et la perfument de feuilles de Talessy. Les 13 Brahames revestus de leurs Doguezins lavés de la main du fils du deffunct et le 14e Brame qui est l'officiant, prend un Doguezin lavé de sa propre main, puis se barbouille le front avec du Sandal, sur lequel il met de la cendre blanche de vache brulée et se met au col un colier de *Rodrachek* ou *Roudracham* (396), c'est un noyeau d'un fruict qui croit à Achim, capitale de l'isle Sumatra; ce noyeau est un peu plus gros que celuy de nos cerizes et que la nature a travaillé à peu pres comme celuy de peschier. Ce Brame vient avec les 13 autres ou est l'idole, et la prie de vouloir bien venir dans un autre lieu plus commode ou on l'attend pour faire le sacrifice, afin de faire entrer l'ame ou ciel, apres quoy il la prend et la met au milieu des Brames, les uns devant et les autres derriers, ils vont en cette ordre dans un autre endroit preparé, lisent les Veidas, et la arrivés, on sonne une clochette criant trois fois: *hara* 3 *sma* 3 *mharena*. Le 1er de ces cris veut dire: misericorde, le 2me: eclatant, le 3me religieux, qui sont trois des attributs qu'ils donnent aux Dieux. Apres ces noms prononcés, ils se portent les doigts de la main droite aux joues et font un bourdonnement entre les dents en trois tons, ce qui fait un accord assez extraordinaire. L'idole estant posé dans le throsne sur la table dans l'autre chambre, on aporte des sieges, 2 du costé du Nord et 2 du Sud pour autant de Brahames, qui representent autant de Deontas et par derriere 7 autres se placent pour representer les 7 dernieres generations du deffunct, c'est à dire ses ancestres, deux escabeaux à la porte, pour representer les deux portiers du Ciel, sur lesquels se mettent deux Brahames ou bien on met dessus un Doguezin, une serviette, un petit bassin de cuivre à grand bord, sinon on en fait un de feuilles d'arbres cousues ensemble, une boule de cendre, une de terre du Gange et une autre de la terre de la fameuse pagode Iogette (397), qui est pres de Dieu (398), sur la table ou est l'idole au levant on met deux carias avec du beure, chaquun ayant deux lampions, et chaque siege un lampion avec une boule de terre. Ils passent ensuite aux *Saniasia* (399), qui est une des plus grandes et des plus secrettes ceremonies des Brames, ce qu'ils non gardent [1]) d'obmettre, etant selon eux la ceremonie la plus utile à l'ame du deffunct. Elle consiste en 24 paroles du *sancas* [2]). L'origine de l'aniversaire vient de Nared, tous se tournent

[1]) l.: n'ont garde?
[2]) Zóó.

vers l'orient et disent les 24 paroles que l'on ne peut sçavoir, ils jettent ensuitte de l'eau en bas, avec le bout du doigt du milieu et le poulce, du costé de l'orient si c'est le mattin, et si c'est le soir, ils la jettent au couchant; puis avec les memes doigts ils s'en jettent sur la teste; tous apres cela se prennent le nez avec le poulce, l'aniculaire et le petit doigt du milieu et l'index sur la bouche fermée, les yeux baissez, ce qu'ils appellent se recoeuillir, et ce qu'ils font pour rappeller toute l'ame dans la teste, restant ainsy une heure entierre, pendant laquelle ils gardent un profond sillence, personne pouvant parler, eternuer, tousser, ou moucher, ces quatres choses estant de mauvais presage, et sy quelqu'un y contrevient, il faut qu'il aille se laver et recommencer la ceremonie. Alors tous se levent et se mettent sur un pied, l'autre apuyé sur le genouil, et demeurent dans cette posture un quart d'heure devant cette idole de Vinchou, apres quoy on apporte une autre table plus basse et plus petite que la premiere, sur laquelle on a mis des vazes separées, des feuilles de Talessy de Derbe et de celle de Brengaraze (400). Le Brame officiant s'estant placé au milieu et tourné vers l'idole les mains joinctes, luy fait quelques prierres, pendant quoy le plus proche parent du deffunct se leve et l'officiant luy donne le pouvoir de faire le sacrifice, apres quoy l'officiant et sa compagnie va à l'oreille des 4 qui representent les 4 Deontas leur dire quelques paroles que l'on ne peut sçavoir, par lesquelles il obtient d'eux le pouvoir de faire le sacrifice pour le mort en qualité de Deontas, ensuite de quoy le fils donne à chacun d'eux une feuille de Derbe, deux grains d'orge, une feuille de Talessy, que les Brames mettent dans leur Sinde (401) ou toupet de cheveux, qu'ils ont derriere la teste. Apres cette ceremonie l'officiant s'addresse au fils et luy dit que pour bien faire le dit sacrifice, il faut qu'il chasse de son coeur 1. *Kam*, 2. *Krou*, 3. *Bhaca*, 4. *Orchat*, 5. *Lob*, 6. *Achena* (402); 1^er^ le desir dereglé des femmes des autres; 2. la colere et la vengeance; 3. toutes craintes des hommes et de la mort meme; 4. l'ambition; 5. le desir du bien d'autruy; 6. l'esperance dans l'apuy des hommes qu'il doit chasser de son coeur pour le consacrer tout entier a Dieu. Voila la disposition ou il le demande pour offrir le sacrifice, qui nous seroit bien plus necessaire, etant eclairés comme nous sommes du Christianisme, qu'à ces nations plongées entierement dans la Gentilité et l'aveuglement. Ensuitte l'officiant prenant des feuilles de Talessy, qu'il trempe dans l'eau, asperge par trois fois tout ce qui s'y trouve, apres quoy, prenant de l'eau dans ses mains, il la renverse dans un bassin qui est devant l'idole, disant: Seigneur, tout cecy est de vos biens, et nous vous le presentons.

Cette prierre achevée, on remporte tous les mets dans la chambre du banquet, mais avant de finir toutes les ceremonies chacun s'assoit sur son tabouret, le genouil gauche en l'air, le chapelet de 108 grains dans la main droitte, sur lesquelles grains ils disent 7 certaines paroles pendant un quart d'heure, pendant lequel tems on couvre l'idole d'un linge ou, sy elle est portative, on la met dans une niche; un quart d'heure apres on la reprend et tous se levent, l'officiant la prend entre ses mains et la reporte comme il l'avoit apporté, c'est à dire en procession; apres le repair [1]) on tire le linge et les 3 masses qui etoient petries fort mollement s'estant efacées d'elles memes et reduites en une lapaille [2]) Derb en paroit plus longue, qu'ils attribuent par leur ignorance à un grand miracle; pour lors toutes les femmes et les enfants viennent dancer devant eux avec les instruments et mesme des danceuses, bref ce n'est plus que feste et que joye dans le logis, croyant enfin que l'ame du deffunct est en Paradis; mais sy au contraire la paste se trouve dure à tenir en monceau sans diminuer et que les trois masses ne fussent pas reduites en une espece de bloc, c'est un sujet de la plus grande tristesse et une marque de reprobation pour le deffunct, qu'estant grand pecheur [3]) et enfin devenu diable; alors il faut aller au Gange faire des penitences et aumones, mais n'etant pas bien libre [4]) en certains lieux à cause de la domination tiranique des Maures, ou etant trop loin de la rivierre, ils la font manger aux vaches. Apres cela tous se lavent et se vont asseoir, et on leur presente de l'arecque du bethel et du sandal; ensuitte le fils et la femme deservent; mettant les feuilles qui ont servy dans les panniers, ils les portent sur leur teste, font 7 fois le tour des Brahames, et donnent les feuilles aux vaches ou les enterrent; apres quoy ils font 88 boles (403) ou pains de ris, auxquels ils font la Posa, dont ils donnent 7 aux corbeaux, 13½ aux chats, 14 aux chiens du quartier, 21 à la vache, 16 en les coins de la maison pour les rats, 9½ aux pauvres. Cela fait, le fils du deffunct mange avec le Brame officiant, auquel il fait present de 7 pieces de mormoyes d'un callon, d'un Tambian, et d'un Dougezin. Or toutes ces precedentes ceremonies ne se font que pour les Brames et les Katris; nous les allons rapporter, simplement obmettant la repetition de celles qui sont semblables. Il faut remarquer que les Nagueras et les Baignans (404) font les memes ceremonies que les Brames et pour regle generale, ce que les Brames sacrifient ou consomment en cuisson, les autres

[1]) ? l. repas!
[2]) Zóó! De passage is mij onbegrijpelijk.
[3]) pecher het hs.
[4]) l.: libres?

le font crud, comme farine de ris, d'orge, qui n'ont point aproché du feu; au lieu de donner à manger au Brame cequi est un honneur, ils leurs donnent le necessaire tout crud. Les ceremonies du 3e jour se font chaque mois un certain jour destiné pour les morts, celles de l'aniversaire se renouvellent tous les ans depuis le 15e de Baderva (405), qui est le mois de Janvier jusqu'au 30e de la lune, de laquelle sera decedé le deffunct.

Le *Seradcarmin* de la mort des castres basses.

Apres l'achapt des vaches et le malade porté sur les couches, on luy declare qu'il est devenu Joguis, et apres que les dits Brahames ont reçu le present des vaches, ils s'en vont, laissant la le moribond, aupres duquel ils ne peuvent demeurer une heure devant sa mort et [1]) lorsqu'il est expiré, ses parents luy rendent tous les services comme cy devant, on le transporte au bucher, on y fait les memes ceremonies excepté que le feu ne peut etre pris de sa maison mais de celle d'un Brahame, ou ils donnent deux roupies et 5 paizas à celuy qui doit fournir tout le bois, c'est un marché fait de tout temps. Le corp etant brulé, on s'en revient à la maison, mais non comme les Brahames à la leur, mais aillieur, car elle demeure interditte 24 heures, et le soir le fils va à la rivierre avec les Brames et tous les parents, mais ils n'y font que regarder l'eau; puis le crier pour les morts estant fait, on se retire chacun chez soi, ne peuvent [2]) toucher le fils pendant 18 jours et allant pendant 9 jours à la rivierre, ils n'y jettent que des boules de ris crud, le 10e il en faut 10, le 11e, il donne de quoy regaler 132 Brames le tout tout crud; le 12e il se raze et regale sa castre, ce que pour les Brames ne se fait que le 22e, ainsy du reste. Cependant les plus riches à force d'argent obtiennent de faire devant l'idole l'aniversaire, mais cela est rare et contre leurs regles; voicy comme le commun fait cette ceremonie. Ils vont au Tapysouvergue (406), qui est la rivierre ou ils parfument l'endroit qui est entre le fils et le Brahame, le fils ayant le visage tourné vers le Brame se prosterne 37 fois, ce que tous ne font pas, quoy qu'ils y soient obligés, et celuy qui le fait se nomme *manascar* (407). Dans ces prosternations il invocque le nom de 12 de ses ancestres, apres quoy il ramasse à pleine main la bouze de vache et la terre tout ensemble qu'il a touché, et sur lesquelles il faisoit ces genuflections, en fait une boule qu'il met sur sa teste et se va mettre dedans la rivierre jusqu'à la ceinture, ou le [3]) baissant il fait fondre la ditte boule et boit un peu d'eau,

[1]) Is zinscheiding vóór, of na: une heure devant sa mort aan te brengen?
[2]) l.: ne pouvant.
[3]) l.: se.

s'en frotte la teste. Alors revenant au Brame, il reçoit le pouvoir de faire le serad. Le Gentil se met ensuitte à genoux devant le Brahame et y demeure jusqu'à ce qu'il luy fasse signe de s'asseoir, où etant il fait un quarré sur la terre avec un coste de Talessy et dans ce quarré il y met de Talessy, du Derb, du Gengely et de l'orge, y invocquant et y appellant les principaux Deontas, en leur marquant à chacun leur lieu, mettant à la place de chacun un grain de ris sur le nom de ceux qu'il invocque; ils ne font point le reste des ceremonies, à la reserve des lamentations que par figure et representation de ce que font les Brahames et Katris, quelqu'uns meme, passant par dessus toutes ces choses, jettent simplement leurs morts à la rivierre sy c'est le Gange, ce qui arrive souvent dans les grandes mortalités et ou on les voit flotter à demy pouris, ce qui fait un tres desagreable spectacle.

Ceremonies du mariage des Gentils.

La regle generale est de marier leurs enfants, sçavoir les garçons, des l'age de 7 à 8 ans, et les filles encore plus jeunes. La coutume est si generalement etablie, que sy un pere gardoit sa fille jusqu'à 15 ou 16 ans, quelque sage et belle qu'elle fut, elle ne trouveroit de partie de sa vie, mais le pere et toute la famille en recevroient un deshonneur eternel; mais ces enfants, lorsqu'ils dont mariés ainsy, ne sont mis ensemble que lorsqu'ils sont en age et une force convenable, le pety mary restant chez ses parents et la jeune fille chez les siens, ou son mary lui rend assez souvent visite. Pour revenir au ceremonial de leurs mariages, celles que les parents veulent marier, qu'ils nomment en leur langue Canuhia (408) envoyent [1]) finement le Brame de la maison chez quelques parents de celuy, sur lequel ils ont jetté les yeux, nommé Varr (409), et de la s'informent [2]) des facultés dudit et de ces qualités, quoy qu'à peine a t'il quitté le teton de sa nourice, demande s'il est bien fait de corp et d'esprit, car la promesse etant une fois faite, il n'y a plus à se retracter, quand un des deux deviendroit borgne ou bossu ou perclud ou muet avant la ceremonie; bref le Brame trouvant le party souhaitable, va trouver le pere du Varr et luy fait la proposition au nom de la Canuhia, dont il apporte l'ecrit de sa naisance, et en luy donnant des propositions qu'on luy a prescrittes, desquels etant convenu, on choisit un jour heureux pour confronter l'ecrit de naissance des deux parties, pour voir s'ils sont nés sous des constellations amies et un jour fortuné; ce sont les Brahames qui font

[1]) De zin is slordig geredigeerd!
[2]) l.: s'informe.

cela entre eux; ce qu'ayant trouvé juste, ils en donnent avis aux autres parents des deux costés, qui se donnent alors paroles, et le lendemain ou autre jour de commodité on dispose dans la maison de la Canuhia du sandal blanc, du coulon, du saffrane, du sel, de l'huile, 300 cocots, et du bethel prest à manger. Cela fait on celebre le Havana ou sacrifice du feu pour apaiser les Deontas en temoignage de la promesse qui ne peut plus se rompre. Le feu se fait avec du bois de *Kaker* (410) et quelques prierres; on jette dedans du sucre, du beure de vache, du miel, du bois verd de 28 arbres, chaque morceau long d'une palme, du gingily, de l'orge, et du ris cuit au lait. On entretient le feu 6 heures, apres quoy le Brahame de la fille fait asseoir le Varr sur ses genoux, luy met une tocque sur la teste, une chaine d'or ou d'argent au col, ou un anneau semblable au doigt, du sandal sur le visage, du coulon sur le front, ensuitte suspend un cocot doré ou peint, duquel il fait *Poussapatres* (411), et le donne au garçon, en disant: un tel fils d'un telle donne sa fille nommée telle à tel fils de tel, en presence des Deontas on passe un ecrit en ces termes, on y marque au bas les conjonctions des deux planettes des deux naissances, on met du coulon sur l'ecrit, duquel on fait le Pouza pendant que les instruments du pays, les danseuses font mils tours et rejouissances. La mere du garçon apporte alors un bassin et le Brame de la maison prend alors 3 poignées de la cendre du Havana, la mere du Varr ayant le visage tourné du costé de l'orient, et le Brame ne repend point cette cendre tout d'un coup, mais la laisse tomber, en ouvrant la main peu à peu, entre les doigts, et sy cette cendre fait un morceau rond dans le bassin, c'est le Soudersenguekaker ou le signe de la vie de paix et de fecondité du mariage, et ce bassin du cendre du Havana se garde pour le mariage, et on met à tous sur le visage du sandal, du coulon, et du saffrane, et meme on y trempe la main, dont on frotte toutes leurs Cabayes, surtout à l'endroit de l'estomach. Tout cela achevé, le Brahame de la maison du Varr prend un cocot doré et peint avec des joyeaux et des vestements pour la Canuhia, qu'il luy porte au son des instruments. Le Brame fait asseoir la Canuhia, luy met une pagode d'or sur la teste, des pendants aux oreilles et autres joyeaux, et luy dit: un tel fils d'un tel donne son fils nommé tel à telle fille de tel. On fait alors l'echange des deux ecrits, qu'ils nomment *Loguépattrika* (412), et la mere de la fille vient laver les pieds du Brame de la maison du Varr, le pere versant l'eau, de laquelle ils boivent et le congedient; avant que de terminer le mariage on consulte le Brame sur le jour, l'heure, et la minutte, qu'il doit se faire pour etre heureux; ensuitte on

enbeaume un jour devant toute la maison et le *Pouzapatry* (413), on y met du coulon, on plante 4 bamboux une coudée hors de terre, sur lesquels on place 28 galons [1]), 7 de chaques costés, les uns sur les autres, chaque costés est soutenue sur 3 bamboux pour assujettir les colons [1]) pour qu'ils ne tombent, au bout desquels [2]) est attaché un fil rouge, qui par en haut se communique aux 4 coings; le long dudit fil sont attachées des guirlandes de feuilles de manguier, et au milieu du carré est une fosse profonde environ de 2 pieds ½ pour y faire un Havana. Apres quoy pour epier le moment fatal de l'Himenée on prepare l'horloge, ou il faut remarquer que dans le pays des Indes il y en a de deux sortes, un pour la regle ordinaire et l'autre pour les ceremonies, et dont l'usage est general; elle est appellée par ces mots: *gariala* ou *gary* (414) et par les Gentils goudoul cagnal; c'est un grand vaiseau de cuivre qu'ils nomment *Tambakamby* (415), qu'on remplit d'eau, et on y met un petit vaiseau aussy de cuivre percé d'un petit trou par le fond et ou l'eau s'insinuant peu à peu le remplit et se [3]) fait couler a fond. Deux *garis* ½ passées sont environ une de nos heures ou 60 minuttes. Il faut aussy sçavoir que tant les Maures que les Gentils divisent les jours en 4, chaque quart dans les jours courts est de 7 *garis* et dans les jours longs de 8; les nuicts ont les memes divisions; à chaque quart on frappe un coup sur une planche de cuivre, qui s'entend d'assez loin, en sorte qu'on compte le 1er, le 2e, jusqu'au 8e *gary*, comme nous contons nos heures, mais au 8eme, pour montrer que le grand quart est finy, on frappe par 2 fois 8 coups, et apres un peu de sillence on donne le signal du quart: sy c'est le 1er on ne frappe qu'un coup, au 2e 2 etc. ceque l'on repete toujours apres une petite pause, par exemple apres le 3eme il est 3 *garis*, apres le 1er quart du jour on sonne 3 coups de suitte, et peu apres un coup; s'il est 5 *garis*, apres le 3eme quart on sonne 5 coups et puis apres 3 autres; de meme pendant la nuict. La 2eme espece d'horloge est à l'usage des seuls Gentils pour leurs ceremonies, pour ne pas manquer par exemple la minutte heureuse assignée par les Brahames pour les mariages; plusieurs Brahames placés dans un endroit particulier prononçent les lettres de l'alphabet chacun 60 fois sans s'arrester, contant sur les joinctures de leurs doigts, ce qui leur fait une minutte; d'autres qui sont la, comptent seulement les minuttes, ce qu'ils leurs [4]) fait un *Garis*, d'autres Brahames, attentifs à l'heure

[1]) l.: colonnes.
[2]) l.: desquelles?
[3]) l.: le?
[4]) l.: ce qui leur.

qui passe et combien il reste jusqu'au moment fatal du mariage ou d'autres ceremonies dont l'heure doit estre propitiatoire, font cesser quand ils jugent qu'il en est temps et sy [1]) etant preparés, ils l'achevent de la meme façon que les Malabars de Pondichery, ce qui est inutile de representer icy, puisque je l'ay marqué dans la 1ere Description des Gentils en general de leurs coutumes et de leur religion, le reste de cequi suit la ceremonie du mariage etant la meme (416).

[1]) d. i. s'y.

FIN DE CETTE DESCRIPTION.

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FIN DU 2e TOME.

NOTEN.

1) Over de Ādityabhaktas of Sauras vgl. A. Barth, *les Religions de l'Inde* (in *Oeuvres* de Aug. Barth, vol. I p. 222 vgl.).

2) Dit doelt blijkbaar op de vereering der zon (*ādityopasthāna*), die deel uitmaakt van de Sandhyā.

3) Dat de rijst als godheid door de Hindoes vereerd wordt, schijnt nergens aangetroffen te worden.

4) Het dichtst hierbij komt Rām. VII. 23 (5). 38: *tisraḥ koṭyaḥ*, (30 millioen). Thurston, *Ethnogr. notes in Southern India* p. 4: „33 *crores* (330 millions) of gods". In den ouderen tijd is 33 het geijkte getal.

5) De Tamil vorm van Devendra (= Indra) is Divendiren (Jouveau Dubreuil, *Archéologie du Sud de l'Inde* II, 115).

6) De Trimūrti. Tegen de opvatting, dat deze aan de drieëenheid der Katholieke leer zou beantwoorden, polemiseert reeds do Couto (zie „De ontdekkingsgesch. v. d. Veda", in *Versl. en Med. Kon. Ak. der Wetensch. te Amsterdam*, V^e^ R. 3^e^ dl. p. 319).

7) Dat *parā śakti* (over haar als eerste beginsel vgl. noot 4 op p. 150 in „Drie oude Portug. Verh. over het Hindoeïsme") als moeder der drie goden Brahmā, Viṣṇu en Śiva gedacht wordt, is mij niet van elders bekend; doch vgl. Skandapurāṇa I. 1. 10. 26:

ekā sthitā parā śaktir brahmavidyātmalakṣaṇā.

8) Dit is niet de gewone voorstelling, doch zij wordt aangetroffen, zie Jouveau Dubreuil II. p. 18.

9) De Breve Noticia (vgl. Drie oude Portug. Verh. pag. 151), en naar deze ook Dellon, vermeldt *zes* zienswijzen.

10) Dat de Brahmanen-, Kṣatriya-, Vaiśya- en Śūdrastanden resp. uit hoofd, armen, dijen en voeten van den Puruṣa ontstonden, leert reeds de Rgveda (X. 90. 12). Matsyapurāṇa IV. 28:

asṛjan mukhato dvijān/ rājanyān asṛjad bāhvor viṭchūdram ūrupādayoḥ.

11) Vgl. noot 188.

12) „Wat te voren door den Schepper op 't voorhoofd gegrift is, wie vermag dat weg te wisschen?" (Bhartṛhari), „Wie is in staat het hem op 't voorhoofd gegrifte weg te wisschen?" (Hitopadeśa).

13) Voor de nu volgende mythe vgl. noot 1 op pag. 152 der „Drie oude Portugeesche Verhandelingen over het Hindoeïsme" door W. Caland en A. Fokker (Verh. Kon. Ak. v. Wet. te Amsterdam) en Brahmapurāṇa CII. 5:

mṛgī bhūtā tu sā bālā mṛgo 'ham abhavaṃ tadā |
mṛgavyādho 'bhavac chambhur dharmasaṃrakṣaṇāya ca ||

Skandapurāna III, 1. 40. 6 vgg.:

prajāpatiḥ purā viprāḥ svāṃ vai duhitaraṃ mudā |
vāṅnāmnīṃ kāmuko bhūtvā spṛhayāmāsa mohanaḥ ||
atha prajāpateḥ putrī svasmin vai tasya kāmitām |
vilokya lajjitā bhūtvā rohidrūpaṃ dadhāra sā ||

brahmāpi hariṇo bhūtvā tayā ratimanās tadā |
gacchantīm anuyāti sma hariṇīrūpadhāriṇīm ||
taṃ dṛṣṭvā devatāḥ sarvāḥ putrīgamanasādaram |
karoty akāryaṃ brahmāyaṃ putrīgamanalakṣaṇam ||
iti nindanti tam etc.

(het slot is anders dan in 't fransche verhaal)

Padmapurāṇa V. 14. 22:

vāmāṅguṣṭhanakhāgreṇa brahmaṇaḥ pañcamaṃ śiraḥ |
cakarta (hier is de aanleiding eene andere).

Curieus is, dat Manucci met zijn: „then he gave his daughter to the stag" een dergelijke corrupte lezing gekend heeft als het hs. van St. Calais bevat.

14) Vgl. noot 1 op pag. 141 der heruitgave van Rogerius' Open Deure.

15) Daarmede zal wel *agrahāra* bedoeld zijn: eene schenkingsacte van land door den vorst aan een Brahmaan; Nalopakhy. 16. 4 is het woord bijna gebruikt als „landgoed": *agrahārāṃś ca dāsyāmi.*

16) Volgens de ééne overlevering (en zoo ook de Dialogo) draagt dus Brahmā Sarasvatī op de tong (en dit zou de juiste kunnen zijn, aangezien Sarasvatī synoniem is met Vāc: het woord, de rede; zoo heet dan ook Sarasvatī in MBh. VI. 65. 61: de tong van Viṣṇu), volgens de andere draagt ***men*** haar op de tong; dit laatste is dan eveneens als beeldspraak op te vatten.

17) Dit is een verwarring met Rudra-Śiva als Linga, zie Drie oude Portug. Verh. p. 154.

18) Ik heb deze beide namen niet terecht kunnen brengen. Eenig licht schijnt Manucci te geven, bij wien deze passage luidt: "by the last class he is called potter, a very derogatory name in this country". Hier is echter uit Irvine's vertaling niet op te maken, of het Engelsche woord „potter" bedoeld is, of een vreemd woord, dat met *oteiro* (*oleiro*) kan overeenstemmen. Op grond van de in noot 17 aangehaalde plaats uit de Breve Noticia (3e Port. Verh.) zou men kunnen vermoeden, dat in de vreemde benaming het begrip van Priapus (*liṅga*, penis) steekt. Dit alles is voorshands onzeker.

19) Aangezien *lakṣmī* in 't algemeen ook „fortuna" beteekent.

20) Hiervan schijnt de Iconographie niets te weten. De Breve Noticia (vgl. Drie oude Port. Verh., p. 154) heeft gelezen wat in een der Parijsche hss. staat: „ils la porte (zóó)... sous *ses* aisselles", maar verderop: „de peur qu'elle ne s'enfuie de *luy*".

21) Deze negen incarnaties wijken min of meer af van de gewone traditie. Relation en Breve Notica geven: 1 *matsya*, 2 *kūrma*, 3 *varāha*, 4 *narasiṃha*, 5 *vāmana*, 6 en 7 *balarāma* en *parašurāma* (dooreengehaspeld!), 8 *candrarāma*, 9 *kṛṣṇa*, terwijl op 't eind van het hoofdst. „la vie de Viṣṇou" als 10e de *kalki-avatāra* vermeld wordt. In overeenstemming met de Zuidelijke traditie (vgl. Jouveau-Dubreuil, *Arch. du Sud de l'Inde*, II. 92) is hier de *buddha-avatāra* door de *balarāma-avatāra* vervangen.

22) Het Amṛta.

23) Over de maten van den Meru vgl. Liṅgapurāṇa I. 48. 2: *merur nāma mahāgiriḥ* | *caturaśītisāhasram utsedhena prakīrtitaḥ*, en ib. 5: *lakṣayojana āyāmas tasya gireḥ.* De Meru heet ook *hemādri*: „goudberg".

24) Vgl. MBh. I. 18.45:

tato nārāyaṇo māyāṃ mohinīṃ samupaśritaḥ |
strīrūpam adbhutaṃ kṛtvā dānavān abhisaṃśritaḥ |

Vgl. Dr. de Jong's noot 1 op Baldaeus p. 49 en beneden, noot 274.

25) Vgl. noot 1 op p. 155 der Drie oude Portug. Verh. Het verhaal, hoe Brahmā als Haṃsa en Viṣṇu als Varāha naar top en basis van Rudra (als vuurzuil) gaan zoeken, komt ook voor in Liṅgapurāṇa XVII, 31 vgg. De bron van 't verhaal der Relation schijnt Skandapurāṇa I. 1 (maheśvarakh.) 6. 33—68 te zijn; nog uitvoeriger is de voorstelling, die in hetzelfde purāṇa gegeven wordt in maheśvarakh. aruṇācalamāhātmya uttarārdha adhy. 12—15.

26) Het is de *ketakī* (Pandanus odoratissimus, vgl. Zachariae in *Gött. Gel. Anz.* 1916, p. 603 vgg.; de Dialogo: „il fiore cardo"), die 't verraad pleegt samen met de surabhi. De vloek, die door eene stem uit den hemel over Brahmā en de Ṛṣis en Devatās wordt uitgesproken, welke de onware verklaring bevestigd hebben, luidt *tasmād yūyaṃ na pūjyāś ca bhaveyuḥ* (sic) *kleśabhāginaḥ*.

27) Skandapurāṇa I 1. 6. 63:

sugandhaketakī cāpi ayogyā tvam śivārcane |
bhaviṣyasi.

28) Vgl. noot 1 op pag. 141 der heruitgave van Rogerius.

29) De bron dezer Avatāra-beschrijving is hoofdzakelijk Padmapurāṇa VI. 265, vgl. Matsyapurāṇa 161, 162 en Harivaṃśa III. 41 vgg. (vooral III. 41. 14—15), waarmee eensluidend Padmapurāṇa V. 42.

30) *sa kāle copanītaḥ san gurugehe 'vasat sudhīḥ* (Padma).

31) In 't volgende wijkt de auteur af van de Purāṇa-voorstelling; dichter daarbij komt de Breve Noticia (Drie oude P. V. p. 158).

32) *ākṛṣyāntrāṇi dīrghāṇi kaṇṭhe saṃsaktavān* (Padma).

33) Voor deze laatste, waarschijnlijk verkeerd opgevatte, voorstelling ontbreekt alle grond.

34) Voor den Vāmana-avatāra vgl. Bhāgavatapurāṇa VIII. 15—23 en de meeste andere Purāṇas.

35) Na lang zoeken is het mij eindelijk gelukt, eene plaats in de Purāṇas te vinden, waarop dit trekje der episode berust, nl. Gaṇeśapurāṇa II. 31. 36—37:

brahman dattā mayā bhūmiḥ saṃkalpaḥ kriyatām iti |
vāmanaḥ prāha rājānaṃ saṃkalpayitum udyataḥ ||
tāvad dhārāṃ nirudhyaiva sthitaḥ śukro 'nyadehataḥ |
dadau śalākāṃ tatpātre bhagnanetro bahirgataḥ ||

De zin zou beter loopen, als men *udyate* las („toen hij, nl. Bali, zich beijverde den saṃkalpa te verrichten").

36) Vgl. Bhāg. pur. VIII. 21. 29:

padāni trīṇi dattāni bhūmer mahyam tvayāsura |
dvābhyāṃ krāntā mahī sarvā tṛtīyam upakalpaya ||

37) Vgl. noot 1 op p. 160 der Drie oude Port. Verh. In de Purāṇas heb ik nog geen aanduiding omtrent dit tijdstip gevonden en ook niet omtrent de toezegging, dat Bali de wereld mag bezoeken. Matsyapurāṇa 246. 84 vraagt Bali:

tatrāsato me pātāle bhagavan bhavadājñayā |
kiṃ bhaviṣyaty upādānam upabhogopapādakam ||

waarop Viṣṇu antwoordt:

dānāny avidhidattāni śrāddhāny aśrotriyāṇi ca |
hutāny aśraddhayā yāni tāni dāsyanti te phalam ||

38) Drie incarnaties in Rāma ook in de Zuidelijke recensie van het MBh. (XII. 348, vgl. Hopkins, *Epic Mythology*, p. 217) en zoo ook bij Jouveau Dubreuil, II, p. 73.

39) Die in Paraśurāma.

40) Bhāg. pur. I. 3. 20: *triḥ saptakṛtvaḥ kupito niḥkṣatrām akaron mahīm*, en elders.

41) De voorstelling der tweede incarnatie in Rāma is een conglomeraat van die in Paraśurāma als overwinnaar van Kārtavīrya Arjuna, en van die in Balarāma (Halāyudha). De laatstgenoemde incarnatie wordt reeds in het MBh. (I. 199. 33) vermeld. Dat Balarāma uit het gebeente van zijn verslagen vijand ploegscharen maakt, kan ik uit geen bron aanwijzen. Volgens Jouveau Dubreuil II. p. 92 is het Vṛtra, dien Balarāma verslaat.

42) Het trekje van den „blanchisseur" (*rajaka*), vgl. Drie oude Portug. Verh., p. 36 (hoofdst. XXV), is uit het Padmapurāṇa (IV. 55). Rāma heeft spionnen uitgezonden om te vernemen, wat de menschen over hem zeggen. De anderen hooren niets als lofprijzingen van Rāma, doch één hunner komt in de woning van een *rajaka*, die weigert zijne vrouw weer op te nemen, nadat deze in 't huis van een ander de nacht heeft doorgebracht. De moeder der vrouw doet een goed woord voor haar, doch de *rajaka* zegt, dat hij niet, zooals Rāma gedaan heeft, zijn vrouw zal terugnemen: „ik ben geen Rāma, die de in 't huis van een ander vertoevende Sītā heeft opgenomen" (śl. 73).

43) Er zal zeker wel ergens in het Rāmāyaṇa een plaats van deze strekking zijn, schilderend het śravaṇaphalam. Ik vind tot dusverre slechts iets van dien aard Padmap. VI. 271. 74–76: *yaḥ paṭhed rāmacaritam . . . koṭijanmārjitāt pāpāj jñānato 'jñānataḥ kṛtāt | vimukto vaiṣṇavaṃ lokaṃ putradārasvabāndhavaiḥ | samāpnuyād yogigamyam anāyāsena vai naraḥ ||.*

44) De bron dezer curieuze episode is mij niet bekend. In het Rām. (VII. 16) is iets dergelijks, doch de détails zijn anders. Wat de „guitarre" betreft, in 't *Baessler Archiv* I, p. 145 wordt vermeld, dat Rāvaṇa geldt als de uitvinder van zekere soort viool, in 't Tamil: *irāvaṇāstram*, vgl. Sonnerat I, p. 181: „une espece de violon appellée *Ravanastron*." In Hemach. komt voor *rāvaṇahasra* (P. W. s. v.), wat zeker wel gelezen moet worden: *rāvaṇahasta* („Rāvaṇa's hand").

45) De bron van de „vase" met *amṛta* is nog steeds niet aan te wijzen; zij komt ook voor in de eerste der drie oude Portug. Verh. (hoofdst. VII).

46) Dit trekje van den reus (of reuzin?) Tadagui (Tāṭakā, Taṭākī) (de Dialogo leest: „della gigantesca Taraguey") is nergens overgeleverd, ook niet in latere berichten; het ontbreekt in de Breve Noticia; iets wat er op gelijkt is het avontuur dat Hanumat met Surasā heeft, Rām. V. 1. 37 vgg.

47) De fransche bewerking van Bernard heeft „ours" (vgl. Drie oude Portug. verh. pag. 204), de Dialogo: „nella figura d'un Cervo"; ciron is een mikroskopisch klein diertje, een kaasmijt. Vgl. Rām. V 2. 47: *deham saṃkṣipya mārutiḥ | vṛṣadaṃśakamātro 'tha babhūvādbhutadarśanaḥ ||* Volgens Nīlakaṇṭha is *vṛṣadaṃśa = mārjāra* (kat), doch Jacobi vertaalt het door „Bremse".

48) Over de episode van de staart vgl. Drie oude Portug. Verh. p. 13, noot 2 en 3 en addenda p. 215. Rām. V. 53.6 vg.:

veṣṭante tasya lāṅgūlaṃ jīrṇaiḥ kārpāsikaiḥ pataiḥ | 6.
saṃveṣṭyamāne lāṅgūle vyavardhata mahākapiḥ | 7. a.
tailena pariṣicyātha te 'gniṃ tatropapādayan | 8. a.

49) Hiervan vind ik in het Rām. geen spoor.

50) Vgl. Rām. VI. 60.

51) Overdreven! vgl. Rām. l. c. 41:
tasya niḥśvāsavātena kumbhakarṇasya rakṣasaḥ |
rākṣasāḥ kumbhakarṇasya sthātuṃ śekur na cāgrataḥ ||

52) Vgl. Rām. l. c. 53:
anye ca balinas tasya kūṭamudgarapāṇayaḥ |
mūrdhni vakṣasi gātreṣu patayan kūṭamudgarān ||

53) Dit trekje niet in ons Rām.

54) Misschien te vergelijken Rām. VI. 67. 35.
prakṣiptāḥ kumbhakarṇena vaktre pātālasannibhe |
nāsāpuṭābhyāṃ saṃjagmuḥ karṇābhyāṃ caiva vānarāḥ ||

55) In het Rām. (V. 2. 6) vind ik slechts:
śātakumbhena mahatā prākāreṇābhisaṃvṛtam.

Omtrent het woord „tentonage" hebben de mineralogen mij niet kunnen inlichten. Aan Dr. G. P. Rouffaer ben ik de verwijzing naar het artikel „Toothnagué" in Hobson-Jobson verschuldigd. Het portug. tutenaga gaat terug op Tamil: *tuttanāgam*. Bedoeld is een alliage van koper, zink en nikkel; het geheel heet ook wel „wit koper".

De Fransche bew. der Breve Noticia door Bernard heeft: „la cinquième d'une matière composée de divers metaux mêlez".

56) Uit den Dialogo, die „*Comudan*" heeft, blijkt, dat de lezing van St. Calais *cumudan* te verkiezen is. Ik vind in het P.W. op drie plaatsen uit het Rām. den naam Kumuda als dien van een der aanvoerders der Apen geciteerd. In den Dialogo heet het van dezen „ch'era Generale d'un terzo dell' esercito numeroso di diecisette millioni di scimie",

57) Ik vind in het Rām. slechts:
sa (sc. *śaraḥ*) *visṛṣṭo mahāvegaḥ śārīrāntaḥkaṙaḥ paraḥ* |
bibheda hṛdayaṃ tasya rāvaṇasya durātmanaḥ ||

58) Zóó (Aioti) luidt de Tamil naam van Ayodhyā (Jouveau Dubreuil, II, p. 90).

59) Niet in *ons* Rāmāyaṇa.

60) Manucci: Caprassem (Breve Noticia: Campsen). Hoe deze naamvorm te begrijpen is, is niet duidelijk. De Tamilvorm van *kaṃsa* is *koṃcha* (Jouveau Dubreuil, II, p. 93).

61) Yaśodā in 't Tamil Eśodai of Assodaï. — Overigens is Yaśodā niet Kṛṣṇa's moeder, doch zijn pleegmoeder.

62) De voorstelling is niet geheel logisch, daar Kṛṣṇa reeds bij de herders in veiligheid is gebracht. De toespraak door het meisje tot Kaṃsa gericht is uitvoeriger in de Breve Noticia (drie oude Portug. Verh. p. 164 met noot 1).

63) Pūtanā.

64) Zoo liet Brahmavaivartapurāṇa, Kṛṣṇajanmakh. I. 14.

65) Vgl. Bhāgavatapurāṇa X. 69. 2:
citraṃ bataitad ekena vapuṣā yugapat pṛthak |
gṛheṣu dvyaṣṭasāhasraṃ striya eka udavahat ||

66) Naar Bhāg. pur. X. 22.

67) Eenigszins anders in Bhāg. pur. l. c. 17:
pāṇibhyāṃ yonim ācchādya protteruḥ śītakarśitāḥ ||

68) Zij moeten eene *añjali* maken, Bhāg. p. l. c. 19.

69) Over den Kalkin avatāra MBh. III. 190. 94—95 en elders.

70) Zoo ook beneden (noot 122); gewoonlijk is Śeṣa *sahasramūrdhā*.

71) Śiva ardhanārī, vgl. Jouveau Dubreuil II, p. 37.

72) Volgens het MBh. vreezen de Goden, dat de zoon, uit Śiva en Pārvatī geboren, een al te machtig wezen zijn zal, en daarom verzoeken zij hem (XIII. 84. 70): *„na devyāṃ saṃbhavet putro bhavataḥ,* waarop Śiva (72) *ūrdhvaretāḥ samabhavat,* en daarop: *rudrāṇīti tataḥ kruddhā prajocchede tadā kṛte devān ... abravīt: ... sarve surā yūyam anapatyā bhaviṣyatha.* — De 1000 jaren kunnen berusten op Skandapurāṇa VII. 1. 167: *divyavarṣasahasraṃ tayoḥ krīḍamānayoḥ,* vgl. Saurapūraṇa 60 (Jahn, *Über das Saurapurāṇa*, p. 152).

73) Dit is niet de gangbare voorstelling van Kārttikeya's geboorte, die volgens MBh. XIII. 85 plaats heeft, doordat Rudra's semen virile door Agni in den Ganges geworpen wordt, waarna het kind door de Kṛttikās gezoogd wordt.

74) Tamil: *arumugaṃ tuṇai*: „de (god) met zes aangezichten (zij) onze helper", vgl. Zachariae in G.G.A. 1916, p. 606.

75) Over de geboorte van Gaṇeśa vgl. Drie oude Portug. Verh., p. 16, noot 3, Zachariae in G. G. A. 1916, p. 587 en Padmapurāṇa V. 40. 454 vg.

kadācid gandhatailena gātram abhyajya śailajā |
cūrṇair udvartayāmāsa malenāpūritāṃ tanum |
tad udvartanakaṃ gṛhya naraṃ cakre gajānanam |
puruṣaṃ krīḍatī devī.

Vgl. ook Skandapurāṇa VII (Prabhāsakh.). 3. 32.

76) Een verkeerde woordafleiding van *vināyaka* (als *vi-nāyaka*). De Brev. Noticia wijkt af, „die geen Godt vreest".

77) Tamil *yāgam* (Jouveau Dubreuil II, 50). — Dit is de overbekende episode van Dakśa's offer.

78) Vgl. Bhāgavatapurāṇa IV. 5. 2:

kruddaḥ saṃdaṣṭoṣṭhaputaḥ sa dhūrjaṭir jaṭām ... utkṛṣya rudraḥ ... visasarja tāṃ bhuvi.

79) Bhāg. p. l. c. 21: *pūṣṇaś cāpātayad dantān.*

80) Dit berust reeds op zeer oude Brāhmaṇatraditie: *tasmāt pūṣā prapiṣṭabhāgo 'dantako hi* (Taitt. s. II. 6. 8. 5.).

81) Purāṇabron?

82) Dat het olifantshoofd van Gaṇesá in dit verband ontstaat, is niet de gewone traditie.

84) Pillayar of Pulear, vgl. Jouveau Dubreuil, II, p. 42.

85) Als *rudra kapālin.*

86) Het *devadāruvana.* Voor deze episode van Rudra vgl. Skandapurāṇa I (maheśvarakh.) 1. 6; het slot waarschijnlijk naar Skandap. VI (nāgarakh.) adhy. 1 of VII (prabhāsakh.) adhy. 187. Vgl. verder Jahn in *Zeitschr. d. Deutsch. Morg. Ges.*, deel 69 en 70.

87) Skandapurāṇa I. 1. 6. 24:

yasmāt kalatrahartā tvaṃ tasmāt ṣaṇḍo bhava tvaram |
evaṃ śaptaḥ sa munibhir liṅgaṃ tasyāpatad bhuvi ||

88) Over de Andis vgl. Drie oude Portug. Verh. p. 156, noot 3 en *Baessler Archiv* I, p. 147.

89) Vgl. Jouveau Dubreuil II, p. 11: „Les religieux *lingavat* appelés *pandāram* et *andis* (mendicants) en portent de minuscules, ayant à peu près la forme d'un oeuf et qui sont enfermés dans une boîte d'argent attachée au bras, au cou ou dans les cheveux".

90) Waarschijnlijk (vgl. Hultzsch in *Nachr. der K. Ges. der Wiss. in Gött.* 1918, p. 33) de Tamil Ilāḍar: „yoghis de Guzerate". Zeker is dit niet, daar

volgens *Baessler Archiv* I, p. 150, de Lāḍa śanniyāśi's Viṣṇuïeten zijn. Men vergelijke de in *Baessler Archiv* vermelde slaapkrukken met de Breve Noticia (drie oude Portug. Verh., p. 171). Volgens Buchanan vereeren zij hoofdzakelijk Bhavānī, hetgeen er weer op wijst, dat ze Śivaïeten zijn.

91) De uitdrukking is bevreemdend. — Gangā als hemelsche nymph wordt bij Śantanu de moeder van Bhīṣma.

92) Deze vertaling wijst op *bhasmeśvara*, niet op *bhasmāsura*; op te merken is echter, dat het hs. van St. Calais eenmaal *pasmesuren* leest; de Dialogo heeft: Pasmejuren. Over dezen rākṣasa en zijn wedervaren vgl. behalve „Drie oude Portug. Verh. p. 17, noot 2, p. 172 noot 1, ook Zachariae in *Nachrichten der K. Ges. in Gött.*, p. 4 en Thurston, *Ethnogr. notes in S. India* p. 392.

93) Volgens Zachariae (G. G. A. p. 606) is de naam: *ai-viral-i-kāj*: Pentadactyle of Bryonia laciniosa, L.; Thurston l. c. heeft: „concealed himself in a linga-tonde shrub".

94) De bron der nu volgende voorstelling van de geboorte van Hariharaputra is mij niet bekend, vgl. echter Baldaeus, heruitgave van Dr. de Jong, p. 14 onderaan, waar een dergelijk verhaal.

95) Is dit *nītaparam* of *jñānaparam*? Daar de Dialogo heeft: *nidiparen*, is wellicht *nītiparam* gemeend.

96) Bedoeld zijn Śacī en Indrāṇī.

97) Daarmee zijn de Ṛṣis bedoeld: *aṣṭāśītisahasrāṇi ṛṣīṇām ūrdhvaretasām* (MBh. II. 11. 54), vgl. de tweede Portug. Verh. hoofdst. 16 en 49 (waar 88000), Skandapurāṇa, Sahyādrik. adhy. 5, 9: *tatra dvāviṃśatiḥ sahasrāṇām ṛṣīṇām ... upāsante rathavaraṃ bhānoḥ.*

98) Vgl. Drie oude Portug. Verh. pag. 175, noot 2. Dat Indra met cunni bedekt wordt, volgens de zuidelijke overlevering (zie Jouveau Dubreuil II, p. 117), berust toch ook reeds op het MBh. (XIII. 41. 21; 34. 27: *tathā bhagasahasreṇa mahendraḥ paricihnitaḥ | teṣām eva prabhāvena sahasranayano hy asau).* De vervloeking: *tavāṅgam ... sahasrabhagaṃ ... bhavatu,* Padmapurāṇa V. 51. 28. De list van den haan wordt noch in Rām. noch elders aangetroffen. Dat Ahalyā versteend wordt kan op Skandapurāṇa (avantyakh.) 3, adhy. 136, V. 3. 136. 15 (*tasmād aśmamayī bhava*) berusten.

99) Waarop dit steunt, kan ik niet vaststellen. De Breve Noticia luidt anders.

100) Een beschrijving geeft o.a. Padmapurāṇa VI. 257. 43 vgg.

101) Śrī of Lakṣmī en Bhūmi, vgl. Jouveau Dubreuil II, pag. 66, vgl. ook Faria y Sousa en Baldaeus (uitg. de Jong, pag. 42).

102) De Stier Nandi.

103) Dat *brahmaloka* synoniem is met *satyaloka*, blijkt uit Bhāgavatapurāṇa II. 5. 39.

104) Volgens Zachariae is dit een Tamil woord, beteekenend: bovenste wereld of plaats (G. G. A. 1916, pag. 607).

105) Lees: *parabaravastu* (*paravara vastu* de Dialogo) en vgl. G. G. A. p. 607. Ik houd het voor Skt. *parāvaravastu; parāvara* in de bet. van *brahman* (neutr.) reeds Muṇḍ. up. II. 2. 8.

106) Deze vijf woorden staan vast: *sāṃnidhyam, sāmīpyam, sāyujyam, sārūpyam, sālokyam*, vgl. Zachariae in G. G. A. p. 607 vg.; het tweede: *sanquiam, sanchiam*, bij Manucci: *sanchiam*, bij de la Flotte: *sancham*, zal

wel *sauchiam* (zóó de Dialogo), d. i. met uitgevallen *y* = *sāyujyam* zijn.

107) De naam Yamadharmarāja (vgl. G. G. A. 1916, pag. 608) komt Har. III. 37. 22 *niet* als compositum voor:

ādityasya vibhoḥ putro dharmarājo mahāyaśāḥ |
dakṣiṇasyāṃ diśi yamo mahendreṇaiva satkṛtaḥ |

Hier is Dharmarāja synoniem van Yama.

108) Citragupta in het Epos nog niet als helper (schrijver) van Yama, maar eerst in de Purāṇas (Padma VI. 227. 50 en Garuḍa).

109) Vgl. Garuḍapurāṇa VIII. 74: *dhenuṃ saṃkalpayat* (en dit omvat het wateruitgieten, 't welk deel van den Saṃkalpa is, vgl. noot 35); 76: *puccham saṃgṛhya dhenos tu nāvam* (nl. een miniatuurbootje van suikerriet, om de Vaitaraṇī over te steken) *āśritya pādataḥ* enz. In het dan door den stervende uit te spreken gebed zegt hij o. a. (śl. 80):

dhenuke māṃ pratīkṣasva yamadvāramahāpathe |
uttaraṇārthaṃ deveśi vaitaraṇyai namo 'stu te ||

vgl. verder *Die altind. Toten- und Best. Gebr.*, pag. 8. Een beschrijving van de Vaitaraṇī, Garuḍapur. II. 15 vgg.:

āgataṃ pāpinaṃ dṛṣṭvā jvālādhūmasamākulā |
kvathate sa nadī ... kaṭāhāntaghṛtaṃ yathā ||

110) De bron van het verhaal moet volgens Jouveau Dubreuil II, p. 17 het Skandapurāṇa zijn, vgl. Zachariae in G. G. A. 1916, p. 609. In het VI. boek (Nāgarakhaṇḍa) adhy. 21 is het verhaal geheel anders. Het begin ervan is als in Padmapurāṇa VI. 236. Vgl. Drie oude Portug. Verh. pag. 181 en 216.

111) Zie het citaat uit Padmapurāṇa in Drie oude Port. Verhand. p. 181, noot 3.

112) Tamil: *arciṇai*, skt. *arcanā*, in beteekenis gelijk met *pūjā*.

113) Bij Manucci luidt deze passage: "and offered up to him *arquineis*, which is a sort of sacrifice of flowers at *Turrcadau*, a place celebrated among the Hindus", bij de la Flotte: „dès qu'il eut atteint l'âge de raison, il se dévoua entierement à Siven, et choisit pour sa demeure un lieu de dévotion nommé *Caddavi*". Zachariae heeft aangetoond, dat de plaats is: *Tirukaḍāyūr* nabij Tranquebar (G. G. A. 1916, pag. 610). De questie is nu, of de lezing der drie fransche handschriften der Relation, waar van „un livre" niet van „un lieu" sprake is, juist kan zijn. Op zichzelf zou dit kunnen, daar er (vgl. G. G. A. t. a p. noot 1) ook een boek bestaat: *Tirukaḍāyūrmātāhmya*, doch ik houd het voor niet waarschijnlijk, omdat *arcinei* kwalijk een speciale, in dit werk beschreven *pūjā* kan beteekenen.

114) De buffel is het voertuig (*vāhana*) van Yama, vgl. o. a. Padmapurāṇa VI. 227. 4:

mahāmahiṣaṃ ārūḍham (*pāpakarmiṇaḥ paśyanti yamam*).

115) Duidelijk is, dat hier *paramātman* bedoeld wordt, in tegenstelling met *jīvātman* (beneden, noot 118: *genatoman*).

116) Om het voorafgaande te kritizeeren, zou men doorkneed moeten zijn in de leer van Vedānta en Brahmasūtras.

117) Is dit *akṣatam*, of *akṣitam*? De Dialogo: danno à Dio il nome d'*Acadan*, che vuol dire incapace di parti, cioè indivisibile".

118) De oorspr. lezing is zeker *Gevatoman*, vgl. noot 115.

119) Is *Chutras* of *Chatras* de juiste lezing? (*sūtras* of *śāstras*). Wanneer Śāstras bedoeld is, zou men kunnen denken bijv. aan MBh. (Böhtlingk, *Chrestomathie*, p. 193):

anyo dhanaṃ pretagatasya bhuṅkte vayāṃsi cāgniś ca śarīradhātūn |
dvābhyām ayaṃ saha gacchaty amutra puṇyena pāpena ca veṣṭyamānaḥ ||

120) De Lokas zijn: *pātāla* (ook Skandap. I. 2. 39 als de benedenste genoemd), *mahātala, talātala, rasātala, sutala, vitala, atala.* — *bhūrloka* („le monde ou nous sommes"), *bhuvarloka* („le monde aerien"), *svarga* (*choarcam*), *maharloka, janaloka, tapoloka, satyaloka*; vgl. Āruṇeyyupaniṣad I, Drie oude Portug. Verh. p. 186, noot 3, *Versl. en Meded. Kon. Ak. der Wet. te Amst.*, V^e^ reeks, 3^e^ deel, p. 323. — Iets naders omtrent de bewoners dezer *lokas*, zooals die in de Relation aangegeven worden, heb ik in de Purāṇas nog niet gevonden (de namen der bovenwerelden zijn afgeleid ieder van een der zeven *vyāhṛtis*).

121) De zeven zeeën (het epos, MBh. VII. 12. 2. vgg. kent er slechts vier: *ghṛta, dadhimaṇḍa, surā, jala*) o.a. Bhāgav. purāṇa V. 1. 33: *kṣāra, ikṣurasa, surā, ghṛta, kṣīra, dadhimaṇḍa, śuddha*. Vgl. ook Rogerius, *Open Deure*, heruitgave pag. 107, noot 1.

122) Vgl. noot 70.

123) Vgl. Mānavadhś. VI. 85:

anena kramayogena parivrajati yo dvijaḥ |
sa vidhūyeha pāpmānaṃ paraṃ brahmādhigacchati ||

124) De beschrijving, hoe men *sannyāsin* wordt, stemt in 't algemeen overeen met de ons bekende voorschriften, bijv. Baudh. dhś. II. 17—18, Vaikh. dhś. II. 6. vgg.

125) Voor 't getal der *granthis* kan ik geen bron aanvoeren.

126) Gemeend is de *kamaṇḍalu* of het *bhikṣāpātra*.

127) *kaṣāyam* of *raktavastram*.

128) Natuurlijk is *ahaṃ brahma* niet hetzelfde als *ahaṃ brahmā*, zooals onze auteur meende! Te vergelijken is ŚBr. XIV. 4. 2. 22: *tad idam apy etarhi ya evaṃ vedāhaṃ brahmāsmīti sa idaṃ sarvaṃ bhavati*; comm. op Garuḍapurāṇa IX. 35: *oṃ abhayaṃ sarvabhūtebhyo mattaḥ svāhetyādipraiṣamantrān uccārya ahāṃ brahmāsmīty anubhavavākyārthavicāraṇena brahmaparo bhūyād ity āturavidhiḥ*.

129) Over deze vereering der andere brahmanen en dit onthaal der vrouwen heb ik niets in onze bronnen gevonden, vgl. evenwel Baudh. dhś. II. 17. 12 (*trivṛt prāśya*).

130) Hetzelfde getal in de Eclaircissements op l'Ezourvedam (vol. II, pag. 211).

131) Over de *diggajas* vgl. Hopkins, *Epic Mythology*, p. 17 (§ 10). Zij zijn volgens het Epos de beschermers der *dišas*, niet de dragers der aarde.

132) Volgens het Epos worden de aardbevingen veroorzaakt door de *diggajas* of door Dhuṇḍa (Hopkins, *op. c.* p. 49) of door 't schudden der olifantskoppen (*op. c.* p. 79).

133) Over het nu volgende vgl. behalve Drie oude Portug. Verhand. p. 201, noot 2, Zachariae in *Nachr. Kön. Ges. der W. zu Gött.* 1917, pag. 7, noot 1.

134) De Nakṣatras of „Maanhuizen".

135) De zienswijze, dat de maan zich verder van de aarde bevindt dan de zon (vgl. noot 254), schijnt reeds in het Epos te bestaan, vgl. Hopkins, *op. cit.*, p. 85: „that (nl. the cercle) of the moon is (larger than the sun)" etc.

136) De voorstelling wijkt af van de gewone, volgens welke het Rāhu is, die zon en maan periodiek verslindt.

137) Vgl. Drie oude Portug. Verh. p. 32, noot 2 en beneden, noot 275.

138) De volgorde is: *kṛta, treta, dvāpara, kali.* Zoo ook in: „la Gentilité du Bengala", begin.

139) De avatāra als Rāmacandra wordt door de Hindoes in het Tretayuga gesteld.

140) Deze op de grieksch-romeinsche mythologie gebaseerde verklaring is onjuist.

141) Vgl. de Inleiding.

142) *Dit* is de gangbare voorstelling.

143) Volgens Zachariae (G. G. A. 1916, pag. 612) het Tamil: *aṇḍaśakkaram* („rad des heelals"), hiermede stemt de lezing van den Dialogo: „*Andaxacaran*" overeen.

144) Ik ben niet in staat op grond van de Purāṇas den duur der Manvantaraperioden te controleeren.

145) Men denke bijv. aan Soma als echtgenoot der Nakṣatras.

146) Het is een scherpzinnige combinatie van Zachariae (*Nachr. der Gött. Gesell. der W.* 1917, p. 28), dat *niger* een Tamil meervoudsvorm is van een woord, dat in 't Skt. *nīca* luidt: „de geringen". Hiervoor spreekt ook de vorm in den Dialogo: *Nisen.* — Chandela is *caṇḍāla.*

147) Van deze vier namen blijft, ook na Zachariae's opmerking (G. G. A., p. 613), de eerste duister; zelfs de goede lezing staat niet vast. De drie anderen zijn: de Palḷi (Palḷan), Parṛiyan (Paraiyan) en de schoenmakers (*alparqueiro* is het Portug. woord), met welke hier waarschijnlijk (vgl. Zachariae t. a. p., p. 614) de Telugu Mādigas bedoeld zijn. De Dialogo onderscheidt: Illaver, Pallas, Seman et Pareas.

148) Manucci heeft: „whom they call *Chares*", de Breve Noticia: *Xastres.* Waarschijnlijk is *śaṣṭa* of *śiṣṭa* bedoeld.

149) De Hindoes nemen vijf elementen (*bhūtāni*) aan: aarde, water, vuur, lucht en aether (*ākāśa*). Dit wist reeds Rogerius (*Open Deure*, pag. 113 vg.).

150) Over den groet bij de Hindoes vgl. Dubois, *Hindu manners, customs and ceremonies*, ed. *Beauchamp*, chapter XIV.

151) Volgens Zachariae-Hultsch (*Nachr. Gött. Ges. der W.* 1917, p. 34) is dit Tamil *vaṇaṅgāmuḍiyan* („het hoofd niet buigend, niet groetend").

152) Over de kleedij vgl. Dubois, *op. cit.* p. 325 vgg.

153) Een uit het Perzisch door 't Hind. ontleend woord (*rūmāl* eig.: gelaatafwisscher, handdoek, *Hobson-Jobson*, p. 769*a*). In de oudere periode beantwoordt hier zeker wel het *uṣṇīṣa* aan.

154) Ik heb deze lezing (*Janais*, misschien staat er *Javais*, waarmede „Jainas" kan bedoeld zijn) uit het hs. van St. Calais opgenomen, doch men merke op, dat Manucci met zijn „*Tavagi*" meer overeenstemt met de lezing der Parijsche hss. „*Tanagis*". Wie hiermede bedoeld zouden kunnen zijn, is mij onbekend.

155) Dit herhaaldelijk voorkomende woord kan ik niet thuisbrengen. (Skt. *āstara*: dek, tapijt"?). In de fransche woordenboeken wordt het vertaald met „stroomat", doch blijkens onze passage moet het een vreemd woord zijn. De Dialogo heeft: „*stuora*", dat ik niet in de Woordenboeken vind, wel „*stuoja*" („mat").

156) Vgl. Thurston: *Ethnogr. notes in S. India*, p. 369 (p. 370: the lobes will reach down to the shoulders on both sides").

157) Vgl. Sonnerat, *Voyage aux Indes-Orientales* etc. Vol. I, p. 81: „l'espece de craie, avec laquelle on fait la marque blanche, s'appelle *namon* ou *naman*", vgl. ook Jouveau Dubreuil, II, p. 61.

158) Bedoeld is de geestrijke drank *surā*.

159) In 't Portugeesch is „*empolear se*": verontreinigen („Man sagt es in Asien, wenn jemand aus einer höheren Kaste einen Paria, als zur unreinen Kaste gehörend, berührt", Michel, *Portug. woordenb.* s. v.).

160) Dit moet eene vergissing zijn voor: laict caillé, daar de Portug. tekst (bij Zachariae, *Nachr.*, p. 29) tairo heeft. Het *pañcagavya* immers bestaat uit *kṣīraṃ dadhi tathā cājyaṃ mūtraṃ gomayam eva ca.*

161) Dit is de Tamil meervoudsvorm van Skt. *nāstika*: atheïst, ongeloovige. Bizonder zijn de Jainas bedoeld, vgl. Zachariae, Nachr. p. 34.

162) Dit alles past op de Jainas, vgl. Zachariae, t. a. p.

163) Het begin des jaars is anders in verschillende tijden en streken. Zoo begint volgens Rogerius (*Open Deure*, p. 45) het jaar op de kust van Coromandel met nieuwe maan in April.

164) Gingi of Jinji lag vroeger ten westen, landwaarts in, van Pondicherry.

165) Bij Manucci (vgl. den tekst der beide Parijsche hss.) luidt deze zin: „when in the country side one measure is selling for six sols, they force the peasants to give them nine". — Voor de nu volgende beschrijving van het afpersingsysteem door folteringen vgl. het citaat uit *A new account* ed. Crooke, in *The Oxford History of India* by Vincent Smith (Oxford 1920), pag. 435.

166) Met Bisnâga is Vijayanagara bedoeld, het rijk dat volgens de historici (Elphinstone e. a.) ophield te bestaan in 1565. Het moet echter toch nog langer geduurd hebben, en wel tot 1646, zie *Journ. Royal As. Soc.* 1921, p. 617 („the Hindu empire of Vijayanagar covered a period of about 300 years, from A. D. 1336 to 1646"). Vermoedelijk is de lezing der Parijsche hss. (Tinnargar of Tinargar) slechts een corruptie van Bisnagar.

167) Hierover is mij niets naders bekend. Een dergelijk verbranden van woningen wordt reeds vermeld door do Couto en in een brief van 1598, zie: de ontdekkingsgesch. v. d. Veda, in *Versl. en Med. d. Kon. Ak. v. Wet. te Amsterdam*, Afd. Lett., 5e Reeks, 3e Deel, p. 316.

168) Voor het volgende kan ik slechts verwijzen naar Sonnerat, Voyage, deel I, pag. 121: „Les frères du père et les soeurs de la mère sont tous nommés pères ou mères; grand-pères et grand'mères, s'ils sont ainés, petits-pères ou petites-mères, s'ils sont cadets".

169) Over de Tali vgl. Rogerius' *Open deur* (heruitg.), pag. 36, noot 4.

170) Over het nu volgende vgl. Zachariae in *Nachr. der Gött. Ges.*, pag. 22, Thurston, *Ethnogr. notes in S. India*, pag. 1 en 27. — De Kāśīyātrā is een rest van het Samāvartana, vgl. *Census of India*, 1901. Vol. I. India, Ethnogr. appendix, pag. 114, waar verhaald wordt van de Deshasth Brāhmans, dat eenige maanden na het Upanayana „the samāvartana is performed; the boy puts off the triple sacred grass waistcord or *muñj* and his loincloth or *langoti*, puts on a silk-bordered waistcloth, a coat, a shouldercloth, a turban, and a pair of shoes, takes an umbrella and sets out as if on a journey to Benares. The priest meets him on the way and promises to give him his daughter in marriage". In de Gṛhyasūtras wordt nog niet, wèl in de Prayogas deze handeling vermeld, o. a. in de Baudhāyanīya prayogamālā I fol. 128.b: *atha tīrthayātrāṃ gacchāmīti gurvanujñāṃ labdhvottarābhimukhas sapta padāni gatvātha kanyādātrā tribhir nivārite chattropānahau visṛjed iti śiṣṭācāraḥ.* Dit berust ten slotte waarschijnlijk op de in de Sūtras (Baudh. śrs. XVII. 43:

324. 3, Āp. gṛhs. 13.1) veroorloofde vereenvoudiging van den Samāvartanaritus, enkel bestaande uit een bad in een tīrtha.

171) Dit is oogenschijnlijk een overblijfsel van den Madhuparka: het gastvrije onthaal, dat een aanstaanden echtgenoot wordt geboden.

172) Over het schommelen vgl. Zachariae, *Nachr.* enz., pag. 22.

173) Vgl. Zachariae op. cit. pag. 33 met noot 3.

174) De steen is zeker de maalsteen (*dṛṣad* of *upalā*), zoo in ouderen tijd het Vādhūlasūtra (in de andere mij bekende Sūtras is slechts sprake van een steen *aśmānam*), en tegenwoordig (Thurston, *Ethnogr. notes in S. India*, pag. 1, Winternitz, *das altindische Hochzeitsrituell*, pag. 61). — Wat het woord zelf betreft, de Parijsche hss. hebben hier de betere lezing bewaard; St. Calais moet in plaats van *Akary* misschien worden gelezen „(pierre) à *kary*"; vgl. Sonnerat, *Voyage* etc. deel I, pag. 143: „une pierre platte qui sert a broyer les ingrediens qui entrent dans les *Caris* ou ragoûts". Het is het Tamil *kari*, vgl. Hobson-Jobson, pag. 281.

175) *brede* (Portug.): groene amarant; *b(e)ringela*: eierplant (het laatste woord is Portugeesch, doch ontleend aan een Indisch dialect, vgl. Hobson-Jobson, pag. 115).

176) Dit oponthoud in een afzonderlijk verblijf vind ik nergens uitdrukkelijk vermeld, doch het is de consequentie van zulke voorschriften als Taitt. S. II. 5. 1. 6, Baudh. gṛhs. I. 11 (bij Winternitz, *das altind. Hochzeitsrituell*, pag. 93).

177) Manucci: „father in law".

178) Zoo ook Sonnerat, *Voyage*, deel I, pag. 146: „Cette fête s'appelle... le second mariage".

179) Vgl. Dubois, pag. 352: „A daughter-in-law (among certain sects of the vishnavite Brahmins) is never allowed to speak to her mother-in-law. When she wishes to communicate anything to her, she does it by signs" etc.

180) Blijkbaar is het heilige snoer (*upavīta*) bedoeld, dat *navatāntava* is (Gṛhyāsaṃgraha II. 48), vgl. Rogerius, pag. 28 der heruitgave en Dubois, pag. 163. Hier gaat dus het Upanayana of een rest daarvan onmiddelijk aan het huwelijk vooraf. Zoo wordt over de Rājputs in *Census of India* Vol. I pag. 84 bericht: „The Rājputs ... shuffle on the *janeo* in a rough-and ready fashion, when a boy gets married".

181) Deze passage biedt moeilijkheden. Dat Brahmā met den Aśvattha wordt geïdentificeerd, is mij nergens gebleken. Misschien verwarde de auteur hem met Gaṇeśa, vgl. Sonnerat, *Voyage*, deel I, pag. 133: „on place ensuite au milieu de la cour un Polléar de pierre". Dat de Margousier (d. i. de Nimba: Azadirachta indica) als echtgenoote van Brahmā (of Gaṇeśa) geldt, is mij evenmin gebleken. Sonnerat, I, pag. 208 zegt, dat deze boom aan Mariatale (de godin der pokken) gewijd is. De naam Parachy (Manucci heeft Parechi) is stellig dezelfde als Savraty, vermeld in: Drie oude Portug. Verhandelingen, pag. 28.

182) Dat de naam zóó moet worden gelezen blijkt uit Manucci: „of a certain herbe which is used to make powder". Voor de vorming van het woord *polvereira* vgl. Zachariae, G. G. A. 1916, pag. 605. Omtrent de struik zelf kan ik niets vinden.

183) Door de Rājputs wordt Gaṇeśa op den dag vóór het huwelijk aangebeden, vgl. *Census of India*, Vol. I, pag. 21 en Thurston, *Ethnogr. Notes*, pag. 82 (met betrekking tot de Goundans van Coimbatore).

184) Dit is mij een raadsel.

185) Over het nu volgende vischorakel vgl. Zachariae in *Nachr. der Gött. Ges.* 1917, pag. 22.

186) Over de citroen zie Zachariae, *Zeitschr. f. Volkskunde*, (Berlin) 1904, pag. 395 vgg.

187) Over het monument voor eene Satī vgl. Drie oude Portug. Verhand. pag. 30, noot 1.

188) De Kōmaṭis zijn niet eigenlijke Vaiśyas, doch Telugu kooplieden, die beweren Vaiśyas te zijn, vgl. Thurston, *Ethnogr. notes in S. India*, pag. 88, Baines, *Ethnogr.*, p. 35 vgl., Sonnerat, *Voyage*, I pag. 86: „Plusieurs castes de la tribu des Choutres tels que les Chetis et les Cometis" en pag. 95: „elle (d. i. „la caste des Vassiers", d. i. der Vaiśyas) n'est pas la même que celle des Marchands, qui trafiquent aujourd'hui dans toute l'Inde sous le nom de Chétis et de Cometis". Daardoor verklaart zich de contradictie, die onze auteur aan 't einde dezer paragraaf opmerkt.

189) Dit is in 't algemeen nog thans zoo, vgl. de door Zachariae, *Nachr. der Gött. Ges. der W.* 1917, pag. 23 aangevoerde bewijsplaatsen.

190) Welke kaste bedoeld is, zie ik niet; dit is des te moeilijker te bepalen, omdat de lezing niet vaststaat (Resoüs, Raisous, Larrons; Manucci met zijn: „caste of thieves", heeft de laatste gekend). Volgens Irvine zijn de Kaḷḷans gemeend, vgl. Zachariae, *Nachr.*, pag. 23.

191) Vgl. de door Zachariae (t. a. p. pag. 23) uit Thurston, *Castes and Tribes* aangehaalde plaats: „As a token of divorce a Kaḷḷan gives his wife a piece of straw in the presence of his caste people".

192) Vgl. Thurston, *Ethn. notes in S. India*, pag. 142: „Among other castes which bury their dead,... are the Pandārams or Śaivite beggars in the Tinevelly district" en *Die altind. Toten- und Best. Gebr.* § 50.

193) Thurston, op. cit., pag. 134: „four bearers... are selected to carry the corpse to the burning ground".

194) Thurston, op. cit. pag. 136: „A Brāhman widow removes the tāli on the 10th day after the death of her husband".

195) Welke houtsoort kan bedoeld zijn?

196) Eene afbeelding van dit schoeisel o.a. bij Jouveau Dubreuil, vol. II, p. 16.

197) D.i. Trichinopoly; volgens Hobson-Jobson pag. 938 is de vroegst voorkomende naamvorm: Tiru-śilla-paḷḷi.

198) Ik vermoed (vgl. de lezing der Parijsche hss.), dat Satyamangala gemeend is (in Coimbatore district): „In the beginning of the 17th century it was the local head-quarters of the Jesuits" (*Imp. Gazetteer*, XXII, pag. 135).

199) Men zou aan Ganjam kunnen denken, doch dit ligt wat te veel noordwaarts.

200) Lees 4.320.000. Deze indeeling is juist, vgl. o.a. Jacobi in *Enc. of Rel. and Ethics*, I, pag. 200*a*. — De 4000 jaren ook beneden, noot 375.

201) Met Rāma is hier natuurlijk Viṣṇu bedoeld.

202) De *akṣayavaṭa* moet bedoeld zijn, vgl. Crooke in *E. R. E.* I. pag. 327*a* en dez., *Introd. to the popular Religion and Folklore of N. India* (1894), pag. 248, Hopkins, *Epic. Mythol.*, p. 7.

203) Deze vertaling kan niet juist zijn.

204) Prayāga, een van de heiligste plekken der Hindoes, gelegen waar Akbar de stad Allāhābād stichtte.

205) Skandapurāṇa VI. 21 verhaalt ten minste, hoe Mārkaṇḍeya van *alpāyuḥ* tot *dīrghāyuḥ* gemaakt werd.

206) Bij het nu volgende komt het naast MBh. III. 188 (śl. 90: *tataḥ kadācit paśyāmi tasmin salilasaṃcaye | nyagrodhaṃ sumahāntam* etc.) en Brahmapurāṇa 53 en 54.

207) De juiste vorm van den naam is niet te herstellen. In *tezomé* kan *tejomaya* steken, doch wat is Mazcoub? Bedoeld is natuurlijk Puruṣottama.

208) Volgens de gangbare overlevering dringt M. door den mond binnen, MBh. l. c. 100, Brahmapurāṇa 53. 43.

209) MBh. III. 203. 14: *svapatas tasya devasya padmaṃ nābhyāṃ viniḥsṛtaṃ divyaṃ, tatrotpannaḥ pitāmahaḥ.*

210) D. i. Madhu en Kaiṭabha, vgl. MBh. III. 203. 20 vg. Als Viṣṇu op den wereldoceaan slaapt, komen M. en K. en verschrikken Brahmā in den lotus. Zij worden door Viṣṇu gedood.

211) Vgl. Ḥarivaṃśa I. 6. 45 (I. 394).

madhukaiṭabhayoḥ kṛtsnā m e d a s ā bhipariplutā |
teneyaṃ m e d i n ī devī procyate brahmavādibhiḥ ||

212) Lees waarschijnlijk *maharoussi* (*maha-ṛṣi*).

213) Van het volgende ken ik geen Purāṇabron.

214) Vgl. de Nigers van de Relation (noot 146)? Zie ook noot 294. — Overigens geldt hier het onder noot 213 gezegde.

215) Het origineel heeft zeker *dakṣiṇāṅguṣṭha* gehad, hetwelk evengoed groote teen der rechtervoet als duim der rechterhand kan beteekenen. De hier beschreven askese komt overeen met die van Dhruva in Bhāgavatapurāṇa IV. 8. 72 vgg.

216) Hetzelfde in hoofdst. 3 der eerste van de drie Oude Portug. Verh. (vgl. pag. 9, noot 1 en 2).

217) Daar de naam verderop Darchiporsa luidt, is misschien Dakṣapuruṣa gemeend. — Voor Dakṣa's geboorte uit Prajāpati's duim vgl. Muir, *Original S. texts*, I. 73, 124, Hopkins, *Epic Mythol.*, pag. 199.

218) ? In 't Epos heet zij Vīriṇī.

219) De oudste bron van dit verhaal is de bekende episode uit ŚBr. XIV. 8. 2. 4. vgg. (Bṛhad-ār. up. V. 1. 2). In een Purāṇa heb ik de hier gegeven uitwerking nog niet gevonden.

220) De syllabe *da* is dus 't begin van *dāmyata* (*damana*): „bedwingt u", *dayadhvam* (*daya*): „hebt medelijden", *datta* (*dāna*): „geeft".

221) Gotama, Vasiṣṭha, Bharadvāja, Viśvāmitra, Jamadagni, Marīci (gewoonlijk Kaśyapa) en Atri.

222) *courrou* is hetzelfde als *crore* (10 millioen), Hind. *karoṛ* (Skt. *koṭi*). Ovington (bij Hobson-Jobson, pag. 276*a*) heeft ook den vorm *courou*.

223) Zoo ook in het 2de der drie oude Portug. Verh. (pag. 87, noot 3).

224) Svāyambhuva Manu is de eerste der veertien Manus, die ieder gedurende een Manvantara bestaan.

225) Hier wordt Manu Svāyambhuva met Brahmā gelijkgesteld, wiens echtgenoote Śatarūpā is.

226) Uttānapāda geldt als de zoon van Manu en Śatarūpā.

227) Niet in *deze* Verhandeling!

228) De toedracht is in hoofdzaak zooals Bhāg. pur. IV. 8—9, doch de twee vrouwen heeten daar Sūnṛtā en Suruci.

229) Vgl. Bhāg. pur. IV. 8. 27 vgg.

230) Het volgende berust op Mān. dhś. I. 43—46 (*svedaja, udbhidja, aṇḍaja, jarāyuja*).

231) Het woord schijnt op *vairāṭsarūpa* terug te gaan, doch deze benaming van het hoogste wezen is niet in de literatuur bekend.

232) *kārpāsam upavītaṃ syāt* (Mān. dhś).

233) Waarschijnlijk steekt hier het woord *granthi* in. Doch wat is Brana? (*brahmagranthi*?).

234) Omtrent dit veelvuldig in deze Verh. voorkomende woord heb ik niets kunnen vinden, behalve dat het ook bij Barbosa (in 1516) voorkomt: „also they make other stuffs, which they call... *duguazas* (*dogazīs*?)", Hobson-Jobson, pag. 823.*b*.

235) Er schijnen hier meer geografisch-taalkundige groepen dan standen of kasten te worden opgesomd. Russell, *Tribes and Castes of the Central Provinces* (1916), vol. II pag. 357 vermeldt twee groepen (territorial divisions) van Brahmanen: vijf noordelijke en vijf zuidelijke. De noordelijken zijn: Sarasvat-, Gaur-, Kanaujia-, Maithil- en Utkal-brahmanen, de zuidelijken: Mahārāṣṭra-, Tailinga-, Drāvida-, Karnāta- en Gurjara-brahmanen, terwijl op pag. 359 ook de Gaṅgāputras als onderafdeeling vermeld worden. Met de Senoria zijn misschien de door Russell, pag. 390 als een onderafdeeling der Kanaujia vermelde Sanādhya bedoeld. Wanneer men i. p. v. Maipall leest: Maithil, en i. p. v. Nourrall: Outkal, dan blijven nog onverklaard slechts Cailandd en Tirotery.

236) Dat het *upavīta* der Kṣatriyas verschilt van dat der Brahmanen, is uit geen bron bekend.

237) Vgl. over deze namen de Inleiding.

238) Het is onbekend in welk Geschrift de auteur het hier genoemde heeft behandeld. Onwillekeurig denkt men aan Manucci's *Storia do Mogor*.

239) Vansart is misschien foutief voor Vaneart, d. i. Vaneas of Vaniyas (Banyas).

240) De eigenlijke Vaiśyas zijn, als Ariërs, wel degelijk toegelaten tot de Vedastudie, vgl. echter noot 188.

241) Welk woord in Baignaux steekt (ook beneden, vgl. noot 404), zie ik niet (vgl. noot 239).

242) Het volgende berust op het MBh.

243) De namen der Nāgas luiden achtereenvolgens: 1. Śeṣa, 2. Vāsuki, 3. Takṣaka, 4. Karkoṭaka, 5. Dhanaṃjaya, 6. ?, 7 Dhṛtarāṣṭra, 8. Durmukha, 9. Sumukha.

244) Hiraṇyakaśipu is de zoon niet van Aditi, maar van Diti. Hij is dan ook een Daitya. In het Epos worden slechts de Purohitas der Devas (Bṛhaspati) en der Asuras (Uśanas of Śukra = Śukrācārya) genoemd.

245) Voor de attributen van Viṣṇu zie Jouveau Dubreuil, II, pag. 62. Het zijn, in de hier gegeven opeenvolging: *pāñcajanya, sudarśanacakra, gadhā* of *kaumodakī, kamalapuṣpa* (gewoonlijk draagt V. in de vierde hand den *khaḍga*), *Lakṣmī, kaustubhamaṇi, mukuṭa, pītāmbara*. Wat eindelijk Naraon is, kan ik niet uitmaken, het schijnt op Nārāyaṇa te wijzen, doch de beteekenis past niet.

246) D.i.: „de l'*Akché*"? (*akṣaya*?).

247) L. *Indou*.

248) L. *Indrou* (Indra).

249) Misschien had het origineele hs.: *Paouacou* (*pāvaka*).

250) Viśvānara of Vaiśvānara?

251) Viśvakarmā.

252) Azumé zal wel op Azuine teruggaan (Aśvin). Uit den dualis *aśvinau kumārau* zijn hier twee verschillende namen gemaakt.

253) Lees: „au milieu du ciel".

254) Vgl. noot 235.

255) Vgl. bijv. Rām. VI. 101. 30: *tvam agne sarvabhūtānāṃ śarīrāntaragocaraḥ / tvaṃ sākṣī mama dehasthaḥ* enz.

256) Als *agni havyavāhana.*

257) Dit wordt noch door de literatuur noch door de Iconografie bevestigd.

258) Vgl. noot 12.

259) De hier genoemde Apsarasen zijn Urvaśī, Rambhā en Menakā (?).

260) Nu volgt de in hoofdzaak met de traditie overeenstemmende beschrijving van het karnen des oceaans, *samudramanthana.*

261) *mandarācala,* MBh. I. 18. 1.

262) Dit gedeelte is zeker uit het een of andere Purāṇa. In het MBh. wordt slechts vermeld, dat de Asuras den kop, de Devas de staart vasthouden.

263) Over de 14 kleinodiën (*ratnāni*) vgl. Drie oude Portug. Verh. pag. 31, noot 1.

264) Nārāyaṇa als Viṣṇu's Licht is onbekend.

265) Dit berust op Mān. dhś. I. 10: *āpo nārā iti proktāḥ* en op de Purāṇas, Wilson, Viṣṇupurāṇa I, pag. 56 ed. Hall.

266) Hierin moet een benaming van den lotus steken.

267) Over de *arvore triste* vgl. Linschoten, ed. Kern, II, pag. 5 vgg.

268) D. i. *kalpataru.* In de gewone voorstelling is het de *pāriyātaka,* die bij 't karnen van den oceaan verschijnt.

269) De Surā.

270) Is dit *airāvata hastī*?

271) De hier onder 10, 12 en 13 genoemde *ratnāni* niet in 't MBh.

272) Het optreden van Rudra's vrouw berust niet op het Epos.

273) Dit laatste verhaal is een dubbelganger van het gewone, beneden gegevene.

274) D. i. *mohinī,* vgl. noot 24.

275) Vgl. noot 137.

276) De *saṃjīvanī vidyā,* vgl. MBh. I. 76. 10. — Nu volgt de bekende episode van Kaca, zoon v. Bṛhaspati (MBh. l. c.).

277) Dit is vrijwel onbegrijpelijk en kan ook niet juist zijn.

278) MBh. I. 76. 28: *gā rakṣantaṃ vane dṛṣṭvā... jaghnuḥ.*

279) MBh. I. 76. 40: *puṣpahāro vanaṃ yayau.*

280) MBh. I. 76. 43: *hatvā taṃ... dagdvā kṛtvā ca cūrṇaśaḥ | prāyacchan brāhmaṇāyaiva* (d. i. Śukrāya) *surāyām.*

281) Vṛṣaparvan is volgens het Epos (MBh. l. c. 3) de Koning der Asuras, bij wien Uśanas-Śukra purohita is. Dat Śukra hier zijn tusschenkomst inroept, berust niet op 't MBh.

282) Hier wordt met *pūjā* blijkbaar de gastvrije ontvangst (*madhuparka*) bedoeld.

283) Dat het *añjali* maken een drinken uit de hol aaneengehouden handen is, zal wel onjuist wezen. Het is eenvoudig een vorm van eerbiedigen groet.

284) Zie MBh. l. c. 65—66.

285) Zie MBh. I. 77. 6—8, 12—14.

286) MBh. l. c. 19: *ṛṣiputro na te kaścij jātu pāṇiṃ grahiṣyati.*

287) Een *vimāna* is een door de lucht vliegende wagen der goden, vgl.

noot 314. In 't MBh. staat slechts (l. c. 21): *tridaśālayaṃ śīghraṃ jagāma.*

288) De episode van Kadrū en Vinatā naar MBh. I. 16 vgg.

289) Dit is zeker wel een afkorting van *dantadhāvana.*

290) In het Epos is sprake van den bij 't karnen van den Oceaan te voorschijn gekomen Uccaiśśravas, in de Purāṇas (o.a. Skandapurāṇa, Brahmakh. I. adhy. 38) van de staart van het Zonneros.

291) Vgl. MBh. I. 36.

292) Wie is hier bedoeld? en waaraan beantwoordt dit woord in 't Skt.?

293) In MBh. I. 36. 5 is het Pitāmaha d.w.z. Brahmā.

294) Vgl. noot 214.

295) Het ontstaan der 6000 Vālakhilyas niet in 't MBh., doch uit een Purāṇa, bijv. Saurapurāṇa (vgl. Jahn, *über das S.*, p. 152).

296) Het origineele hs. zal wel Pervaty hebben gehad; Pārvatī, dochter van Himavat, hier Himācala.

297) Het nu volgende berust in hoofdzaak op MBh. I. 31. 5 vgg., de détails omtrent de preparativen zijn van elders.

298) Skt. *mūla, puṣpa, tāla, pattra* (*tāla* in 't Skt. slechts de vrucht van den wijnpalm).

299) Zooveel staat vast, dat hierin het woord *vanaspati* steekt (*vena sebty*). Misschien *sarvavanaspati*? (Beng. *sarba*).

300) *samidh* beteekent niet meer dan „stuk brandhout voor de offerande".

301) D.i. sesam (Mahr. *jinjalī*).

302) MBh. I. 31. 9: *goṣpade saṃplutodake.*

303) Hier kan kwalijk tanck bedoeld zijn. Maar wat wèl?

304) Vgl. MBh. I. 31. 24 vgg. en I. 16.

305) Vgl. MBh. I. 23. 5 vgg. Guedroch komt minder dicht bij Garuḍa dan het verderop éénmaal voorkomende Guerodh.

306) In het MBh. heet het eiland Rāmaṇīyaka.

307) De naam is in 't Epos niet overgeleverd.

308) Vgl. MBh. I. 29. 7 vgg.

309) Blijkens het vervolg moet de rivier Gaṇḍakī gemeend zijn, waar de Śālagrāma genaamde Ammonieten vandaan heeten te komen. Met Ariaracter zou Āryāvarta bedoeld kunnen zijn.

310) In 't MBh. (I. 29. 15, waar de toedracht eenigszins anders verhaald wordt) heeten zij Viśvāvasu en Supratīka. Zonder aarzeling stel ik Gé gelijk aan Jaya, en Gibé aan Vijaya (Gibé is dan foutief voor Bigé!), de twee trawanten van Viṣṇu, bekend uit Bhāg. pur. III. 16. 2, en die zeker nog wel in andere Purāṇas voorkomen.

311) Dit is zeker wel „le Raia Moroum". Wie is hiermee bedoeld?

312) Vgl. noot 245.

313) Moet *pohol* en *poholi* of *possol, possoli* gelezen worden? In de Maraṭhī Dict. van Molesworth vind ik *pahārā*: „a guard".

314) Vgl. noot 287.

315) Een gewicht voor edele metalen, Hind. *tolā.*

316) Vgl. noot 309. De vertaling is foutief. — Samenhang tusschen de twee hier genoemde personen en den Śālagrāma vond ik nergens.

317) Vgl. MBh. I. 29. 36 vgg.

318) Volgens MBh. l. c. 42 *rauhiṇa* (*vṛkṣa*).

319) MBh. l. c. 43: *śatayojanam āyatā.*

320) Vgl. MBh. I. 30. 2: *lambato 'paśyad adhomukhān vālakhilyān.*

321) Vgl. MBh. l. c. 18: *munayas te samabhyayuḥ | ... girim ... himavantam.*

322) Vgl. MBh. I. 30. 20 vgg.

323) Vgl. MBh. I. 30. 22: *indrasya vajraṃ dayitaṃ prajajvāla bhayāt tadā.*

324) Vgl. MBh. I. 30. 40 vgg.

325) De nu volgende beschrijving van de burcht der goden niet in het MBh.

326) In MBh. I. 33. 5 zijn de namen niet overgeleverd.

327) Vgl. MBh. I. 33. 2: *cakraṃ kṣuraparyantam ... paribhramantam anīśaṃ tīkṣṇadhāram ayasmayam.*

328) Vgl. MBh. l. c. 24: *navatyā navatīr mukhānāṃ kṛtvā ... nadīḥ samāpīya mukhais ... taiḥ ... jvalantam agniṃ samāstarat ... nadībhiḥ.*

329) Van deze namen kan ik Pomha en Bayguebam niet terecht brengen.

330) Deze episode (niet in *dit* verband in 't MBh.) is hier ingevoegd op grond van Garuḍa's woorden (MBh. I. 33. 20): *ṛṣer mānaṃ kariṣyāmi vajraṃ yasyāsthisambhavam.*

331) MBh. l. c. 21: *etat pattraṃ tyajāmy e k a m.*

332) Zij gaven nl. aan Garuḍa den naam Suparṇa (l. c. 23).

333) Vgl. MBh. l. c. 12 vgg.

334) Vgl. MBh. I. 34. 9: *kiṃcit kāraṇam uddiśya somo 'yaṃ nīyate mayā.*

335) Hiervan is aan 't MBh. niets bekend, daar wordt het Amṛta door Indra weggenomen, terwijl de Nāgas (niet Kadrū) zich verwijderen: *snātum* (I. 34. 20).

336) Vgl. Drie oude Portug. Verh. pag. 98, noot 1.

337) Vgl. het begin dezer Verhandeling.

338) Het Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa is mij helaas niet toegankelijk. — In plaats van 8 moet worden gelezen: 18.

339) Van het nu volgende is mij de bron onbekend.

340) Dit is onjuist!

341) Treffend is de overeenkomst, zelfs der détails en uitdrukkingen, met de eerste der drie oude Portug. Verh. (hoofdst. 5—7), en, waar de auteur der Gentilité du Bengala naar elders verwijst, met de derde (dus de Breve Noticia) § 19, p. 204.

342) L.: „dans la ville d'Ahiea" (d. i. Ayodhyā)?

343) Dit is onjuist.

344) L.: Janacé (Janaka).

345) Het origineele hs. zal wel gehad hebben: Henumat (Hanumat).

346) Inderdaad treft men het hier bedoelde stuk aan in het 1e Chapitre der Relation (boven, pag. 15). Wellicht is in plaats van „à la page 9" te lezen: „à la paragraphe 9". De indeeling in paragraphen der Relation staat niet vast, doch de geschiedenis van Rāma kan daar zeer goed de 9e paragraaf vormen.

347) Wat hier volgt, tot pag. 137 „mais cela" (noot 349), is volstrekt onbekend.

348) Deze reus is onbekend, doch zonder twijfel (vgl. verderop, waar de naam Marcadazou luidt) dezelfde als Marcardaya in de eerste der drie oude Portug. Verh. (p. 14). Markaṭaya is de „onbelegte" naam van een Daitya.

349) Van hieraf weer overeenstemming met de eerste der drie oude Portug. Verh. § 25.

350) H. *dhoby* „a washerman" (Hobson-Jobson, p. 312). — Voor deze episode vgl. ook noot 42.

351) L.: „le nom d'Ancous" (vgl. Drie oude Portug. Verh. p. 36, noot 4), zooals ook verderop de naam luidt.

352) Waarsch. is *kuśa* bedoeld, zoo heet een der zonen van Sītā, vgl. Drie oude Portug. Verh. p. 37, noot 1.

353) De naam is raadselachtig. Bengaalsch voor Kuśa?

354) Hind. *kaṭār*, Skt. *kaṭṭāra* (kort zwaard).

355) Dit is juister dan de 1e der drie oude Portug. Verh. pag. 37, noot 1.

356) Mahratsch *patemārī* (vgl. Kern, Heruitgave van Linschoten's Itinerario I p. 172, noot 5) beteekent „koerier".

357) D. i. Śaṅkhāsura, vgl. § 11 der eerste der drie oude Portug. Verh. — Hier vult de auteur der Gentilité du Bengala eene lacune aan in de Relation, welker schrijver niets wist te zeggen omtrent de Visch-incarnatie.

358) D. i.: Viṣṇu.

359) D. i.: Rākṣasas.

360) Misschien staat er in het hs. Trieruna. Kan Tryaruṇa of Trayyāruṇa bedoeld zijn? Uit de Literatuur is trouwens weinig of niets omtrent hem bekend. De gansche volgende geschiedenis is uit geen bron bekend.

361) Het nu volgende berust hoofdzakelijk op het MBh.

362) Lees waarsch.: „d'Indyza (of d'Indyra)". Maar ook zoo is de naam niet terecht te brengen.

363) Gāndhārī blinddoekt zich: MBh. I. 110. 13 vgg.

364) Anders MBh. I. 115. 17: *māṃsapeśī*.

365) Volgens het MBh.: honderd zonen en ééne dochter.

366) Hier loopt de auteur op zijn verhaal vooruit.

367) Vgl. MBh. I. 118. 5 vgg.

368) D. i. Droṇācārya. De beschrijving van Droṇa's schietkunst niet in het MBh. naar het schijnt, doch vgl. I. 131. 31.

369) Lees: Denourveda, d. i. *dhanurveda* (schietkunst).

370) Kan in Peza het woord Pārṣata steken? of eenvoudig schrijffout voor *reza*: *rājā*?

371) In 't MBh. is slechts sprake van een doelwit (*lakṣya*), in de afbeelding der Bombay uitgave als visch voorgesteld, zooals ook Baldaeus het heeft (p. 149 der heruitgave door Dr. de Jong).

372) Vgl. MBh. II. 68. 46—48.

373) L.: Danava.

374) Yudhiṣṭhira had Droṇa omtrent zijn zoon bedrogen.

375) Die 2000 jaren ook vroeger, vgl. noot 200.

376) Van het nu volgende heb ik de bron, na lang zoeken en navragen, niet kunnen ontdekken. Oogenschijnlijk gaat het verhaal op een Perzische overlevering terug, die wellicht in een moderne Indische taal is overgezet. Noch in Nizāmī's Iskandarnāmeh, noch in de verhandeling van Nöldeke over de Alexandersage vond ik het hier verhaalde terug, behalve het zoeken naar 't levenswater en het afdalen in de zee in de glazen kist. Deze motieven komen o. a., naar mij Prof. van Ronkel mededeelt, in een Maleisch verhaal voor in H. Klinkert's uitgave der Maleische kronieken, p. 36, doch hier is sprake van een der Epigonen: Radja Soerâr, vorst van Hamadān. Het motief van den ring gaat in laatste instantie natuurlijk op de geschiedenis van Polykrates terug.

377) Sivājī 1627—1630. Over de Angrias zie de Inleiding.

378) Over de *pūjā* vgl. Dubois, *Hindu Manners* etc., p. 149.

379) De *japamālā,* zooveel als rozenkrans.

380) Vgl. het begin dezer Verhandeling.

381) Toen de heer J. Rahder in den zomer van 1921 te Londen vertoefde, was hij in de gelegenheid een Bengālī Pandit, Saccidānanda Sarasvatī, over dezen passus te raadplegen. De Pandit verklaarde *stryvent* door Skt. *prakāśasvarūpa:* „manifesting himself", *chourgy* door: *jñānasvarūpa:* „whose essence is knowledge", *onkar* (= *omkāra*) door *brahma* (dit is het subjekt der invocatie, de andere woorden zijn predikaten van den aangesproken Brahmā); *nerygean* door *nirañjan* (zeker bedoelde de Pandit *nirañjana:* „vlekkeloos"): incomprehensible, unknowable; *nerakar* door *nirākāra:* „without shape"; *(r)etoulita* door *atulita:* „peerless, beyond comparison" en *seroubleragramm* door *sarvasvarūpakaraṇa:* „cause of everything". Volgens genoemden Pandit is de taal oud-Bengālī.

382) D. i.: *pādyaṃ samarpayāmi* (?): ik bied u voetwaschwater aan". Zoo in het volgende achtereenvolgens: *candanaṃ s., akṣataṃ s., tulasīdānaṃ s., puṣpaṃ s., dhūpaṃ samarpayāmi.*

383) Beneden (noot 401): „toupet de cheveux"; volgens Aug. Barth, *les Religions de l'Inde,* pag. 233 (in: Quarante Ans d'Indianisme) is *sheṇḍī* de Mahrattī vorm van Skt. *cūḍā.*

384) De nu volgende beschrijving van den doodenritus en het Śrāddha (*śrāddhakarman*) bevat vele tegenwoordig onbekende bizonderheden.

385) De vorm wijst op Skt. *vidharman,* dat evenwel in de bet. van „beschikking" alleen uit Vedische teksten bekend is; de gelijkstelling met *vidhāna* zou beter passen.

386) Dit is in strijd met de algemeen geldende orienteering naar het Zuiden bij doodenplechtigheden.

387) Te vergelijken is altans Garuḍapurāṇa IX. 35: *saṃnyastam iti yo brūyāt prāṇaiḥ kaṇṭhagatair api | mṛto viṣṇupuraṃ yāti na punar jāyate bhuvi* ||

388) Over het Gangeswater vgl. Garuḍapur. IX. 23.

389) Ik betwijfel of dit juist is; de *piṇḍa* is bestemd voor den doode.

390) Daarmee zijn de Janais bedoeld.

391) Vgl. noot 386.

392) Dit breken van de kruik met water na drie ommegangen is algemeen gebruikelijk en reeds in de Sūtras voorgeschreven.

393) Vgl. noot 387.

394) D. i. *māsikaśrāddha:* maandśrāddha.

395) D. i. *vārṣikaśrāddha:* jaarśrāddha, blijkbaar ongeveer beantwoordend aan het *sapiṇḍīkaraṇa.*

396) Over den Rudrākṣa vgl. Drie oude Portug. Verh. p. 198.

397) Vgl. De ontdekkingsgeschiedenis van den Veda, in *Versl. en Med. der Kon. Ak. v. Wet. te Amsterdam,* Afd. Lett., 5e Reeks, 3e deel, pag. 314, noot 10.

398) Lees: Diu.

399) Is *saṃnyāsa* bedoeld? vgl. noot 387. Het volgende is vrij onduidelijk en onbegrijpelijk.

400) Bhṛngarāja: eclipta prostrata.

401) Vgl. noot 383.

402) D. i. *kāma, krodha, bhaya, īrṣyā, lobha, āśā.* Eenigszins anders Rogerius, *Open Deure* (heruitg.), pag. 17.

403) Bolo (Portug.): „Kuchen, Kloss".

404) De Nagueras zouden dezelfden kunnen zijn als de Nigers der Relation (noot 146). Baignan ook vroeger, noot 241.

405) Moet men Baderca (Bhādraka) lezen? Maar deze maand beantwoordt aan half-Aug. tot half-Sept.

406) De naam en deze geheele passage zijn onbegrijpelijk.

407) L.: *namascar* (Skt. *namaskāra*).

408) Dit zal wel *kanyā* (meisje, bruid) zijn.

409) *Vara:* de aanstaande, de bruidegom, de uitverkorene.

410) Misschien *cakra(marda)*, Cassia tora?

411) Daar het verderop heet: *Pouzapatry* (noot 413), zal wel *pūjāpātrī* of *pūjāpātram* bedoeld zijn.

412) D. i. *lokapattrikā*?

413) Zie noot 411.

414) Over de Clepsydra vgl. Thurston, *Ethnogr. Notes in S. India*, p. 562. De naam *Gariala* beantwoordt aan Hind. *ghaṛiyāl*, *Gary* aan Hind. *ghaṛī*.

415) Bedoeld is *tāmrapātra* of *tāmrī*, vgl. Petersb. Wb. s. v.

416) Ook hier doelt blijkbaar (of slechts schijnbaar?) de auteur op de Relation.

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[1]) Deze Index bevat ook die woorden en namen die, hoewel eigenlijk in Tamil- of andere taal aangetroffen, toch op Skt. teruggaan. Niet opgenomen zijn de woorden uit de Japamālā op pag. 151 en die van pag. 153 en 158.

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